NEGOTIATING TRADITION, MODERNITY AND IDENTITY IN

CONSUMER SPACE:

A STUDY OF A SHOPPING MALL AND REVIVED

COFFEEHOUSE

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis explores the meanings consumers give to consuming two social, commercial, and cultural spaces that have predecessors in the Ottomans and that recently have become very popular among young urban modern consumers: the shopping mall and the revived coffeehouse. The predecessors of these two spaces are the covered bazaars and the coffeehouses and the history of these spaces have also been investigated to be able to refer on aspects of traditions and modernity that could be revealed in the research. The ethnographical research on young urban and modern consumers of Akmerkez shopping mall and Misir "revived nargile coffeehouse" has revealed the meanings consumers give to consuming both traditions and modernity in these spaces.

Keywords: Consumption, Consumption Spaces, Traditions, Modernity, Shopping Malls, Kapalicarsi, Coffeehouses, Revived Coffeehouses

ÖZET

TÜKETİCİ MEKANINDA GELENEK, MODERNİTE VE KİMLİKLERİN ELE ALINIŞI: BİR ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZİ VE YENİDEN CANLANDIRILMIŞ KAHVEHANE ÜZERİNE ÇALIŞMA

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Bu tezde son yıllarda bilhassa genç, şehirli ve modern tüketiciler arasında çok popüler olmaya başlayan ancak aynı zamanda da Osmanlı kültüründe başarılı örnekleri bulunan iki sosyal, ticari, ve kültürel alanın; alışveriş merkezleri ve kahvehanelerin (yeniden canlandırılmış) tüketimine verilen anlamlar bulunmaya çalışılmıştır. Tüketiciler ve pazarlamacılarla yapılan etnografik araştırmanın bulgularını gelenek ve modernite açısından ele alabilmek için, öncelikle bu iki alanın geçmişteki örnekleri olarak Kapalıçarşı ve kahvehaneler incelenmiştir. Etnografik araştırma sonucunda bu tüketicilerin her iki alanda yaptıkları tüketimden çıkardıkları anlamlar bulunmuş ve bu alanlarda hem geleneklerin hem de modernitelerin tüketilebildiği sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tüketim, Tüketim Mekanları, Gelenekler, Modernite, Alışveriş Merkezleri, Kapalıçarşı, Kahvehaneler, Yeniden Canlandırılmış Kahvehaneler

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CHAPTER I

I.INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about how meanings are produced, negotiated and consumed by both marketers and consumers of social consumption spaces. The findings of the research reveal what meanings consumers give to consuming spaces and exhibit to which extent marketers can influence consumption practices. Another contribution of this study is to the "coexistence" debate on modernity and traditions. The research findings suggest that traditions and modernity can co-exist in consumption spaces and practices.

Less than two or three years ago, nargile (water-pipe) coffeehouses started becoming very popular among modern young and western consumers, especially in Istanbul. The trend became so popular among these urbanites that 5 star hotels started offering their domestic customers nargile in staged Oriental spaces. This re-emergence seems to be signalling a change in consumption practices even if it is on a small scale and apparent in particular product categories. Similar examples of a return to Turkish cultural goods and artefacts can be observed. The new popularity of nargile has followed a resurgence in the popularity of Turkish folk and classical music, Turkish belly dancing and Turkish meyhane (tavern) style entertainment among the young modern urbanites. These trends all seem to have appeared during the late 1990's. In

the same period, the shopping practices of urban Turkish consumers have been greatly affected by the emergence of the shopping mall, which, to a large degree, has replaced street shopping with visits to covered, luxurious and pompous malls.

This thesis explores the revived coffeehouse and the modern shopping mall, which have become very popular commercial and social institutions for young modern Turkish consumers. Both spaces have traditional and historical predecessors in the Ottoman past. The shopping mall might be thought of as a modern "simulation" of the covered bazaars (Kapalicarsi) although it represents modernity, Westernization and development in the Turkish context. The nargile coffeehouse in fact has its very roots from the much-celebrated Ottoman coffeehouse (kahve) and the revived coffeehouse draws from this traditional and Oriental source.

The study is built upon two examples of these consumption spaces in contemporary Turkey: Akmerkez Shopping Mall in Istanbul and Misir Home Food Restaurant (which has become very popular for it's nargile coffeehouse type of service) in Ankara. The marketers of the spaces draw from very different realms: one from the US and the modern, the latter from the Ottoman and the traditional.

The aim of the study is to understand how consumers consume the two spaces, what meanings they draw from and negotiate in these two modern (and Western) forms of traditional consumption spaces. Since social spaces can be regarded as media expressing modernity, traditions, identities and social distinctions through consumption practices, the study can shed further light on the tensions contemporary urban Turkish consumers deal with. The study will thus contribute to understand the

context in which the modern Turkish consumer chooses, consumes and gives meaning to particular consumption practices and social spaces, while producing, negotiating and expressing personal, social and cultural identities.

Chapter II gives a description of the history of coffeehouses and commercial spaces, specifically the Kapalicarsi in the Ottomans. The aim of this historical investigation from secondary sources is to be able to understand the historical context and the cultural significance of the two spaces of consumption. The history of the Kapalicarsi has been given particular attention since it is the most famous and influential bazaar of the Ottomans still operating today. This year it is celebrating its 540th anniversary. The historical investigation will not only describe the social and commercial aspects of Kapalicarsi but also briefly describe the effects of Westernisation movements of both the Ottomans and the Republic of Turkey on the formation and transformation of shopping spaces. A historical account of the coffeehouses of the Ottomans follows, once again depicting the transformations they have gone through to the present day.

The theoretical issues of the study involve diverse topics, namely; consumption, traditions, modernity and social spaces. Chapter III, first describes the transformations that the Turkish society went through during the reforms of the establishment of the Republic. Later on, the Chapter describes the changes in consumption patterns during the economic liberalisation of the 1980s until today. This description is further followed by a discussion on traditions, modernity and the stances on their co-existence. The last section of this chapter details the theoretical

discussions on how today we can maintain senses and simulations of traditions through consumption practices.

Chapter IV discusses how social spaces become spaces consumed and spaces for consumption. In social spaces of consumption, we consume not only goods and services, but also sociality, the ambience and, in a more abstract sense, consumer ideologies. The chapter describes how consumers can also express social distinctions, construct, negotiate and communicate identities and produce meanings of their consumption practices in these spaces.

Chapter V explains the study on the modern shopping mall and revived coffeehouse to identify how marketers produce meanings and communicate them to the consumers and how, in return, consumers decode these messages and negotiate and produce their own meanings and consumption practices. The method applied in this study is a qualitative approach to studying consumption and marketing. An "ethnography of marketing" and "market-oriented ethnography" (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994) has been employed as methods of investigation of the two social spaces and the marketers as well as the consumers. The meanings given to these experiences of living the modern, Western as well as the traditional, and the Oriental can shed light to how the consumers today negotiate identities, traditions, modernity and culture through their consumption. The last chapter discusses the implications of the research and analysis.

CHAPTER II

II. HISTORY OF COFFEEHOUSES AND COMMERCIAL SPACES

The "cultural biography" of a space can be examined by considering the space as a "culturally constructed entity, endowed with culturally specific meanings and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories" (Kopytoff, 1986: 68). Spaces carry meanings dependent on their perceived and accumulated histories and "cultural biographies" often in the form of myths as well as personal stories in the minds of the consumers.

To be able to analyse the consumption in and of both the shopping mall and the revived coffeehouse and interpret meanings given to consuming these two spaces, there is first a need to describe the histories of the two social consumption spaces in the Turkish context. The historical investigation presented in this chapter, not only describes the social and commercial aspects of the spaces but also the effects of Westernisation movements of both the Ottomans and the Republic of Turkey.

II.1.History of the Coffeehouse in Istanbul

Before Istanbul, the coffeehouse experienced great popularity in Cairo in the early 16th century especially among the medrese students and middle class inhabitants of the city (Isin, 2001:16). After Sultan Selim I got hold of Cairo in 1517, Istanbul soon started being influenced by the culture of this metropolis. The history of the Turkish coffeehouse in the Ottoman capital is said to have started when two merchants called Hakem from Alleppo and Sems from Damascus introduced the first of these establishments in Tahtakale, a business district of Istanbul in 1554-1555 (Isin, 2001; Evren, 1996).

Coffeehouses as new social spaces were not uniform and proliferated in great variety to suit the tastes of different social classes, ethnic and religious minorities, professions and styles. Specialised according to customer profiles: "esnaf" (tradesmen), "yeniceri" (Janissary soldiers), "semai" (music), 'tiryaki' (addict), "meddah" (storyteller), "asik" (folk poet), "esrarkes" (drug users) and "imaret" (hospice) and "mahalle" (neighbourhood) coffeehouses emerged (Evren, 1996). Isin (2001:31) on the other hand, divides the coffeehouses into two broad categories: the neighbourhood coffeehouse and the guild coffeehouse. The minority or ethnic coffeehouses (Georgeon, 1999:55) in the late 19th century, were places where immigrants from Caucasia, Balkans, Russia, Iran, Kazan and Kirim as well as the ethnic and religious minorities of Istanbul like the Armenians, Christians and Jewish could gather.

II.1.1. The Social Significance of Coffeehouses

Before the great proliferation of coffeehouses in Istanbul, the primary social spaces have been claimed merely to be the house, the shop and the mosque of the 16th Century Ottoman city (Evren, 1996). Desmet-Gregoire (1999) mentions that coffeehouses were initially located next to the mosque and this was very important for the acceptance and approval of the new tradition. According to Sevengil (1985), the great demand and interest for coffee and coffeehouses had been a consequence of the strict prohibitions implemented on alcohol consumption and 'meyhane's (tavern) often owned by non-Muslims. The existence of coffeehouses provided the Muslim population with another place to gather in the social space. Another explanation of the fast proliferation of the coffeehouse in the Ottoman capital is attributed to the structure of the homes which in turn calls the coffeehouse "an extension of the house" providing men a space for socialisation, communication, entertainment and pleasure (Georgeon, 1999). Many homes would lack a "selamlik" (men's quarter) - except for the affluent homes- and when visitors arrived since men and women could not sit together, women would stay at home and men would have to go out. Another consequence of such a gender division in the home thus required men to have another public space besides the mosque and the shops. Men would attend coffeehouses with their home garment "entaris" and behave in these public spaces as in the convenience and comfort of their homes. The coffeehouse of the Ottomans has been a space and medium for "male socialisation" (Desmet-Gregoire, 1999:20).

Women on the other hand were mostly excluded from the public life until the middle of the 19th century, but had the hamam as the primary public space for socialisation

(Kilic, 199: 360). They could also go to cemeteries (to picnic there as well as for visits), their parents' homes, less frequently shop or just wander around but always in the presence of servants, other women or children. It is almost clear that the coffeehouse was a strictly male dominated space and women could not enter.

The coffeehouse and especially coffee had religious associations when it first entered Istanbul since this consumption practice had first started among the Muslims in Mecca and was greatly popular among the dervishes and followers of religious sects before it trickled down to the public (Isin, 2001). Surprisingly, during the course of the popularity of the coffeehouses, many times religious excuses were used to cover up for the actual reason to ban coffeehouses; which was the political threat encountered due to the nature of being spaces of communication and socialisation among the public. The greatest prohibition on coffeehouses, coffee and tobacco consumption was during Murad IV's reign. During this ban alternative spaces started proliferating for gathering. Thus, in fact the tradition never really ceased during the prohibition and as soon as the Sultan died it lost its effect. Still, the ban was replaced by continuous surveillance of coffeehouses so as to avoid political dangers and threats evolving in these spaces (Isin, 2001: 29). Besides the political threat that resulted due to the medium provided for political talk and debate in the coffeehouse, there was also a religious threat. The religious figures quickly realised the declining power of the once most powerful social integrator, communicator, controller and motivator 'the mosque' (Hattox, 1988).

Saracgil (1999:35) describes the socialisation process in the coffeehouse, where social differences are abandoned for a time and anyone could join the company of

anyone else without permission or invitation. She also refers to the disturbance created by the disappearance of the social distinctions in the coffeehouse. "The popularity was so high within all classes of the society that the ulema (scholars) started claiming that coffeehouses were centres of sinful activity and that it would be even better to go to a meyhane" (Saracgil, 1999:35). Yet Hattox (1988: 94) refutes this homogeneity claim and states:

> From the assumption that all classes went to coffeehouses it does not of necessity follow that all social classes went to the same coffeehouse, or that the coffeehouse was in any way a place where social betters and inferiors mingled, where urbanites from different quarters associated.

Chess and backgammon were the popular games of the 16th and 17th century in neighbourhood coffeehouses as well as reading (Georgeon, 1999; Isin, 2001). Especially in the last decades of the 19th century, the "Kiraathane" (reading house) entered the coffeehouse scene in Istanbul and gained popularity. Besides these social functions, the coffeehouse served to warm up its clientele in the winter with its stove in the middle of the room.

The coffeehouse was clearly visible from the street where people could "see and be seen" (Isin, 2001). Inside the coffeehouse one corner was reserved for the hearth the coffee was prepared and opposite it the "bassedir" that distinguished ones would be seated to generate the "cultural output" of the coffeehouse (Isin, 2001:32). At the beginning of the 19th century in the neighbourhood coffeehouses tallies were kept on the walls for the regulars whereas the non-regulars would have to pay their bills in cash (Georgeon, 1999:47). In the rural coffeehouses on the other hand, payment was done once a year in total at harvest time. The coffeehouses would open in the morning, be full only in the afternoon and wouldn't get empty before the night

prayer. Referring to the account of a traveller, Georgeon (1999) states that as a customer enters and sits down, the waiter brings a nargile, a cup of coffee and a glass of water without taking orders from the customer.

Not only coffee but sweet beverages, lemonade, syrup, brewed drinks as well as candies, Turkish delight and jams were served (Georgeon, 1999: 47; Isin, 2001). Besides, for the enthusiasts, nargile would be present in coffeehouses. According to a variety of sources, nargile originated first either in India or Iran and its history in Istanbul started during the reign of Murad IV between 1623-1640 (Bozyigit, 1994; Evren, 1996). The real nargile addicts followed a ritual in the coffeehouse as Bozyigit (1994) describes: starting by cleaning the glass or crystal pot to lighting the nargile all by the smoker himself in the coffeehouse instead of the waiters. Adjusting the coal on the tobacco with a pincer is a pleasure for the nargile smoker according to Bozyigit. The best performance can be attained from oak coal and the rule is to sit at a corner while smoking. The waiter serving the nargile, is metaphorically called "Ayse", to represent the good quality of service a woman can handle. These rules of the nargile add up to a very popular saying: "masa" (pincer), "mese" (oak), "kose" (corner), "ayse". Manners prohibited to light a cigarette from the nargile since it would ruin the coal that burns the tobacco (Evren, 1996). Since cigarettes had become popular among the Turks during the First World War this should be a more recent code of behaviour. The nargile was popular among women as well (Evren, 1996), but almost all sources have shown women smoking nargile at home or the hamam. Tea, on the other hand, became a new popular drink with the Iranians and Shiite Azerbaijanis and especially the Russian and Balkanese refugees moving to Istanbul during the last decades of the 19th century, bringing with them the

"semaver" (samovar) brewing method (Georgeon, 1999:57). These minorities opened their own tea houses and gardens around the city, making popular a new ritual, the "5 o'clock tea", among the more genteel of its inhabitants. Georgeon (1999) stresses the reason for the widespread popularity of tea across the whole city due to its relative cheapness compared to coffee (a cup of tea was worth only one fourth of the price of a cup of coffee). He claims that the reputation of the new tea houses and gardens "resembling coffeehouses" were in fact better than that of the coffeehouses. But, he (Georgeon, 1999: 58) still mentions that tea couldn't even threaten the status of coffee in the Empire, claiming that coffee was the only "national" thing within the whole Empire.

II.1.2. Modernisation of the Coffeehouse

In the light of all historical accounts of coffee-houses in the Ottoman society mentioned above, these spaces can be seen as realms of male social life, gathering, integration and last but not least the most intensive environment for and facilitator of interaction and communication. Yet the modernisation efforts also influenced the lives of the coffeehouses which represented the way of life of the Ottomans. From the early years of the 20th century until today, Istanbul continues to inhabit a great variety of coffeehouses from neighbourhood and countryside coffeehouses to those resembling the Parisian and Viennese cafes (Georgeon, 1999). Isin (2001:33) claims that the "court driven" modernisation efforts of the Ottomans were resisted especially in coffeehouses representing the "guildsman's ideology" shaped by the middle class values of the city inhabitants. The importance of the guild coffeehouse comes from

the fact that all business related issues and economic discussions were held in these spaces attended by merchants and craftsmen.

Georgeon (1999) describes the transformation of the coffeehouses in decoration stating that during the 19th century tables and chairs and stools took place of "sedir"s (sofa) and "kerevet"s (couch). The new easily mobile furniture further enabled the coffeehouse to extend to the street and they could also be adjusted for audiences for dramas and shows held in the coffeehouses. Now the clientele of the coffeehouse also had direct visual access to the street, could watch what was going on outside, especially upon passerbys and women in veils. The inner decoration changed. Landscape portraits or pictures of celebrities like statesmen, Sultans and admired wrestlers replaced religious objects, pictures and scriptures. Georgeon (1999) states that during the Republic, photographs of heroes of the Independence War would replace these pictures. During the reformations in the Ottoman Empire, the types of coffeehouses also changed. Music started becoming popular as well as folk poetry in coffeehouses. Evren (1996) informs that "alafranga" music had entered the semai coffeehouses during the last decades of the 19th century. Especially after the Crimean War, European cafes started entering the domain of the coffeehouses in Istanbul, all situated in non-Muslim neighbourhoods especially in Istiklal Caddesi. Georgeon (1999) states that these new cafes also influenced the traditional coffeehouse in decoration, style and services. The café earned its popularity especially due to its "modern" image first experienced by those "Young Turks" that could see the Western counterparts of the coffeehouses in European capitals. The women waiters, singers, the clean fresh air, well illumination, the spaciousness, the glamorous service

was compared to the relatively poor service and less staged atmosphere of the coffeehouse by the times' intellectuals.

Georgeon (1999:60) questions the gender discrimination of the coffeehouses especially during the beginning of the 20th century. He refers to an Egyptian feminist visiting Istanbul in 1905 claiming that women could also meet at coffeehouses, but Georgeon cautiously states that most probably these coffeehouses were very special ones at the Bosphorus, if not those for the non-Muslims at Pera, Galata or Bosphorus. He states that in the early years of the Republic, there was an instance when women attempted to go to coffeehouses, but this was made fun of and criticised due to codes of behaviour (Georgeon, 1999:60). Although women were very much entering the public domain starting from the early years of the Republic, they have been and still are excluded from the remains of the tradition such as those of 'neighbourhood coffee-houses'. Moreover, the affluent, modern urbans were excluded (at least voluntarily) from this traditional space although there could be exceptions. Georgeon (1999: 67) states: " in the early years of the Republic, the satire masters who wanted to depict the conservative and reactionary supporters would draw them in old coffeehouses smoking nargile or pipe while cursing and swearing about the Republic". Meanwhile, the link between the neighbourhood coffeehouses and the mosque had an effect on the image of the new café, making it a symbol of modernity.

It could be expected that the economic, social and cultural reforms of the Republic could change the dominance of the coffeehouse tradition since these reforms altered completely the identity of a whole nation from an Oriental one to a Western one. The creation of a nation state required smoothing out the ethnic and religious differences,

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by claiming homogeneity within the identity of the society. Georgeon (1999:55) claims that during the early years of the Republic, Turkish nationalists denied the existence of ethnic establishments such as ethnic coffeehouses. Although ethnic coffeehouses were not welcomed during the establishment of the Republic by some groups as mentioned above, according to Deaver (1995), after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the number of different varieties of coffeehouses did not change that much. The coffeehouse tradition still remained in other diverse forms such as hotel, inn, 'imaret' (hospice), 'kiraathane' (means reading house whereas it is usually called for the neighbourhood coffeehouse), 'workers' and 'village' coffeehouses. Although in practice the tradition prevailed, the people who continued and dominated it's presence is a doubt. Another observation is that, as a great cultural production space of the Ottomans, the coffeehouse had lost its appeal during the Republic period since now the universities, "halkevleri" (public-houses) had taken its place (Georgeon, 1999:80). Besides, the gender discrimination that started disappearing in public life as well as private life at home enabled men and women gather in the same spaces, adding to this decline in popularity. These two points on the continuity of the coffeehouse tradition may seem contradictory at first glance. But, taking into account the transformations in lifestyles of different social classes due to the "Westernisation" project held by the Republic, these two observations may become relevant in and of themselves. Many of the forms of coffeehouses changed or disappeared and transformed into other types of social spaces and different forms emerged like the gazino, the patisserie, the hotel cafes, the kahvehanes, all for different social classes. Even today, there are so many varieties of coffeehouses one can see in just one avenue or street in central Ankara. For example, in Kizilay one can find a "café-bufe", "café-pastane", "kahve-bilardo salonu", "aile cay salonu",

"kiraathane", "kahvehane" or any other combination or appropriation one can think of, all basically serving the same purpose of sociality for different kinds of customers.

Memories of the Republic generation now in their 55-70s, suggest that there were patisseries, hotel cafes, clubs, balls and restaurants that people could socialise in the 60s. In her description of the everyday life of urban Turkish consumers in the 70s, Tunc (2001: 394) mentions that the public space still had its places for males but not for females. Women would typically socialise in the houses whereas men would work in the day and some would go to kahves at night (Tunc, 200: 394). She adds that although women of the middle and upper classes were not expected to go out at night alone, it was fine for them to go to some places with families and patisseries were such places. Meanwhile, during the seventies Nescafe started appearing in upper middle class houses, and in some middle class houses, usually brought from abroad.

> Because there wasn't Neskafe, filter coffee, or aroma coffee those days, the first thing that came into mind was Turkish coffee. But those days it wasn't called Turkish coffee. It was only coffee. When Neskafe entered our lives we started calling it Turkish coffee to be able to distinguish between the types. Turkish coffee was the privilege of the elders. (Tunc, 2001: 311)

Coming to a more recent past, in the 1980s, coffeehouses were still found in urban settings, as well as rural areas and villages. These coffeehouses were neighbourhood gathering sites for men who would pass time, play cards, backgammon, read newspapers, chat, watch TV and drink Turkish coffee and tea. There has been a tendency for urban intellectual young women, mostly university students, to interfere with this gender-based space and appear in those that their male schoolmates

attended to, during the 1990's. Yet this trend did not bring too much of an enthusiasm to change the gender discrimination of this "cultural metaphor" Gannon (1994) uses to describe the Turkish nation.

Since the early 1990's there has been a proliferation of cafés in urban settings especially in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. These cafés although usually physically different from their European counterparts were basically based on Western concepts. Hannerz (1992:225) states that late Western capitalism with its agents of diffusal has "ignored, subverted, and devalued rather than celebrate national boundaries through commodities". It is fair enough to say that the Turkish consumer in these cafés has welcomed this consequence of late Western capitalism at the beginning. Yet, only a couple of years later, emerged a new trend: a revival of Turkish foods and beverages. "Turkish tea", "Turkish coffee" and "manti" for instance were added on the menus of the cafes. Although preserving its existence in rural areas and some touristic as well as local coffeehouses, nargile has gained great popularity during the past few years among the middle and upper middle class youth. One after the other, nargile coffeehouses have opened in Istanbul and Ankara, some five star hotels, keeping up with the trend, started providing the service in a more luxurious and better "staged" context. Young Turkish modern urbans have started to frequent Turkish 'meyhane's (taverns) where Turkish pop and classical music is played that they can belly dance with. These are some of the many instances where there can be seen a return to local tastes, 'ways' and lifestyles next to Western and global styles.

II.2. History of the Kapalicarsi and Other Commercial Spaces

> It is as if the Turks come to this world to shop and then to die. The most frequent things you see in this city are the bazaars and cemeteries scattered all around (stated by traveller Chateaubriand on his visit to Istanbul in 1806, in Birsel, 1983: 55).

This section delves into the history of Kapalicarsi due to its resemblance to today's Akmerkez, in design as well as its social and cultural significance. In addition to the history of Kapalicarsi and its social significance in the Ottoman Istanbul, the transformations of this commercial space during efforts of Westernisation will also be described. The last part of the section will elaborate how Kapalicarsi has evolved into its current structure and how the commercial popularity of the bazaar spread to other districts of Istanbul and other types of shopping centres.

Ozdes (1998) distinguishes between two types of centres for shopping in the Ottomans. One is the "Turkish civilian marketplaces". These markets consisted of rows of ordinary shops found in the centres of all towns and cities. The "Vakfiye" (foundation) builds the second type of carsi on order and finance of the governor or sultan. Besides these two forms of markets, typical to the Turkish city marketplace were the "han"s, "arasta"s and "bedesten"s (Cezar, 1983). The Cevahir Bedesten built in 1454 by the order of Fatih Sultan Mehmet to generate financial resources for the Ayasofya Mosque was the foundation on which the Grand Bazaar expanded around (Gulersoy, 1994: 422). After the 1701 fire, the Grand Bazaar was reconstructed and covered to become the Kapalicarsi (Cezar, 1983). Bedestens were originally called for a section of the bazaar dedicated for cloth shops, being the liveliest section of the bazaars since cloths were one of the most attracting items sold.

Later on, in the bedesten typically the exchange of other valuables like jewellery, gold and money took place.

II.2.1.Kapalicarsi

The covered bazaar contained social institutions other than those related to commerce. These were the communal bath, a mosque, mescids, fountains, a school, and a number of warehouses, coffeehouses and restaurants (McCarthy, 1997:254; Cezar, 1983). In fact, this seems a little inconsistent with the claim of Gulersoy (1980: 36) that there was no restaurant profession in the Ottomans. The only examples of restaurants were either appealing to bachelors with simple, one two course meals or those specialised restaurants offering dishes and deserts like milk and pudding creams, kebabs in very small scales. The professionals of the covered bazaar would eat their food that they brought from home with the exception of a pudding kiosk and a pavilion that served kebab, pudding and coffee within the bazaar (Gulersoy, 1980: 36).

Apart from the two Bedestens (Cevahir and Sandal) inside, Kapalicarsi had become irregular in shape and not geometric or symmetric compared to European shopping centres due to the many restorations it went through after fires and earthquakes (Gulersoy, 1994: 425-426). This is in fact, an architectural characteristic of an eastern carsi, in which the time's requirements and events influence progression and expansion in design.

The carsi had no lighting system and relied on natural sun light for illumination that came from the small windows on the half cylindrical roofs (Gulersoy, 1994: 425). This kind of lighting method prevented the risk of fire arising from lanterns, and the operating hours were already restricted to daylight hours for religious reasons. The ventilation system on the other hand also depended on these windows on the high roofs and required for the population of the time that would keep the carsi cool in the summer and mild in the winter (Gulersoy, 1994).

A characteristic of the spatial organisation of the Kapalicarsi was that each particular section of the building was devoted to a single trade. Diversification of products and ownership of multiple stores in different trades were so strictly banned that even a merchant could not transfer to or enter another trade. This principle of organisation reflects the guild system according to which the commercial activity of the bazaar operated, aiming to provide "price uniformity and control" (Gulersoy, 1980:23). With this strictly obeyed principle, as price competition seems to be irrelevant for the Kapalicarsi stores, so is the existence of bargaining which has ironically been commonly stated as one of the defining properties of the Middle Eastern market place culture in the past and present. Historical accounts differ on the bargaining process in Kapalicarsi. There are claims that bargaining was "especially unwelcome and considered rude for the Muslim merchants" (Gulersoy, 1994: 429) contrary to other claims (Mantran, 1991; Evren and Girgin, 1997) that bargaining was a "ritual" inevitable in shopping for the 16th and 17th century shoppers of Istanbul.

Owning or renting a shop in the bazaar required considerable affluence since the rents were particularly high in this space, where transactions for leases and sales of

stores were held through middlemen in charge of each trade street (Gulersoy, 1980).

It was required that the merchants entering and trading in the bedestens possess a

very good trade record (Oztuna, 1986). The merchants of the Bazaar were known for

the quality of products they sold. There were strict ethical codes guiding the

marketing of products in the bazaar. There were no name plates nor shop signs in the

stores of Kapalicarsi (Gulersoy, 1980). The absence of these visual marketing

communications in the Covered Bazaar reflected the Eastern philosophy, which

demanded the modesty of the merchant, considering shameful any effort to attract the

attention of the customers by the means other than the product itself. "The modesty

of the artist, who was never satisfied with his own work, even prevented him from

putting his name on his work and signing it" (Gulersoy, 1980: 19).

Besides its other functions, the guilds also acted like a social security organisation,

tackling all economic and social problems of Kapalicarsi merchants.

> The guilds used to have different responsibilities varying from giving credit for
> new business ventures, giving food during Ramadan and other religious
> holidays, meeting sickness and health expenses, paying the wages of the guards
> and fire brigades of the Great Market, to even giving daily charity to the
> passing beggars. (Gulersoy, 1980: 31)

These activities required substantial financial resources that would flow from

donations and foundations as well as sources obtained from merchants of the bazaar.

In addition to these functions of the guilds, the security and administration (such as

the approval of new coming merchants etc.) of the bazaar was also an important

activity handled by the guild executive board (Gulersoy, 1980).

Security was one of the acclaimed aspect of Kapalicarsi. Besides immense trade activity that required the transportation, storage, display and exchange of valuable products, one of the most important functions of the bazaar was the function of safe keeping of money, gold and jewellery. "The Market meant a circle which the trades needed at all times and which maintained the medium of security. Therefore it had a placid, conservative and static social structure" (Gulersoy, 1980: 43). Besides security, the cleanliness of the covered bazaars were very crucial to the order of the marketplace.

Until the most recent restorations of the carsi, there were no shops but shelf-like stores lined up on the Kapalicarsi streets. In front of these stores there would be couches so that storeowners and even women customers could sit (Gulersoy, 1980, 1994). The goods were displayed on the shelves on the wall behind the couches, sometimes in glass displays put in front of these walls. The products rather than the style of display and decoration made the glamour of the products become more visible in a minimal decoration. Especially the textiles would be hung over the walls, functioning as space of storage, display as well as an inevitable decoration for the carsi itself. The signage, display material and decoration in the carsi was low key, and the place relied on the presentation of products themselves for its sensual (visual and other senses) appeal.

According to Mantran (1991) a typical activity of an Istanbul inhabitant of the 16th and 17th centuries who were to spare time, would be wandering around Kapalicarsi and its Bedestens to gaze through products. This visit would involve searching and browsing for more or less luxurious and extraordinary products whereas for everyday

shopping, the neighbourhood bazaars held on certain days of the week would be preferred.

As mentioned in the coffeehouses section, women's existence in the public space is a problematic issue for the Ottomans. There were numerous laws prohibiting women's public appearance in the 18th and 19th centuries, yet these impositions however strict they were did not survive too long in practice (Kilic, 1994). The social space that women were most free was the hamam and was a strictly gender divided space. Apart from the hamam, until the 19th century, the home was the place for women and everyday shopping would be held by servants and for those who did not possess the financial resources to have servants there were mobile sellers that they could buy from (Kilic, 1994). Still Kilic (1994: 361) mentions that after the mid 19th century, laws were stressing the fact that women were not to enter shops and order their needs and wants from outside the shops. But there is conflict in evidence on the access and presence of women in the carsi. "The Bazaar was the only place where especially the ladies could be seen" (Gulersoy, 1980: 53). Although Gulersoy (1980) does not give account of which period this fact was due, the appearance of women in the bazaar could be proven by a number of sources on Kapalicarsi. One reason for the display of goods on shelves instead of larger inner stores in Kapalicarsi was the fact that it enabled women to freely shop out in the open without entering the disclosed area of a shop. The second indication would be the enforcement of strict laws especially at the end of the 19th century to restrict women's access and entry to Kapalicarsi besides other public domains. It might be suggested that, women's presence triggered the need to announce further laws to restrict women from the bazaar. Meanwhile, despite these strict rules there are numerous observations made by foreign travellers of the

time in Istanbul that women even appeared in the streets without the company of their husbands or children. (Evren and Girgin, 1997) All these accounts could be the very reason for the stricter rules imposed on women, probably seen to become too free in public presence, thus had to be controlled. Edmondo de Amicis's visit to Istanbul in fact coincides with a law enacted to ban women from going outside after the street lights have been put on (Kilic, 1994: 361).

Evren and Girgin (1997) referring to travellers' accounts state that women were only apparent at the buying but not selling side of shopping with the exception of "bohcaci" (peddlers) that are of elder age.

Gulersoy (1980: 52) says "Istanbul passes through the Bazaar" and mentions that numerous travellers in the past have also observed this fact. The heterogeneity of the customers in class, ethnicity and religion seemed to surprise many foreign observers of the time. The market was even open to access for vehicles and animals for transportation until the motorcar entered the lives of the inhabitants. Cezar (1983) claims that the social life of a Turkish city was mostly "introvert", where women would not be seen public but that this "introversion was lessened" greatly by the bazaar. He points out that the ethic differentiation within the city did not remain in the bazaar, nor did age and religious differences. Although he does not mention gender issues within the bazaar, he does claim that heterogeneity was achieved within the bazaar in ethnic and religious terms and that these places were spaces for friendship and harmonious relationships for distinct people from different cultures. So, it could be said that the bazaars of the Ottoman cities were places where

discrimination was overcome to a certain extent. Cezar (1983) also mentions that non-Muslims could establish businesses in the bedestens of the Ottoman bazaars.

II.2.2.Effects of Modernisation on Kapalicarsi

Towards the end of the 19th century and especially in the Mesrutiyet (Constitutional) Period during which western style shops in Beyoglu started gaining reputation, the glamour of Kapalicarsi started fading out as Ottoman hand made crafts and products seemed to loose their popularity in favour of the Western goods arriving to the capital city (Gulersoy, 1980).

After the big 1894 earthquake, the total area of the carsi had been reduced during the restorations, to exclude some of the trades. "The two year restoration that rescued the carsi also changed the shop mix and the classical identity" Gulersoy (1994: 423) states and attributes this as the decline of the carsi due to the Western influence during the restoration. As new, glamorous, modern and western style shops started proliferating in particularly the Beyoglu district and started competition, the cupboard style cells were covered with window displays transforming the old system into rows of stores (Gulersoy, 1980, 1994: 428).

The indispensable rule for locating one trade at each street started to loosen after the 1894 restorations that reduced the area of Kapalicarsi (Gulersoy, 1994). As industrialising Western countries started producing cheaper products in greater quantities, the Empire started becoming an important market. At the end of the 19th

century the handicrafts and products of the Ottomans could not compete with Western products that entered the market free of custom taxes and duties, a waiver extended to the Western countries in return for huge sums of borrowing to be used for the increasing demands of a politically and economically destitute Empire (Gulersoy, 1980: 30). Thus, the domestic industry collapsed and the effects had been huge for especially the Covered bazaar. The guild system was finally abolished in 1913 that led the merchants to form their own association for the administrative issues at the Carsi. Today, there are a number of different associations because the first association did not succeed in attracting all shop owners as members (Gulersoy, 1994: 429).

As imported products started dominating the bazaar, Gulersoy (1980) states that these goods were handled and traded in the bazaar usually by the minority groups due to their language skills that helped communication with the Western exporters and "the new pro-active forms of attracting customers started appearing like cheering out and approaching to shoppers as well as bargaining." (Gulersoy, 1980:19)

II.2.3. The Kapalicarsi and Other Commercial Spaces during the Republic

At the end of the 20th century, the Kapalicarsi continued to be the reflection of the economic and social situation of the city and now the products sold in the carsi had been reduced from hundreds of lines only to a dozen (Gulersoy, 1994: 430). The touristic goods are one of the limited numbers of product lines sold inside and most

important of the trades remaining in the contemporary Kapalicarsi is the processing and trade of gold as well as trade of foreign exchange, shares and bonds.

From the end of the 19th century onwards to the 1950s, Beyoglu had become the most popular place for the modern and chic stores to be opened (Dunden Bugune Istanbul Ansiklopedisi: 476). The area lost its popularity in the 60s when Osmanbey and Sisli than later on Nisantasi became popular. As the city expanded towards Levent-Ayazaga, the most popular and developed shopping centres started evolving around Etiler-Levent. On the other hand, the popularity of the passages and stores in Kadikoy started declining as first Bahariye-Moda and later on Bagdat Caddesi started gaining importance at the Anatolian side.

The latest development in the shopping scenes of many big cities as well as Istanbul has been the proliferation of shopping malls. In Istanbul, the shopping mall era starts with Atakoy Galleria, which opened in 1988. Later on other malls followed Galleria during the course of the 90s, like Akmerkez, Olivium, Mayadrom, Atrium, Capitol, Carrousel, Mass, Profilo and Polcenter.

Although the effects of the Westernisation efforts on coffeehouses and commercial spaces have been outlined above still there is need to clarify the general effects of these efforts on the society, lifestyles and consumption in Turkey. Hence the next chapter on debates on traditions and modernity will first delve into these general effects of the modernisation and the Westernisation reforms during the establishment of the Republic and later on the economic liberalisation efforts during the 1980s.

CHAPTER III

III. TRADITIONS AND MODERNITY

"Traditions are…the unfounded life's dream of foundations…postmodernity being the renowned slaughterhouse of totalities, tradition is the talk of the postmodern town" (Bauman, 1996: 50).

There seems to be a revival of traditional practices in everyday leisure activities among the Turkish urban and modern young consumers. Whether it is the new nargile coffeehouse trend, drinking Turkish coffee in popular cafes, or entertainment in meyhanes (taverns), it is always the case that these are new fashions and new patterns of consumption, not practices learnt from elders or parents. Tradition becomes a problematic definition for these activities, since at least in the life span of these consumers, there has not been a continuation of these consumption practices since the establishment of the Republic. Shopping malls, which have become symbols of Westernisation and modernity, are also relatively new forms of social spaces for these consumers, although they have predecessors in Turkish history such as the Kapalicarsi, described in the previous chapter. Considering the cultural, social and historical

particularities of the Turkish context, we should first be looking at how Turkish modernisation shaped and structured consumption practices and its tensions with traditions.

III.1. The Turkish Modernity and Modern Consumer Culture

Campbell (1987: 37) claims that the consumer revolution in the English society which became explicit in new forms of hedonistic consumption ironically came about from the Puritan culture that forbids and rejects excess and idleness. Campbell resolves this contradiction by claiming that it was not the emulation of the aristocracy by the Puritan middle class but that the whole "bourgeois consumer ethic" was the medium, which enabled the revolution (1987: 35).

To understand the deeper meanings of consumption in the Turkish context we can not rely on this Western theory of the consumer revolution. Campbell (1987: 39) referring to Simmel, states that the difference between the traditional and the modern consumer is that the former sees the new as the one to be refrained from, the evil. In fact, the contrary has been the case for the modern consumer of the emerging Turkish Republic, with the forces of the reformations, the traditional and the old have become the evil and the one to be refrained from. The modernisation efforts of the newly established Turkish Republic had the ultimate goal to transform into a Western society and to forget the Eastern identity it once possessed (Gole, 2000). The new, constructed "consumption ethic" of the Turkish society after the establishment of the Republic would condemn

almost all rituals of consumption involving those habits of the Ottomans as nearly sinful (Ustuner, Ger and Holt, 2000).

For Gole (2000: 127) the most striking aspect of the effects of Westernisation on the Turkish society is the reshaping of lifestyles rather than the political and economic transformations. Reforms ranging from clothing, calenders, language, entertainment, settlements to civil life all guided the new way of life for the once Ottomans and now the Turks (Belk and Ger, 1994). Although the transformation into a Western society remained only at a surface level and imitative (Robins, 1996: 67), the planned shift in identity was a struggle to leave behind the Oriental identity and form a modern one based on myths and stories of the Turkish existence before the Ottoman Empire.

Meanwhile, with the establishment of the Republic, not only a national identity was constructed that aimed to inhabit Western lifestyles, but also gender identities were restructured, giving women great emphasis in these reformations. Gole (2000:130) states that the Republic reformations constructed a Turkish woman stereotype, as free from the limitations imposed by Islam and devoid of Ottoman links but who would not "fall into the coquetry of Istanbul women".

Abolishing the differentiation of gender and liberalisation of women was the most difficult task tackled by the reformers. Women now had to appear in the public space next to men. Gole (1997: 66) describes the public areas such as "tea salons, dinners, balls and streets" in the early years of the Republic as the activities and spaces where the

co-existence of men and women were intentionally depicted even to an extent superficial and forced (Gole, 2000). Although there had been a movement for "freedom and equality" for women in the Ottomans starting in the middle of the 19th century (Davaz-Mardin, 2000: 453) this remained only to prove a minor effect. But for the reformations of the new state, Turkish woman had become "the hero of the Republic" (Gole, 2000: 128).

Gole (2000: 128) stresses that such an appraisal results from the reformations that changed the lifestyles of a society depended on the public appearance of women. In a Muslim society it is the women's existence is what shapes the organisation of the public space and once this criteria for organisation has been abolished as a "political project", the whole lifestyle of a society can be transformed into a modern one (Gole, 2000: 129). The reason for liberalising women was not an expression of respect for the human rights of a neglected portion of the population, but was one to prevent women from being ignorant and unproductive mothers of a nation formed with the aims of modernity (Kandiyoti, 1997:97; Ozbay, 1990:129).

The appearance in public space is not the only benefit of equalising and giving freedom to women. One important aspect was that now women could enter the production domain and earn an income to contribute to the welfare of the household. Kandiyoti (1997: 48) mentions that women's existence in the workforce, although minimal compared to men, changed the structure and processes within the family as well as the changing role and power in consumption and leisure time.

Although the reforms had a great and enduring impact on women in the society compared to the Ottoman times, it could not really succeed in developing a uniform, Western lifestyle for the society, at least as in the form it had planned. "The Ottoman Empire had been characterised by a spirit of cosmopolitanism; by ethnic, linguistic and religious mixture and interchange. The Turkish state that emerged out of its collapse was fundamentally opposed to such pluralism of identity" (Robins, 1996: 69).

The early politicians and intellectuals of the Republic frequently went under strain to associate the once "Turkish" pre-Islamic way of life to a modern one in many aspects of social life. Yet, all these struggles of the reformers who did not take into account "the actuality of popular culture and popular aspirations" (Robins, 1996: 70) could not produce a homogenised society that started with the concept of "citizenship" in accordance with Western tastes and styles.

After the immense migrations to Istanbul during the 50s, the once glorified Anatolia showed a different face, the Oriental, in the form of the Islamic on one side and the arabesque on the other (Gole, 2000: 131). As for Robins (1996: 72) this is "the return of" those repressed by the modernity and westernisation project. As consequences of the repression, the revival of an interest in the Ottoman past or Islam and even ethnic claims, are neither a "breakdown of modernity" nor a return to traditions and religion as usually interpreted by Westerns. Instead, they are all claims to suppressed identities (Robins, 1996: 72). The Ottoman identity was well forgotten but a Western identity not so well constructed in reality probably due to the fact that Serif Mardin refers to, as cited in

Robins (1996: 67), that it was "too shallow and lacking in aesthetic richness to take". But the major revival started to be felt in great pressure well after the 1980s. The centralised sovereignty of the state in factors of production shaped consumption significantly, starting with the establishment of the Republic until the economic liberalisation of the 1980s (Belk and Ger, 1994). The export oriented liberalisation movement of the 1980s also opened the Turkish market for imported products. Consumption patterns changed a great deal as foreign images and products entered the domains of the Turkish consumers. The market forces rather than the state production now shaped consumption and urban modern consumers became largely under the influence of Western consumption patterns. It is interesting how Belk and Ger (1994: 139) describe how Western consumer products such as a sneaker brought from Europe had become almost sacred for a youngster before the economic liberalisation of the 80s, when imports were restricted. One of the first major reappearances of the Oriental, the "repressed" was in the early 1990s when the first private television channels, pushing the limits of the state television, broadcasted the forbidden belly dancers and arabesque singers on TV. During the course of the 90s, Turkish pop music started developing, opening way to a great popularity of clubs and discos that would play Turkish music instead of foreign pop music. As Belk and Ger (1994: 142) describe the consumption of the 1990s "in contrast to the traditionally authoritarian control of the family, school, work organisation, and the state, there is perceived freedom in consumption". Now in the wake of the 21st century, especially urban Turkish consumers are experiencing consumption practices that have links to the past, to the Oriental and the Ottoman as well as the Islamic.

Gole (2000: 132) mentions that these revivals as well as the Islamist claims in modern spaces and the arabesque culture mingling with the modern Istanbul are all "claims of expression of the Turkish society that wants to live a modernity while making peace with its past...When it comes to the urban elites, although they are in contradiction with the Islamist and arabesque culture, they too have become part of this new cultural climate with their *"nostalgic"* tendencies".

Another interpretation comes from Kasaba (1998: 13) who states that the society of the 80s had started to question the endless promises of modernisation the state could not keep and started reconsidering its "history, past institutions, beliefs, identity and culture" which in turn affected the lifestyles of the individuals.

In the light of the above assumptions of such revivals, there is one more aspect that has not been considered to understand the tendencies; traditions. In the following sections I will analyse how traditions are defined, the tensions between modernity and traditions and how traditions can be consumed.

III.2. Tradition

At first glance, the essence of tradition is its durability and consistency. With its very nature, it should not be negotiated, altered or questioned.

The functions of traditions could bring more light into the meaning they transfer to the individual and the society. While defining tradition, Thompson (1996: 91) firstly divides it into four functions namely: "hermeneutic", "normative", "legitimation" and "identity".

The first of these functions provide the individual to view and understand the world from the "looking glass" of the inherited, the transmitted beliefs and attitudes. As this "looking glass" can be transmitted, it can also be formed and reshaped by the society, leading to a new tradition like the case of the Enlightenment which brought with a new tradition of philosophy and science (Thompson, 1996). Though, Giddens (1994) seems to be opposed to the changing character of traditions, or customs. He states that as soon as the meaning is changed the local customs become "relics" or "habits" (1994: 101). To accept this we have to also accept that traditions and customs have a static nature. Yet, this would in fact be contradictory to Giddens' acceptance of the "invented" nature of all traditions following Hobsbawm. As he further states, to be invented there has to be something new in the nature of these traditions. Thus at this point, it seems appropriate to give back their status as traditions, instead of calling these new forms relics or habits since these activities also serve to provide a meaning and the mentioned utilities.

The second of the functions of traditions serve to guide and direct the actions and behaviours of individuals within a society, those ways of practices and beliefs that are not actually questioned and have become "routinized-…with relatively little reflection on why they are being done in that way " (Thompson, 1996: 92).

> Tradition, I shall say, is bound up with memory, specifically what Maurice Halbwach's terms "collective memory"; involves ritual; is connected with what I

shall call a *formulaic notion of truth*; has 'guardians'; and, unlike custom, has binding force which has a combined moral and emotional content. (Giddens, 1994: 63)

The "usually unquestioned norms that guide our behaviour" or the "formulaic notion of truth" within the society, would yet again be too strict an attribution to make for attending a nargile coffeehouse or wandering in a shopping mall. Yet, there seems to be certain unwritten rules of access, control mechanisms and claimed authority inherent in these "quasi-public spaces" that both come from the "collective memory", as well as those rules being questioned and altered, reflecting the changing social realities of the times. Still, it should be made clear that these everyday, routinized, mundane leisure activities that seem to be "traditionally grounded" actually can not be strictly said to be "traditions" in and of themselves. One has to be very careful in using the term "tradition" while explaining such experiences. Still, these activities are in fact consumption rituals in which the consumers partake, and are being influenced by the past and the history, the "collective memory" or the "cultural repertoire". Thus, we should look at the tensions between traditions and modernity, to be clearer whether traditions exist in the ever-changing structures and context of modernity (or even postmodernity) in the first place.

3.Detraditionalization versus Coexistence of Modernity and Traditions

As cultures and the structures of the society changes, customs and conventions seem to be changing. Thus, the norms of the society in which we live in undergoes a continuous

construction, shaping and transformation. The question is that does this suggest an abandonment of the tradition as a whole in a modern, urban society?

In the modern society, traditions and their symbolic material have become detached from the social sphere and the local yet this does not mean that traditions live nowhere or anywhere, they just are "re-embedded in new contexts" (Thompson, 1996: 94)

Thompson (1996) argues that modernity and tradition have more than a simple contrast which one dismisses the other. He states that there has been a shift in the nature and role of traditions, not a total abandonment of them. The weakening of the normative and legitimation functions of tradition are accompanied by a trend in individuals to refer to more "mediated" and "de-localised" traditions to be used as tools to understand the world and "create a sense of belonging" (Thompson, 1996: 94). This return suggests a shift in the role of traditions in the modern society rather than a total dismissal of them. This statement supports the idea that shopping practices in malls and attending nargile coffeehouses can be traced to their roots to traditions.

As for Heelas (1996: 2), detraditionalization involves a "decline of the belief in pre-given or natural order of things" where the authority is given more to the individual. There are two stances on this subject. The first one is the "radical thesis" which claims an "engineered detraditionalization" of the Enlightenment period that traditions have almost become extinct (Heelas, 1996). The radical thesis on detraditionalization claims

that this process is an individualistic one rather than one coming from socialisation since now the individual relies on internal rather than external sources of authority.

The second point of view claims that although some traditions have become extinct, some other traditions are being "maintained, rejuvenated and constructed" which has been called the "coexistence thesis" (Heelas, 1996). This second thesis has been supported by Heelas (1996: 9) who says "our voices of authority might appear to come from within ourselves, but have been acquired in terms of established values and practices."

This seems to stand with the philosophy of Berger and Luckmann (1991[1966]) claiming that reality is socially created. Although we might have freedom in choices as consumers and as individuals in the society, what we choose and what we believe in will be constructed by those realities. As Arnould and Price (2000) mention, consumers in fact use authenticating acts and create and script authoritative performances drawing from the traditions that they believe are traditions.

Accounting to the second point of view on modernity and traditions which is the "coexistence" stance, for example Luke (1996: 117) states that it would be fallacy to divide distinct categories of traditionality and modernity; the former from the past and constant and the latter the present and changing. It is possible that while experiencing a modern life we can also be living the traditional.

In summary, "traditions and modernity constantly coexist in the modernity of traditions and the traditions of modernity" (Luke, 1996: 117). Luke states that consumerism has also created its tradition although it is a modernist phenomenon by giving the example of the several generations of people yearning and fantasising for consumer goods. For Luke (1996: 119), commonalities and traits in "sky-scraper designs, traffic systems, family-meal recipes…and watching Casablanca- to mention only a handful- that now tie three or more generations into cohesive communities of continuity" are traditions themselves but not customs.

The question that arises here is that there are some forms of traditional practices that have been dismissed and now being remembered. There is a gap in practising these rituals between generations which Luke (1996) does not come up with. This gap in practising tradition explains why it is a revival, but not a continuation of traditions.

It would be wrong to assume that the revival or survival of tradition is a resistance against modernisation since there is still more than that a role tradition plays in the modern society (Thompson, 1996). The revival is the relocation of practices from the "particular locales" into the realm of our everyday lives, which Thompson (1996: 100) calls borrowing from Eric Hobsbawm, the "invention of tradition".

The "quest for traditions" stems especially from the migrants in Western countries of the moderns times, trying to attach themselves to the "real or imagined" place of origin (Thompson, 1996: 105). The categorisation of "migrants" can be broadened. Today

many of the urban, modern consumers living in the global marketplace are in fact migrant consumers or migrants of consumption since there are so many varieties to choose from with the proliferation of so many new consumption alternatives. Locality no longer seems to play vital influence since you can find many products of many cultures from nearly all around the world especially in modern urban settings. Thus, these consumers are constantly travelling in and between different localities in their everyday leisure experiences.

Bauman (1996: 53) employs the metaphor of the tourist to explain the postmodern experience, experiencing the "stranges" of the "Other". Being a tourist is being able to choose the space to be experienced and the freedom to give meaning to the space of the "Other". Being a tourist is also a temporal experience, lasting only across the duration of the visit. The experience involves the exotic "others" food, history, locations and rituals. These are all pleasures that can be achieved by a tourist that pays for visiting a location. But, being a tourist is not limited to travelling and being on holiday. In the postmodern age, every individual should continuously be on holiday, a tourist for a successful and enjoyable living. What else comes into mind is that the postmodern identity can be achieved by becoming a tourist without changing location, by merely experiencing the "exotic Others" of the past, the forgotten tradition. As we experience the pleasures of other cultures like the Chinese cuisine, the French café, the American Big Mac or the Italian espresso, we might as well choose from a variety of pleasures from the past long forgotten like smoking nargile in a revived coffeehouse. We can both shop at different centres giving different experiences to us like the corridors of Akmerkez, Beyoglu

passages and Kapalicarsi. In this sense, we become tourists travelling in time, making choices of our own. As Giddens (1994: 75) states, we are obliged to make choices in everyday activities in the "post-traditional" structure we live in.

Seeing the revived spaces and consumption practices as traditional, there is thus another debate we have to consider; whether tradition remains tradition once it has been reflected upon. In a world of never-ending choices, revived traditions seem to remain as one of the choices that we pick from. On the contrary, traditional would be traditional if only it is not a choice but an unquestioned practice. Until now, it was easier and less risky to say that the revived consumption practices are claims of traditions. Yet, as we see these acts as choices the consumers make, we have to step back and think that "the paradox of tradition is that once it is spoken the tradition is no more what its spokesmen claim it to be" (Bauman, 1996: 49). Once tradition has been spoken of, it becomes a declaration of choice and loyalty, "a choice among choices and a loyalty among loyalties". Similarly, Thompson (1996: 90) states that as traditions are once questioned they lose their "status as unquestioned truths".

Then now, is it appropriate to call a revived space or consumption practice a tradition being revitalised or just another choice that we select to consume? Would it be that simple not to call these consumption activities not traditions simply that they have become choices? The answer should lie beneath the reason consumers and marketers start choosing from traditions in the first place, when there are so many alternatives

available in the marketplace and how they reflect upon this choice themselves. Several accounts of these reasons will be discussed in the next section.

III.4. Consuming Traditions

Baudrillard (1999 [1970]: 99) defines cultural consumption as "the time and place of the caricatural resurrection, the parodic evocation of what already no longer exists-of what is not so much "consumed" as "consummated" (completed, past, gone)". He states that this is not simply nostalgia and refers to the glorification of things once lived and now extinct. The examples he gives are childhood made sacred after children have become nothing but children, or the dissolution of families and the consequent glorification of the family institution which reminds an example from a recent debate on an advertisement of festive candies in Turkey. As tradition calls for, it is customary to visit elders during religious holidays whereas in the modern Turkish society this custom seems to be fading away due to changing interests like going on holiday or staying home to rest etc. Yet, the TV commercial depicting an elderly couple waiting to be visited and in sorrow due to being neglected have caused great discussion and support from this same segment of the society. Some have stated that these traditions are being forgotten and that this ad actually serves a good purpose to remind us of our customs and traditions.

Baudrillard refers to these "recycled" and glorified events and consumption patterns as not natural, real or original but a "simulation" of the original (1999 [1970]: 101). This

"simulation" seems to resemble McCracken's (1988a) definition of the "displaced meaning". Both are intentionally re-contextualised to perform a pleasure, to suit the conditions of the consumer's preference and state of being. Displaced meaning is "…a cultural meaning that has deliberately been removed from everyday life of a community and relocated in a distant cultural domain" (McCracken, 1988a: 104). The consumption that we realise with displaced meaning should have in fact a motive underlying it.

Arnould and Price (2000: 141) give evidence from their empirical studies that many consumers use authenticating acts and authoritative performances as tools to "restore a sense of community, tradition, and self". They assume that globalisation, deterritorialisation and hyperreality affect the identity construction in the postmodern age. "Authenticating acts are self-referential behaviours actors feel reveal or produce the "true" self. Authoritative performances are collective displays aimed at inventing or refashioning cultural traditions." (Arnould and Price, 2000: 140)

Authenticating acts and authoritative performances come as reactions and resistance towards these "conditions" of the postmodern identity construction. In this identity construction, authenticity of an act is determined upon the belief of the individual him/herself, whether it is real or not. Meanwhile, authoritative performances are given thought on and "scripted, stylised, rehearsed" as well as being ritualised and "deeply played" traditions. "To the extent that these contemporary authoritative performances sustain elements of extrinsic traditionality, they hold out the promise of community revival, and re-centering of meaning and self-identity" (Arnould and Price, 2000: 151).

Authoritative performances are reactions towards deterritorialisation that eliminates the boundaries of space and time, thus bonding the self-identity with a past and a more foreseeable future by "reinventing traditions".

This was a vision from the Western consumer and its interpretation. On the other hand, returning back to the context of my research, some insights from the research held in developing countries in general and Turkey in specific would suggest another point of view.

Ger (1997) claims that traditional goods are being refrained from in modernising and developing societies, in the sense that they are seen to represent the past that these societies try to forget. But consumption practices drawing from traditions these days can represent a different significance today in Turkey. Ustuner, Ger and Holt (2000: 209) analysed the recently emerging "new urban ritual", the henna night in Turkey, "to understand how modern consumer lifestyles are expressed through seemingly traditional cultural resources." This is another study on authoritative performances but with the authors' perspectives, these performances are argued to be "agents of change forging new social boundaries, rather than conservative gatekeepers of social continuity" (Ustuner, Ger and Holt, 2000: 209). The henna-night ritual displayed in the study is more of a staged and "imagined authentic" ritual that brings together the modern Turkish identity and the "imagined traditional Turkishness" (Ustuner, Ger and Holt, 2000: 212), involving constant struggles between secularism versus religion and urban versus the rural. They have observed that the "younger modern urbans" were much easier with the

struggles and plays with these dichotomies compared to their elders due to the fact that they felt much more "secure in their claims to modern middle class life". They also mention other recent cases where reframed traditions have been staged like "authentic" weddings, recreation of historical sites, the demand for Ottoman antiques, etc. They theorise that these interests in the old or the authentic can be a source to be drawn from among others in the process of negotiating modern identities. This "authoritative performance" can not be a resistance to the West as the participants also have other Western rituals and consumption of the West in their lives. They also refrain from calling this performance as a manifestation of returning to roots as the aim and symbolism of this tradition has been changed and even neglected in the new version. It is argued that, this reframed ritual displays identity negotiations held by the consumers, between the poles of secularism versus religion and urban versus rural, taking the debates on "centre/periphery" tensions to a broader view that involves internal tensions arising in the local. The henna-night is referred to a "new old" rather than a return to the original, in which "the foreign can be a forgotten old ("our past") or a threatening present" (Ustuner, Ger and Holt, 2000: 213).

Gole (2000) gives an example of this recent struggle between the religious-secular, urban-rural and modern-traditional poles with the metaphor "Istanbul's Revenge". She claims that the Turkish society is changing its skin and all social classes within the society interpret and transform traditions within their own perspectives (Gole, 2000: 132). Istanbul is one of the frontiers of this society with its Islamists, nationalists, migrating Anatolians (rural urbans), urban elites etc. She states that although the urban

elitists are in conflict with the Islamists and the rural urbanite "arabesk" culture, they also tend to start affiliating with the past, traditions and the Ottoman as well as the ancient Anatolian culture in a more "nostalgic" move. In conclusion she claims that "an 'a la Turca' modernism is creating its own appearance" (Gole, 2000: 133).

The revival and consumption of traditions or cultural products are not particular to Turkey. There are several accounts that have observed this trend worldwide. Ger and Csaba (2000) for example state that there is a recent interest in the "authentic" and "exotic" objects within today's global marketplace that exhibits global brands and products. They add: "If modernity is felt as lost authenticity and as 'pure products going crazy' (Clifford 1988: 4), "traditional" "pure" products of the Other are sought to supply what is missing in modern life." (Ger and Csaba, 2000: 132)

The "missing" part can only be understood by learning what experiences, feelings and thoughts these "traditional" products and activities give to the consumer, thus by learning the meanings they bring out from their consumption of traditions. The importance of "meaning" compared with the occurrence of the actual performance of this consumption can best be seen by the following discussion by Bouchet (1999). Bouchet (1999) also writes about how the "old" and "traditional" has become "in" these days. He mentions an instance when some marketing people define the trend by giving the example of young people getting married in churches where brides are "even" dressed in white. Bouchet rejects this claim made by the marketing professionals and suggests that the bride of the present trend has little in common with her grandmother in

the sense that the ritual and its processes are under the control of the participant rather than the norms of the traditions itself. Thus once again here, the authority of the tradition is passed on to the performer. "Her wedding has more in common with going to the disco and a self arranged adventure trip or survival exercise than weddings of the past. At that time, one was just expected to turn up. It is something one has to do, not something to play with" (Bouchet, 1999: 2).

It is essential to see how the tradition and its processes work within the life of the consumer, how meaning is associated to the activity, rather than just looking at what have been emerging from the past, the traditions. Thus, in the next chapter I will discuss how consumers consume in social spaces and the consumption spaces themselves, what they consume in these social spaces and how they construct meaning to these consumption activities.

CHAPTER IV

IV. SPACES OF CONSUMPTION AND CONSUMPTION OF SPACES

In Chapter III, the debate on the tension between modernity and traditions has been summarised. One point of view suggests that traditions and modernity exist together or that modernity creates its own traditions, while the other extreme is ready to pronounce the death of traditions by forces of modernity. This former view would see traditions loosing their essences at the moment their meanings have been altered. Lash and Urry (1994) on the other hand, refute this point and state that, modernism strengthened with capitalism does not necessarily "evacuate" (Giddens, 1994) meanings and bring homogenisation. With modernity a whole new set of processes enable "the recasting of meaning in work and leisure, for the reconstitution of community and the particular, for the reconstruction of a transmogrified subjectivity, and for heterogenisation and complexity of space and everyday life" (Lash and Urry, 1994: 3).

Indeed today, spaces and everyday life are comprised of complex structures, inhabiting a large variety and heterogeneous forms and meanings. There is a great deal of different options from which we can choose in leisure activities in social spaces. The meanings we associate with these activities, although modern institutions and vehicles have made them seem homogeneous, are actually rather heterogeneous. The city offers endless sources and destinations of consumption. In the contemporary Turkish context, which this thesis focuses on, the café and the shopping mall are quasi-public spaces and key hubs of social interaction, as well as destinations of consumption especially in Ankara and Istanbul. As the city provides ample consumption spaces so does it stand as a hub for producing meaning of consumption.

Besides consumption of products and services, spaces provide social interaction between the sellers, service providers and consumers, as well as between the consumers, service providers and sellers themselves (Miller et al., 1998). Social consumption spaces provide medium for exchange, consummation, social interaction, as well as consumption and negotiation of concepts such as time, identity and meaning. Also, as Urry (1995) states the consumption of spaces is often "visual". There is the "gaze" (Lash and Urry, 1994) and the "flaneur" (Benjamin, 1973) experience in consuming spaces, where consumers can see and be seen. Consumption spaces also are medium for emotional experiences where the atmosphere, the ambience can be consumed as well as consumer dreams, desires, ideologies and identities. Hence, shopping malls and revived coffeehouses, like similar social spaces become spaces consumed while they perform as spaces of consumption.

Economic theory and even mainstream marketing regards consumption as the "act of using goods and services to satisfy needs and wants" (Lipsey, Steiner and Douglas, 1987:4; Kotler, 1997:9). During the past century numerous scholars have argued that microeconomic theory oversimplifies consumption by conceiving it in terms of satisfying physical and biological needs and wants (Kassarjian and Robertson, 1973). Clearly, consumption encompasses a much broader range of cultural, social and psychological processes that the positivist cognitive and behaviourist perspectives have not dealt in depth, due to their ontological, axiological and epistemological assumptions while studying consumption (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988: 509). The positivistic approach aims to "explain" and "predict" the behaviour of the consumer in relation to certain variables instead of investigating to "understand" the "context dependent" nature of consumption which interpretive consumer research attempts to discover.

Thus, to be able to "achieve an understanding" (Denzin, 1984; Hudson and Ozanne, 1988) of the deeper meanings under consuming two culturally specific commercial and social spaces in contemporary urban life, I preferred to establish a theoretical framework from interpretive consumer theory.

Gabriel and Lang (1999[1995]) stress on the complexities in defining and understanding consumers and why they consume. They identify various characteristics and motivations of the consumers defining them as "choosers", "communicators", "explorers", "identity seekers", "victim", "rebels" and so on. The overlapping of these identities and

characteristics are in fact what makes the consumer "unmanageable" although the consumer today is being constantly "over controlled" by marketing forces (Gabriel and Lang, 1999[1995]). The following discussions on how consumption in social spaces and of consuming spaces provide grounds for expressing, negotiating, constructing and restructuring social distinction, social and cultural categories, identities and meanings, will try to illuminate several paths to understand the "unmanageable consumer".

IV.1. Consuming Social Distinctions in Spaces of Consumption

One of the earliest theories of consumption was advanced by 19th century sociologist Thorstein Veblen. Veblen (1994[1899]) claimed that "conspicuous leisure" and "conspicuous consumption" had become the medium where the powerful could display his wealth and status in the traditional society. So, the conspicuous leisure of a person meant that due to his wealth and status he needed not to work, thus had leisure time and the extent and way in which his time was consumed would also depict the extent of his wealth and status. But, since urbanisation worked its forces upon social life, people had become more detached and this led to conspicuous leisure that was not so apparent, thus not distinguishing any more. Conspicuous leisure, Veblen argued, eventually had been replaced by a more evident, enduring and solid manifestation of status, wealth and power: "conspicuous consumption". Similarly, as cited in Storey (1999:39), Simmel (1964) states that the higher social classes used peculiar consumption practices to maintain their distinctiveness from the rest and that the meaning under this sort of consumption was merely to attract attention by doing the unexpected or the extravagant.

Summarily, in the industrialised urban society, conspicuous consumption had become the means to identify social distinction and classes and yet again the extent and form would determine the level in which the consumers stood within.

Similar to Veblen's social theory on consumption, Douglas and Isherwood (1996 [1979]) and Baudrillard (1999 [1970]) state that one function of goods is to form and maintain social relations as well as to structure social relations by making "firm and visible a particular set of judgements in the fluid processes of classifying persons and events" (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996[1979]: 45).

Social spaces can also be seen as the very media to perform these functions of classification and distinction. This differentiation by means of consumption actually is once again obeying to the structure of differences the society forces upon the individual, thus the freedom the consumer experiences in choice is actually an obedience to the code of the society. The contemporary urban consumer in Turkey (especially the middle and upper middle class) seems to be conspicuously consuming both consumption objects and leisure services in the social space. Shopping malls and cafes can be given as the very examples of conspicuous consumption of goods, leisure time and spaces.

Following Veblen and other theoretical accounts mentioned above, it could be argued that depicting status and wealth would be the underlying desire to consume for the urban consumers of shopping malls and cafes. But, there should be more to expressing social distinctions or social categories such as age, gender and ethnicity. We have to be aware

that these broad social categories are not enough to categorise and reflect upon consumption and that the answer should be inherent in the meaning these consumers attribute to their conspicuous consumption and leisure. This is the exact question that this thesis seeks to find an answer. Thus, it is essential to delve into what role identity plays in consumption and how consumption affects the identity of the consumer and then look at how meaning is negotiated and produced through consumption.

IV.2. Consuming Identities in Spaces of Consumption

Culture and society determine our identities at the individual as well as the collective level and consumption is one important factor that structures and shapes our identities. The whole notion of identity is to mark the difference among individuals, so the principle of differentiation aspect of consumer products could well be suited to identity seeking objectives of the consumer. Berger and Luckmann (1991 [1966]: 194) state that identity is not stable, it will be formed, "maintained, modified and reshaped by social relations" and in return the identities constructed and sustained will eventually shape the social relations. Giddens (1991: 74) giving an account of the medieval Europe states that identities were "relatively fixed" according to broad social categories and that "self" identity has been a concern of modernity where the individual has started questioning, shaping and reflecting upon. For Gabriel and Lang (1999 [1995]: 91) "identity-seeking" is a central activity for consumers who are characterised by an "obsession with brands, the willingness to read stories into impersonal products, the fascination with difference, the preoccupation with signs, and above all the fetishism of images". For the post-

modern consumer on the other hand, Bocock (1993) states that consumption is no more for identity construction but for pleasure, excitement and more emotional experiences:

> Style, enjoyment, excitement, escape from boredom at work or at play, being attractive to self and others, these become central life- concerns, and affect patterns of consumption in post-modernity, rather than copying the ways of living and consumption patterns of "superior" social status group. (Bocock, 1993: 87).

There are two criticisms to be made here. Firstly, this theory seems to reveal a new set of motivations behind consumption: to escape from boredom, experience a particular style, to have fun and endless other objectives on the surface. This seems at first glance, quite different from the differentiating function of consumption and leisure that Veblen had claimed. But isolating consumption activities to mere emotional experiences and disassociating them from identity seeking and expressing motives clearly neglects the social environment the consumer lives in and its necessities. Secondly, it seems to be liberalising the consumer from the "transfer of meanings" by the marketing forces, fashion and advertising industries that McCracken (1988a) holds them responsible for. The questions here are: what is boring, interesting or fun, what is desirable or attractive and who determines the criteria for these attributes or who guides the consumer? And are consumers free to determine meaning independent from channels of transfer of meaning (McCracken, 1988a) like the service providers and the mall management or from the "symbolic boundaries" that we consume in accordance with and the cultural, social and historical accumulation we possess (Holt, 1997)?

The question amounts to why we seek identities through consumption and how consumption provides us with identities. Belk (1988) claims that the possessions of the

consumer become extensions of the body and mind to define the self. The enduring characteristic of possessions helps us in "expressing identities, seeking happiness, reminding experiences, accomplishments and other people in our lives, and even creating a sense of immortality after death" (Belk, 1988:160). Another aspect of consumption is that physically consuming something will become a "proof" of an experience, in anthropological terms, is the proof of experiencing, living, sustaining or reshaping the culture (Douglas and Isherwood 1996[1979]).

As body parts enable us to live along our lives and fulfil our physical, social and cultural needs and desires, social consumption spaces are also our "self extensions" (Belk, 1988), instruments and media that help us fulfil physical, social and cultural needs. "We may summarise the major categories of extended self as body, internal processes, ideas, and experiences, and those persons, places, and things to which one feels attached. Of these categories, the last three appear to be the most clearly extended" (Belk, 1988: 141). Thus, we might extend Belk's concepts of the extended self beyond physical objects to the consumers relations with people and places.

Spaces can also be "literally" consumed and they can be linked to consumption of "identities" (Urry, 1995: 2). The immediate consumption of services like going to coffeehouses and shopping malls can be seen somewhat different from possessing a commodity. When you acquire and possess a commodity it endures and stays within the environment of the consumer, being attached as if it was part of a body. Meanwhile, services, although intangible in nature, have "tangible evidences" (Bitner, 1992 as cited

in Sherry, 1998: 8) that can be experienced by consumers. For social spaces, one proof of the experience is to see and be seen as the "flaneur's" experience (Benjamin, 1973). For example, Akmerkez or a revived coffeehouse can be the very media for this encounter. Although the experiences that we live in social spaces do not provide with solid and enduring "proofs", accounting for these consumption activities also are the narratives we construct to identify ourselves.

As Miller et al. (1998: 7) state, places and spaces are central to identity construction. The neighbourhood we live in can suggest our ethnic, religious as well as economic background so can the style of furnishing might be used to judge our identity (personality, education, social class, taste) and classify us by adjectives like modern, conservative, traditional, authentic, experimental (Bourdieu, 1984). In the same way, the leisure spaces in which we spend our time can communicate a lot about who we are and what we would like to be (Sherry, 1998). While consuming objects and products we also consume the spaces of consumption to construct an identity or in accordance of the identity we assume for ourselves. For instance, the destinations the consumers choose to travel to might express their identity as explorative, mystical, adventurous when they prefer to visit places like New Guinea to see "remote tribes", to Tibet for "spiritual" experience and Africa for a "safari" trip. Meanwhile, the nightclubs one prefers to attend could also suggest social, cultural as well as economic capital of the individual (Bourdieu, 1984). Private spaces like the home turns out to be social spaces as they perform the function of expressing self and identity through the display of cherished and inherited objects (Arnould, Price and Curasi, 1999). Though still, the quasi-public space

seems to provide more opportunities to expressing identities and the self as desired by the consumer, in the sense that it enables visibility and degrees of accessibility (Arendt, 1958).

Neighbourhood coffeehouses, which are commonly called "kiraathane" or "kahve" today in Turkey, are highly gendered spaces that also imply a kind of social class distinction. Men of middle or lower middle class are mostly attributed to be among the customers and frequenters of these places. They also have "rural" or "regional" connotations as they are very common in villages and that some kahves are named for Anatolian cities (like Rize Kahvesi or Corumlular Kahvesi) and particular for their fellow-townsmen.

The shopping malls that have proliferated in Turkey are also another form of social spaces that can define identity in some senses. For example, the newly constructed Zeytinburnu Olivium referred to as "The Modern Bazaar" by Tempo magazine (March-April 2001) is often said to be the mall for the squatter neighbourhood, whereas Akmerkez is mostly represented as the place for the high society in the media. In contrast, some weekly bazaars like "Persembe Pazari" selling cheap branded export leftovers with minor defects have been informally named as the "Sosyete Pazari-High Society Bazaar" (Sabah, February 2000). Cindoglu and Durakbasa (forthcoming) state that the shopping malls of the 90s in Turkey provide a space for the construction of a "distinct taste for the upper class and socialisation into the urban culture especially for the youth from lower classes. The social atmosphere in these malls both reflect the

fluidity of a postmodern consumption culture and the structural inequalities of class and gender."

Not only consumers express identities in social spaces, so do service providers, marketers and even brands that claim identity according to the space they belong to or are displayed. The reputation of a brand name in the clothing industry could well be affected by its presence in a reputable mall like Akmerkez. For instance, Cemalletin Sarar, owner of Sarar men's wear chain, explained in an interview held during the economic crisis by Selale Kadak (Sabah, 2001), the reason for opening up a store in Akmerkez as: " to prove our prestige and quality".

Miller et al. (1998) suggest that in order to analyse identity in consumption and shopping we should investigate the reflections, negotiations and productions of identity by the consumer while shopping instead of drawing identities from their consumption styles. Shields (1992) on the other hand states that consumption sites such as the shopping mall, are spaces for demonstrating and experimenting the multiplicity of identities of the postmodern consumer. Miller et al. (1998: 185-187) object to the contention that plural or "multivocal" identities are inherent in the consumer and the view that sees "consumption as a hedonistic pursuit of a virtually limitless range of lifestyles". Instead they assert that through consumption and shopping in shopping malls in particular "consumers are involved in a creative reworking of gender, ethnicity, class and place". Thus, the choices of consuming in particular places are not just dependent on their inherent identities but in fact, their identities are "discovered and redefined" in the

consumption of these spaces. Cindoglu and Durakbasa (forthcoming) give an example where "the shop assistant of a small shop has been transformed into sales-person in the shopping mall with a relatively gender and class neutral identity" that best describes Miller et al.'s (1998) contention.

Still, when we think with the "object signification approach" that Holt (1997) categorises (as for instance, McCracken's stand in the issue), we might assume that going to Akmerkez for shopping would inevitably attach us with the Western, global identity that has been put on to the mall by the marketing industry. For the revived coffeehouses on the other hand, we might suggest that, consuming these constructed spaces to revive traditions, could give us an identity of a conservative, traditional, even oriental consumer. Yet, taking into consideration Holt's (1997) reservations for such an analysis that will be discussed in the next section, we may rethink that consuming Akmerkez or revived coffeehouses can be lived in quite different ways by the consumers and thus, given different meanings and attaching different identities.

To sum up, both forms of consumption (the mall and the revived coffeehouse) involve in many cases, constructing and displaying identities which brings with a social exchange of information about the self. This is why I find the social consumption spaces a very appropriate area to study consumption and its role in identity construction and thus, the meaning consumers give to "traditional" as well as "modern" forms of consumption.

IV.3. Producing and Consuming Meanings in Spaces of Consumption

Sherry (1998: 4) claims that "place is by nature culture, gender, and class-bound in its manifestations". Thus, although the Turkish context has witnessed a great inflow of Western and global trends in shopping and leisure time forms, like the proliferation of shopping malls and cafes, cultural and social specificities are inherent in these spaces. Meanings are also bound to the culture and social structure in which these consumption spaces serve. Campbell (1987) suggests that to understand the underlying forces behind consumption, it is best to look at the culture itself, when and where consumption takes place instead of theorising and relying upon "universal" principals. "Consumption is the very arena in which culture is fought over and licked into shape" and commodities "are needed to make visible and stable the categories of culture" (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996[1979]: 37-38). We have to keep in mind that the meanings generated from consuming two modern and western spaces and the localities within these spaces, can only be understood by looking at the context, first of all which is the culture it is consumed in. This claim suggests that although relatively global spaces, consumed by many different societies in the world, the meanings drawn from these consumption spaces will inevitably differ in different cultural contexts.

Spaces like the shopping mall or the cafe have become places specially designed and constructed for consumption (Urry, 1995). Consumption can be regarded as a "ritual process" through which we give meaning in an "intelligible universe" that we ourselves have constructed by the goods we have chosen (McCracken, 1988a; Douglas and

Isherwood, 1996[1979]). Similarly places we go, spend time and consume can also reflect the meaning we give to the spaces and how we identify them. Miller et al. (1998) asserts that consumption or the purchase of a commodity is just one of the processes and ends to the shopping experience. Sales can be realised through a series of interconnected processes of "production, distribution and marketing" as well as the social interaction at the point of purchase followed by a "translation" of meaning of the product or service by the end consumer (Miller et al., 1998: 14).

Yet, one can not assume that social spaces are totally dependent on the freedom of the consumer or the marketer. In fact they are shaped and designed as well as orchestrated taking into consideration the prevalent social structure of the society. They are not "free" spaces that anyone can do anything they like. They have norms and regulations. Consumption of objects and spaces can manifest cultural "boundaries", norms and structures of the society as well as the fact that they can be reshaped and reconstructed by consumption (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996[1979]: 49). As Sanders (1985) points out, the "publicness" of this space is questionable since not all people are welcome. These social spaces are designed and "manipulated" by the marketing forces to serve the consumer's needs and desires taking into account the cultural and social norms and manipulating them for the convenience of women. Malls indeed are "controlled environments" (Ritzer, 1993) that "simulate public spaces" meanwhile regulating the "movement of people, display of commodities, and range of activities" (Sandikci and Holt, 1998: 309). A similar form of control could also be found in the Kapalicarsi from the very beginning of its operation in the middle of the 15th century. Although Cindoglu

and Durakbasa (forthcoming) state that the carsi has been a "masculine domain especially in traditional settings" specifically in the supply side, the designs of the stores in Kapalicarsi reflect the intention to liberalise and incorporate women in this space. The fact that wandering around the bazaar has been one of the few leisure activities of the Ottoman women in public suggests that this activity has been done in a particularly controlled and "safe" environment in the Kapalicarsi. Women were ordered by law during the second half of the 19th century to ask for their needs from outside the stores on the streets. Whereas in Kapalicarsi because the space was designed accordingly, there was no need to "enter" a store in the first place since there was no such thing as a store. Another extreme can be observed more recently in Saudi Arabia. The recent great popularity of shopping malls provides a unique social space in which men and women can appear together. Although raising oppositions, these shopping malls incorporate the musts of design and orchestration of the experience in a culturally appropriated way; the security patrolling to ensure virtuous behaviour (non-behaviour in fact) among women and men, the segregated seating areas in the food court, the store designs (separate fitting rooms) etc. (Sachs, 2000).

Despite the fact that shopping malls and revived coffeehouses are controlled public spaces, consumption of products, services as well as the experiences in these spaces are not totally dictated by the management or marketers nor the culture and social structure. Indeed consumers have their own particular ways to consuming the spaces. As Sandikci and Holt (1998: 308) claim, every user of the shopping mall "produce their own way of consuming the mall". The shopping mall and the revived coffeehouse are both "spaces

of representation" and "representations of space" and involve "spatial practices" in line with Lefebvre's theoretical constructs on spaces (cited in Urry, 1995: 25 and Csaba, 1998: 156). The spatial practice is the "unreflected, the bodily, active perception of" (Csaba, 1998: 156) experiencing the social space whereby "representations of space" are interpretations communicated by powers of knowledge and expertise, in this case by the developers and managers of the malls and revived coffeehouses as well as any ideological context providers. "Representational spaces" are the "lived" experiences of the consumers of the spaces whether their "representations" are coded in line to what has been communicated to them. Sandikci and Holt (1998: 310) mention how the "representation of spaces" are appropriated and decoded by consumers as teenagers and artists consume the mall as "stages" for their social relationships and artwork and elders for "shelter and indoor exercise area".

A commodity or a space consumed might not just be the utility it performs but the "word, images and symbolic meanings" that constitute its "ingredient" (Campbell, 1987: 48-54). Holt (1997) states that these symbolic meanings are not inherent in the consumption objects but are constructed by the consumers themselves through consumption practices. He builds his argument by rejecting McCracken's (1988a) claim that consumption objects carry fixed cultural meanings attached by the marketing and the fashion system (like advertising professionals and opinion leaders). In fact in McCracken's (1988a: 83-88) argument the consumer is not totally excluded from the production of meaning. The meaning of consumption goods is not only located in the object (in this case can be the spaces of consumption) but also is produced and shaped

by the four broad categories of consumption rituals: exchange, possession, grooming and divestment. Meanwhile, he clearly states the role of the consumer in producing meaning out of consumption by stating that "it is clear that individuals in this culture have an enormous freedom in the meaning they seek to draw from goods" (McCracken, 1988a: 88).

Holt (1997) further argues that meaning formed and continuously negotiated through "consumption practices" are indeed affected on a symbolic level by the social and cultural as well as the historical background of the consumer. Another dimension may be added to McCracken's (1988a) system of transfer of meanings which involves the cultural agents, the fashion system, the advertisers and the producers as well as the consumers themselves. So can spaces produce, shape, and transfer meanings through their experienced and imagined histories as they are reflected upon by consumers.

In summary, meaning flows and is negotiated between the culturally constructed world that involves the marketer, the marketplace and the consumer (Penaloza and Gilly 1999; Penaloza, forthcoming 2001). This claim seems to be more relevant to Holt's (1997) emphasis on the consumer's dominant role in making meaning out of consumption while being influenced by the external factors of the market, society and culture. Both marketers and consumers produce meaning from the culture they live within, which inevitably involves traditions that sustain the cultural meaning of spaces and objects.

The post-structuralist thinking on meaning in consumption assumes that, meaning is "significantly constituted by the ways in which people act in particular social contexts" (Holt, 1997: 328). With this claim in mind, we should be looking at the consumption practices and how these practices are described, reflected upon by the consumers of Akmerkez and the revived coffeehouse. The symbolic meanings of the consumption activities in these spaces can be sought in the details of practices of consuming spaces and consumption in these spaces.

CHAPTER V

V. THE RESEARCH

Until this point, the theoretical discussion has lead to the inevitable conclusion that, to be able to understand how meaning is produced and negotiated through consumption of the two spaces requires an intensive inquiry of the consumer, the marketer and the context of marketplace interaction. This chapter will first explain the methods used to investigate the meanings behind consuming the two spaces and then discuss the findings of the research.

V.1. Methodology

This inquiry will explore two social spaces in contemporary Turkey, the revived coffeehouse and the modern shopping mall. Both are popular places of consumption and leisure and represent important commercial and social institutions in modern Turkish life, but have traditional predecessors, namely the Ottoman coffeehouses and bazaars, respectively. The empirical research investigates how young, modern, urban consumers give meaning to their consumption of and in these two social spaces; or in other words how they use and make sense of them. The ethnographic research

focuses on two research sites, the simulated traditional coffeehouse Misir in Ankara and Turkey's primary fashion mall, Akmerkez in Istanbul.

An ethnographical approach involving participant observation and in-depth interviews were required to be able to understand the meanings under consuming these spaces or in other words the "participants' perspective" (Maxwell, 1996: 17). Meanwhile these methods were applied keeping in mind the implications of another theoretical orientation, symbolic interactionism (Patton, 1990: 75) to better understand the cultural signification of the spaces and consumption we are studying. Moreover, the analysis of these sites involved a historical investigation from secondary sources on consumption of and in both spaces, mostly depending on memoirs from Western travellers and written sources of the Ottomans. These accounts offer us insights that can help to compare past and the present consumption patterns and socio-spatial contexts. They may also be beneficial to understand the cultural sources consumers and marketers draw from for their production and consumption of these spaces.

The research is based upon the ontological position (Guba, 1990) that claims "reality is socially created" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). The meanings discovered with this empirical research is further put into question, analysed and interpreted in the light of relevant and current consumption, social space and tradition theory elaborated in the preceding chapters.

V.2.Methods

Since the consumers under scrutiny are the consumers of the two social spaces that are culturally shaped and consumed, a qualitative study and ethnographical approach has become inevitable and "appropriate" in this research (Patton, 1990, p.39). An approach towards understanding the meanings in these particular leisure events involves the analysis of processes and procedures in the social spaces. These processes and procedures are also culturally and socially constructed. The meanings of these consumption activities are obviously shaped by the marketing strategies as well as consumers themselves. Especially after the 80s, service and product marketers' tools for educating and attracting the consumer have seemed to form the "repertoire" for a consumer culture and become more influential compared to the once influential and many times forced state culture (Belk and Ger, 1994) and their "realities" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) that consumers drew meaning from. Consumers have started making sense of their everyday activities by learning notions and concepts from the marketers instead of the state vision that envisioned a "Western society".

In sum, both the consumption and the production side as well as the marketplace itself seemed relevant in this study on meanings of two consumption activities especially in terms of the understanding in the production, negotiation and consumption of meanings (McCracken 1988; Holt 1997; Belk and Ger 1994; Penaloza forthcoming). With these considerations in mind, a "market-oriented ethnography" as well as an "ethnography of marketing" (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994) have been aimed.

The research conducted in these two specific social consumption spaces were subject to the collection of data from "natural settings" (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). The investigation involves an "unobtrusive and non-manipulative" thus "naturalistic inquiry" (Patton, 1990: 40) to achieve "direct apprehension" by using both methods; participant and non-participant observations and in depth interviews with both consumers and the marketers of the spaces (Lofland and Lofland, 1995: 17). In addition to these research methods, data sources such as visuals, newspapers, magazines and marketing tools like menus and brochures were also included.

V.2.1. Participant Observations and In-depth Interviews

Participant observation and in-depth interviews were combined during the fieldwork, which meant that the informant could account for his or her consumer habits and experiences in situ (in natural setting), and allowed me/the researcher simultaneously to observe non-verbal responses to the environment.

The interviews for the shopping mall were first loosely structured or unstructured (Lofland and Lofland, 1995, McCracken, 1988) according to some pre-theoretical background that this research depends on. On the other hand the interviews for the coffeehouse were even less structured due to the fact that this type of social space has newly entered the realm of leisure especially with its nargile smoking aspect. Hence, the researcher was less accustomed with the situation, less involved and relied more on observational data before further questions could be developed. A couple of the

earlier interviews thus proved to provide fewer data in meaning people give to these activities. Yet most of the detailed and more informative forms of questions have been raised as the number of informants interviewed have increased since the information has been "systematically analysed" and fitted within the inquiry as more data has been collected (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). The sites of research expanded to other nargile coffeehouses during the researcher's acculturation with this leisure activity. The in-depth interviews that involved participant observation were all (with the exception of three interviews) held in the spaces of consumption, both Akmerkez and Misir. Collier and Collier (1996 [1986]: 105) mention that photographs can be used as "communication bridges", as projective tools during interviewing to explore the realities of the issue under scrutiny as the informants start describe what really is in the picture from their own perspective. Similarly, the spaces became tools for projection where memories and feelings could be recollected, experiences lived on time, meanings elaborated and verbal accounts proved or denied. Many of the accounts would come out as informants passed by specific stores, corners or types of people they would see in the mall. The decoration of Misir and the consumers inside also provided significant projective accounts on symbolic associations with the space. During interviews in Akmerkez, some informants were totally confident that they knew all the locations and routes inside the mall, whereas a number of times we got totally lost and confused. Meanwhile participating in the experience at the site of consumption helped me to recognise the feelings people had while experiencing the nargile, their confusions and struggles in the learning process as well as my own.

Informants were selected through "purposeful/purposive sampling" (Patton, 1990: 169; Berg, 1995: 179) for both spaces according to age categories, gender, usage, familiarity, experiences, geographical proximity (for Akmerkez specifically) with the places, so that the accounts of the actual users could be generated with the research.

I applied a snow balling technique to find informants. In all the interviews held in the consumption spaces, I met with my informants before entering the spaces. I have refrained from doing in-depth interviews in both Akmerkez and Misir by approaching them during their visits. Thus, I have not faced the difficulty to attain responses that Sandikci and Holt (1998) have experienced in their research on consumption practices in Nittany Mall in Pennsylvania, where they were able to recruit only one of every fifteen shoppers they asked to participate. Still, I have also encountered difficulties in finding informants to participate especially those living in the Anatolian side of Istanbul due to traffic constraints. People were especially concerned with wasting so much time in traffic let alone the research itself in the mall that took about two hours. Yet, even this rejection brought some insight on how consumers of this mall from different areas of the city plan their visits, when and how they use the mall for their convenience. Another difficulty I confronted was to get any informants from lower middle and middle class shoppers and visitors of the mall which would have proved beneficial for this research so as to get a wider perspective of the meanings and processes involved in consuming the space. Sandikci and Holt's approach would have been very beneficial to get responses from these consumers as I did not have any opportunity to have personal contacts with this particular group. As Csaba (1999: 167) states malls are places that can be defined between public and private, a distinction very vague, where there are certain rules

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and procedures that keep the researcher from extensive freedom. Accordingly, this time the mall management's warning became an obstacle to approach these consumers. Thus, in most of my observations I tried to become more cautious of how lower middle and middle class shoppers use the mall.

V.2.1.1. Informants

11 in-depth interviews with consumers were conducted in Akmerkez, while strolling around the mall, sometimes shopping, looking around, eating at the food court and resting in the cafes inside the mall. These trips in Akmerkez were guided by the informants themselves who knew I was from Ankara and would typically see themselves more experienced then I was. Thus they were actually able to inform and educate me about the mall as they know it. Most of the informants are from higher middle income levels, well-educated professionals all frequently visiting the mall. One informant was earning relatively less and had a lower education level compared to other informants but still is a "modern" and urban consumer of the mall. The ages of the informants are between 17-40. Two of my informants that are 17 are studying at high school and come from upper-middle income, professional and modern families. Three of the informants were male and the rest were female. All, except one, of the informants live in Istanbul, of whom 3 live in the Anatolian side whereas the rest in the European side particularly near to Akmerkez. The informant, who lives in Ankara, visits Akmerkez on most of her trips to Istanbul where she usually comes to 3 to 5 times a year.

Besides consumers of Akmerkez, 2 in-depth interviews were conducted with the General Manager of the Mall (Zeynep Akdilli) and Public Relations Manager Ulker Melek. Both managers are well-educated modern professional women working dedicatedly for the mall. Zeynep Akdilli was working on the construction of the mall and ended up being the general manager from the very early stages, right after the first General Manager of Akmerkez Ray Johnson leaved office. The issues raised were how the process of the mall were handled, the certain organisations they partake, the relationships with the store owners, customers as well as the local community and municipality.

Meanwhile, 12 interviews were conducted in Misir, while informants (8 females, 4 males) tried, experienced, learned the nargile and experimented it. The informants were between the ages of 22-55, where 7 of them in their twenties, 2 in their thirties, 1 forties and 2 in their fifties. The age groups were intentionally distributed unevenly since the main aim was to find out what those consumers in their 20s felt about this new trend since they were the ones that have seen the café culture emerging at its very beginning and were still involved in this new craze of nargile smoking in cafes. To be able to grasp comparisons of the meanings the new trends could bring with, it seemed logical to interview also those of older ages, especially those who have been brought up more upon the ideals of the Republic and its reforms. This point was strengthened during the course of many of the interviews with younger informants who claimed that it would be odd for their parents (in their 50s) to attend to the nargile smoking coffeehouse. The words and feelings of the older people themselves could describe the best this perceived oddness.

As in Akmerkez, in-depth interviews were conducted with the managers and owners of Misir several times, with Bulent Yergin, Tayfun Karahoda and Umut Saltik, on how this concept has been realised, formulated and further developed. Many informal communications have been realised with waiters and some other customers, as well as the informant consumers and managers during the course of the study.

V.2.1.2. Sites

Misir Ev Yemekleri (Home Food) is a very popular location for leisure time for the young modern consumers in Ankara. It is the first nargile coffeehouse in the city centre especially catering for the upper middle income and modern consumers in the Kavaklidere district. Misir is operated by the owners of Tadim Pizza, a very popular chain restaurant of the 1980s and 1990s that has expanded greatly to open further restaurants outside Ankara.

In only a month's time after its opening in April 2001, the home food restaurant gained great success in attracting young modern customers after it introduced the nargile. When it first opened, the major revenues were generated from the customers coming from the surrounding offices during lunchtime, but this was not enough to operate. The restaurant did not make much revenues in the afternoon and evenings, worrying the managers a lot. Thus, the idea to introduce nargile emerged to attract more customers during the off peak hours, after employing an exploratory consumer research where they asked potential customers whether they would like nargile being served.

Misir is basically a restaurant serving home meals during the lunchtime until 14.00. Until the lunch shift ends no nargile is served. After 14.00, the space becomes more of a coffeehouse rather than a restaurant, although of course food is served as well. This intention has also been stated during interviews with the management. During numerous observations in varying times of the days and weeks, it has been evident that the majority of younger customers that attend the place during the evenings and nights come here to smoke nargile and drink tea, coffee as well as other beverages not to mention the recently introduced lemonade. During these hours, the restaurant resembles more a coffeehouse than a restaurant and these are the hours that especially my informants attend the space. The managers and waiters give great importance in explaining and educating the customers on how to smoke the nargile, what the manners are in consuming the nargile by personal contact and through informative brochures they put on tables.

The decoration of Misir has been intentionally designed to contain Turkish elements in it, like traditional ceramic tiles on the walls, photographs of coffeehouses of late Ottoman periods where men are depicted smoking nargile. Meanwhile the tables and chairs are wooden and their designs are very common and popular among other cafes. The white curtains are simple and resemble the style of those in the Aegean coast village houses. The floors are covered with brick red ceramic tiles and there are numerous ornaments in Turkish style (not antiques though) on the shelves. There is an antique looking stove in the centre of the interior.

Akmerkez on the other hand, is the "Western" type of shopping experience, has been deeply internalised into the lives of Istanbul inhabitants from diverse socio-economic

backgrounds. It is considered as one of the best examples of the "Western" type shopping mall in Turkey built in the 90s, strengthening its reputation in being internationally acclaimed by winning several prizes from the International Council of Shopping Malls.

Akmerkez is a complex of a four storey shopping mall, 2 office towers of 14 and 17 stories, and a 24 story residential tower all built on a total of 180.000 square meters area (see www.akmerkez.com) that once used to be a public football and sports field (Radikal, 1999). It is situated in Etiler, one of the most prosperous districts of Istanbul.

The management defines Akmerkez as a "high fashion shopping mall" mapping its identity different from those of its competitors in Istanbul like Carrefour, Capitol and Carrousel. Still like these shopping centres, Akmerkez also has shops like Oxxo and Benetton for the middle income customers. A potential competitor is the shopping mall soon to be opened nearby, in Buyukdere Avenue, called Metrocity.

The triangular shaped shopping mall, opened on 18th December 1993 centred between Ulus, Etiler and Levent, several of the most popular and upper and upper middle class business and residential districts. 41 escalators, 2 panoramic escalators and 30 elevators provide access within the mall and the towers of the centre. The mall opens at 10 in the morning and operates till 22.00 in the night 7 days a week. The mall attracts around 2 to 2.5 million people a month -around 80 thousand per weekend day and around 100000 people on religious festive days (Yeni Yuzyil, March 1998)- proud to top the world average of 85 % occupancy and 98 % leasing

ratio. Meanwhile, the shop management claims that the average time spent by visitors of the mall is 3.5 hours, exceeding the 2.5 hours world average. A staff totalling 250 people work for the cleaning, security and technical maintenance of the mall. As stated by the mall management and the web site www.akmerkez.com.tr, the shop mix of the mall has been developed according to "world" standards, although it is apparent that there is evidence of local principles in shop mix design. The stores are totally dependent on the shop mix and design principles of the mall management. The lease contracts are realised for 5-10 years periods. Although 4 years ago a Tenants Association has been established, the mall management states that there is always a conflict within the association and that the management exerts strict authority upon them.

Besides the anchor stores, the mall has 250 shops of offering women, men and children's clothing, shoes, accessories, eyewear, music, consumer electronics, home appliances, white goods, books, magazines, sportswear, rugs, stationery, tobacco, supermarket as well as hairdressing, shoe polishing services, a pet shop, travel agent and exchange office, banks, multiplex movie theatre, 1750 car capacity parking lot and 2 small kiosks selling accessories, souvenirs, chocolates and sweets. There is also an extensive 750 seated food court (see www.ddg-usa.com) that inhabits numerous fast food outlets both foreign and domestic, as well as several cafes that service in their closed area outlets. Besides the food court, there are three more cafes situated within the mall, one is the Homestore Café. The second is Beymen Café and the third is S Café. Besides, in the centre but adjacent to the mall is the Papermoon, a branch of the Milan based Italian restaurant, that was extremely popular among the upper class inhabitants of the city when it first opened. The mall exterior is rather

glamorous, with extensive usage of "polished metal banners, glittering floor-inlaid signage, back-lit channel letters, and a rich palette of violet and turquoise hues" (www.ddg-usa.com). The glitter of the exterior is also apparent in the interior design with stainless steel columns and Italian marble floor coverings.

The mall's catchment areas are primarily Levent, Etiler, Buyukdere Caddesi, the Bosphorous area and Bebek. The secondary catchment area is defined to be Sisli, Maslak, Istinye and Yenikoy, whereas the third area covers a wider span of Bahcesehir, Florya, the Anatolian side, Kanlica and Beylerbeyi.

So far, Akmerkez has been awarded several times by the International Council of Shopping Centers: as Best Shopping Centre in Europe in 1995, Best Shopping Centre in the World in 1996 and lastly the Europe Marketing Award in 2001 for its exterior displays. It is claimed that Akmerkez is the only shopping mall to have been awarded the former two awards simultaneously in the world.

The three partners of the mall are well known Turkish business enterprises: Tekfen, Dinckok and Dogu-Bati Holdings. General Manager Akdilli states that Tekfen Group was responsible for the construction, Dogu-Bati of purchasing and Dinckok group for marketing and leasing transactions.

The mall during the last economic crisis has been very much affected. The press has given great attention to the rental prices that doubled in a month's time since the leases are based on a US dollar basis. It has been claimed that 12 stores had to close down during this crisis when the monthly rental of a 50 square meter shop raised to

9.5 billion TL (Sabah, April 2001). It is stated that the lease revenues of Akmerkez amounts to 180 million US Dollars a year (Star, April 2001) and that the management negotiated the rentals after the crisis to avoid more stores closing down.

V.2.2. Non-Participant Observations and Visuals

The distinction between participant and non-participant observation comes from the fact that the researcher here has not been in direct interaction with those consumers being investigated. Thus although the observation involves the participation of the activity of the researcher still there were no accounts from the consumers.

Besides the two anchor spaces of consumption of this research, Akmerkez and Misir, I also observed the more traditional forms of the spaces which were Kapalicarsi, Erzurumlular Kahvesi, Corlulu Ali Pasa Nargile Coffeehouses in Istanbul, Ozgen Teahouse in Genclik Parki and a neighbourhood coffeehouse called Anadolu Kahvesi in Ankara. During the course of the research, especially through in-depth interviews with Akmerkez customers and nargile enthusiasts, the "mythical" originals have been highlighted. Thus, it was valuable to observe these spaces a couple of times to be able to understand the differences and similarities with the spaces of concern.

Meanwhile, I have made extensive use of photography in these social consumption spaces. The naturalistic nature is here what is under stake. The visual tools were utilised so as to depict consumers' gestures, ways and usage of the spaces. Yet, it had to be done without disturbing the natural occurrences. Visuals also help us depict the

proxemics in the process of social interaction as well as the "object-human" involvement, showing the "temporal flow" of the consumption process and the "significant cultural moments" (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994, Collier and Collier, 1986).

In the next section, the analyses and interpretations of data will demonstrate the patterns of meanings of consumption and consumption practices constructed, communicated, negotiated and consumed by both service providers and consumers in Misir and Akmerkez.

V.3. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

V.3.1. Misir Ev Yemekleri: From Promoting the "Turkish Pizza" to the "Revived Coffeehouse".

Misir Ev Yemekleri is a home food restaurant located in Kavaklidere Ankara. Although its history is no more than a couple of months, its owners and managers have more than 15 years of experience in the restaurant business with their great success in expanding a small pizza restaurant into a franchisee business called Tadim Pizza. They had opened another home food restaurant with the same name in the same location before, but they were unable to attract enough customers and were forced to close down. The menu of the first Misir had much variety. They later on initiated another project, which was an Iskender restaurant. But this project also failed. There is a great competition in the area currently, since at least in the same street there is a very famous home meals restaurant called Cicek Lokantasi.

The general manager of Tadim Pizza and owner of Misir Mr. Bulent Yergin claims
that they wanted to return to the roots with this new restaurant:

> We are originally from the Eastern part of Turkey and are devoted to our
> traditions. In this restaurant we aim to keep alive traditions (("gelenekleri
> yasatmak")). From the food and drinks to the nargile.

He adds that the ingredients of the meals prepared in Misir are the best and the most

natural. Manager Mr. Karahoda explains why nargile came into their minds:

> First of all it is from our culture. It comes from the past, continues from the
> past, that gives pleasure to people…Besides, especially in the recent years
> there is a great interest for it among university students and young people,
> those who are within our target market.

Besides this cultural mission, there was another factor that brought nargile into their

minds. The home food restaurant did not attract many customers after the lunch

hours. They had to find something that would attract customers so they thought that

Misir could serve as an "alternative café" in the afternoons. They still serve food all

the day but people can come here to drink coffee, eat cakes and pastries.

They test marketed nargile by just adding it as an item in their menu. In a very short

time, they realised a great interest and demand for the nargile. Mr. Karahoda adds:

> We told the customers that we were testing whether there would be a demand,
> and almost all customers said that they were trying to find somewhere to
> smoke nargile in Ankara but couldn't find any besides the ones in Genclik
> Parki, which they couldn't go, couldn't enter.

I ask them whether it was the university students and young people who wanted the

nargile, since he had already told me that before nargile the main customers were the

professionals coming from the offices nearby. He replied that it was in fact the

Bilkent, ODTU and Baskent University students that were very interested during the

test marketing. He added that as far as he knew nargile was usually seen in coastal

and touristic regions, in Izmir and Istanbul as part of the "nargile operation" for the tourists. "For our own people, there are nargile coffeehouses in Izmir and Istanbul." I asked him why the young people couldn't go and enter Genclik Parki he replied: "They can not feel comfortable there because their cultural level ("kultur seviyeleri"), lifestyles, clothing, music they listen and especially because of the peculiarity of the neighbourhood."

The popularity of nargile coffeehouses among the youth is a new phenomenon for Mr. Karahoda. It is usually the older people who smoke nargile. He explains the new popularity:

> When I think in terms of the business that I am experienced in, the restaurant business, the reason we opened a home food restaurant, why we added nargile, we observed that there is a yearning for the past, a nostalgic feeling in people. Fast food has completed its lifecycle, the McDonalds, Kentuckys, Burger Kings, the fast and ready meals they have completed their lives, at least for a certain age group, still children like them but older than that no, its finished for them. For the age group in university and those have graduated and become professionals, these have nostalgia, they are tired of kebap and pide. Especially the working women they don't have the time to prepare meals of our own culture.

Yet, he was not expecting women to have so much interest in nargile, he confessed. He expresses his surprise that even young women smoke more than young men. He adds:

> I guess there was this desire for nargile in these people but they just waited till somebody brought it up. They were postponing the realisation of that desire just because it was not within easy reach. Somebody will eventually supply that desire. And we started serving nargile, and that's it, the desire fulfilled.

They were in fact expecting more elderly people, who already had smoked nargile as customers although they knew that young people would also be interested. But now

it is almost always the younger population that makes up the customer profile of Misir. Mr. Karahoda states that relatively fewer elder people are customers of Misir.

Do the young people know how to smoke, the manners I ask. Mr. Karahoda states: "Nobody really knows, we always explain and teach them what this is, how it is smoked, they don't even know whether this is real "tombeki" (Persian tobacco for nargile) or fruit flavoured nargile".

They give much importance on the tableware and furniture they use, they use the best quality, the original as Manager Karahoda states. "Whatever is the original, the real and right, that should be done", he adds. For instance, the nargile served in Misir is the fruit flavoured tobacco ((which is imported from Egypt)). Whereas the real nargile is made with "tombeki", which is a preparation of washed and soaked tobacco. So now with the principle of providing the "original" they want to serve "tombeki" as well. They have learnt that the best nargile masters are recruited in Izmir so they plan to employ one from there to prepare the real tombeki, which requires more experience and mastery. Karahoda states that if they can not persuade a master to settle in Ankara, they will at least ask for some "coaching" because they want to serve it in the "proper" way.

The music played differs greatly in variety. Turkish classical music can be followed by rock or alternative music, whereas several of the times I went to Misir, there was Greek music. They have a collection of CDs that range from Miles Davis, U2 to Nick Cave and Bjork, from Munir Nurettin Selcuk to Goran Bregovic and Aznavour. The management states that the customers really do play great role in the selection of

music and that they do play whatever the customers want. He states that some customers bring their CDs with them and have them played in Misir.

V.3.2. "Displaced" Meanings Replaced: The Meanings of Consumption in Coffeehouses

As for the service providers, Misir is a reaction towards a demand, which the management sensed towards a yearning for the past, a tendency of nostalgia. The service is also a contribution in sustaining traditions in the marketplace, reminding consumers of their culture and past, where Western forms of leisure spaces in the restaurant business have started loosing appeal among their target market. Though, this is only one side to the production of meaning of consumption in Misir. The second side is the consumers' perspective, which seems from theoretical discussions as confusing as Yonca (F, 55) has been in interpreting:

> I wonder if youngsters that don't dare to use drugs come here to try nargile ((laughing)), you know, maybe they think nargile makes you high. Or to capture the ambience? Who knows why they come here and smoke nargile? Maybe it is to live the past, the historical places; maybe this is an interest as well.

This question cited by one of the eldest informants, with great curiosity and surprise in the revival among young consumers, is also what this analysis will try to answer in the following section.

Tensions between Modern and Traditional

Notions of modernity and aspects of traditions can be drawn from the interview data. The neighbourhood coffeehouses (kahve) and the people consuming those spaces are clearly distanced from the cafes and their consumers by all informants. This distanciation can most explicitly be seen in the definitions of the kahve as a strictly gendered space for male socialisation.

Non of my informants are regulars or even consumers of kahves. There is a general tendency to see kahves distinct from themselves, especially for the male informants, who have had very little experience with these social spaces. Especially male informants have memories of kahves that they used to visit while in high school when they did not attend classes. Yet, there is still a tendency to believe that kahves in the old days, were much better and did serve "proper" social and intellectual purposes. Mustafa (M, 29) describes his experience in one and compares it to the café:

> It was a disastrous (("rezalet")) place... Kahve is a place where only men sit, play cards, sometimes there is a pool table…They are places where men kill time in an idle way, sit uselessly. There isn't anything that the place gives extra to people, the only thing you can do there is sit and play. The difference between the café and the kahve is that the café serves you something and the kahve doesn't…Nobody asks for tea, it is brought to you, in a café you have a one to one relationship with the waiter. In kahves, your group is there, fixed, they are always there, you go there and sit down somewhere, but in cafes you gather with your friends and enter. I guess people used to chat and share something (intellectual) while smoking their nargiles, debated on issues ((in the old days)).

Girls reflect upon why their boy friends would go to kahves during high school. The masculinity of the kahve is best illustrated in Esra's (F, 30) account:

I had lots of male friends that went to kahves during high school but I doubt that any of them continued to go to kahves. I guess they were trying to prove their manliness.

Basically, there is a negative attitude towards the kahves especially among the male informants and the elders. Most have refrained from entering kahves, not comfortable with the experience it brings, only went to these places coincidentally, like Arda (M, 26) describes his one and only time:

I had to enter a kahve once, I was having my car repaired and was so thirsty that I couldn't stand it and went in to get a coke.

Meanwhile, strangely, women were more positive about the kahve especially stressing the socialisation benefit. Though they were still talking about the people attending the kahves as relatively disengaged with their own environment. They had a built in curiosity about the spaces, as well as a tendency to implicitly stress the fact that they could go to these places if they wanted to. They seem to be understanding the place as an environment for male socialisation, where men can act and talk freely, not disturbed by the presence of women. Their accounts include what can be interpreted as condescending references to different social classes, income levels, lifestyles, ages and occupations than their own. Still, the more "hostile" attitude that men had in the interviews, is not found in the accounts of the women in the research. Esra (F, 30) describes the space:

I think that traditional men go to kahves. If they go to places like these cafes, then they would have to be more careful to how they behave and what they talk about. I guess they do the idle talk ("geyik muhabbeti") a lot there. Besides the prices there should be much cheaper than the cafes we go to. Retired men would go, when you think that they have nothing to do at home. They could chat ("laklaklak") from morning till night. I think it's a good thing. Instead of watching TV all day, they could find a friend at the kahve to chat and play with, debate issues, comment on what's going on on TV or the radio.

Or similarly, Selen (F, 25) says: "As far as I know the kahve is not a bad place. There is one near our house. The retired, or people with certain connections go, men go there to play cards and stuff but it's not a bad place".

Many of the female informants have claimed to have been at a kahve once in their life, although almost always in these cases their grandfathers have accompanied them and this experience has been during early childhood. Yet, there was one informant that goes to such a place almost everyday during lunch break, yet still is accompanied by this time her office mates. Her account suggests that she is not a "normal" actor in the kahve although she has become a regular, also that she does not really feel comfortable throughout her stay as a woman. Ozge (F, 28) sounds like she merely is a non-participant observer:

> I have to pass through the tables to get to their table ((her facial expression here implies she doesn't feel comfortable)). It is a place where everyone watches TV and chats. Stinks a bit, both cigarette smoke and a heavy smell in the air like sweat. I go there to watch the guys playing. We played pool a couple of times but that's all. The customers are people who come from their offices around the area during lunch break, they have neckties, or they are trading in the stock exchange, our customers even, to pass time. In the end people need a place to sit, they can't sit at a restaurant for hours, there is the kahve for that purpose, I guess. He can sit there, play a few rounds of cards with friends and then come back to the stock exchange. Besides, there are regulars of the kahve. They are at chatting maybe they are saving the country ("memleketi kurtariyorlardir").

The modern vs. traditional tension can also be seen at the differences in expressions of the notions of spending time at kahves and cafes. The meaning people give to the time spent in cafes and kahves seem to differ. Kahves are usually seen as places for the lazy, the unemployed, where time is wasted. Whereas the café is the place to go after work, during holidays, for leisure, something deserved and earned, not wasted. Seda (F, 27) states:

> I don't like spending leisure time at home because I can't socialise there. I am in a closed place during work anyway. I like going out with friends, have a social environment, being with people, being next to them, and the best place to do this is the café.

Although there are several justifications made for wasting time in kahves by the younger consumers, especially when you ask the elder people this is one of the most emphasised aspects of the kahve. Yonca (F,55) for instance explains her notion of the kahve: "Honestly, I feel annoyed by coffeehouses they are lazy people's homes ("tembel yuvasi"). It is a place where people get used to laziness. I can't stand the thought of the time wasted there".

The time spent in Misir is also similar to that in the café. Misir is a place to relax after a hard workday, to escape from the boredom of everyday life, it is a deserved leisure time activity for almost all informants. For instance Ugur (F, 28) who has come here almost always right after work says:

> I like coming here it is relaxing, this is a place where people can relax, chat and find peace of mind…There is an intellectual youth here which is different from the cafes. They read more and discuss more…They are less materialistic than those in the cafes which go there to show off basically.

Although the times spent in cafes and Misir, the revived coffeehouse, are both deserved leisure time, the quality and nature of this leisure time differs in the two spaces. The most apparent differences that informants can identify between going to a café and a nargile coffeehouse is the way you get prepared for the occasion, how you are dressed up and get ready for the "gaze". Certain consumption practices of the modern consumers can be classified as ritual acts as they are repeated, fixed, "episodic strings of events" that express symbolic meanings (Rook, 1985). Rook (1985: 253) suggests that there are four components inherent in ritual behaviour of

consumption; "ritual artefacts", "ritual scripts", "ritual performance roles" and a "ritual audience". Social spaces and leisure time consumption in these spaces like the revived coffeehouse or the café, can be seen as ritual social institutions as these spaces and time are consumed where the ritual script evolves around and roles being performed by consumers within an audience. We pay special attention to grooming for the occasion, to the places we will go, the activity we plan to perform in front of the public and private audience in these spaces. Esra (F, 30) was one of the most opposed informant to the gaze experience in the cafes:

> I like going to some cafes alone, have a cup of coffee, read a magazine, like I do at Café des Cafes. But I hate it when people start staring at me and asking themselves, why is this girl sitting on her own. I could come to a place like this (Misir) on my own. I could go watch a movie on my own, then come here and smoke my nargile. But still people here aren't that easy but not as those in Ivy or cafes in Ankuva, just a little tension here. They are not chic ("siksikirdim") but still they have dressed up here as well. There could have been more traditional people coming here, just because they like smoking nargile.

Meanwhile most of the other informants were much more confident that this place excluded the gaze experience like for instance Seda (F, 27) who really does go to cafes a lot:

> I like this place a lot (Misir)... This is a place where you can be comfortable. Nobody is staring at each other and says 'oooh look she is like that and he is like this and that'. Everybody is comfortable and easy, as the way they are…When you go to a more luxurious place like a café, then you have to be more careful to what you are wearing, become something else then you really are, act and dress different then what you really are.

Some even avoid the flanuerie by not going to these places like Esra (F, 30) who says:

> I don't like Ivy for instance. It's not my type of a place where people gaze at each other ("birbirini seyrettigi"), where everyone comes to show off their dresses.

Ugur (F, 28) for instance reflects upon the meanings of these appearances that differ according to the café and the coffeehouse, found to be common among many of the informants:

> This is a place where (Misir) smart, intellectual youth stops by ("ugradigi"), that is why it seems different than the other cafes. At those places, there are more materialistic and formalist people, youth, but here it is more a youth that is common sense, reading and aware youth, because they seem more natural. Their image seems that they don't give much importance on the surface appearance, they seem like they value more abstract things. Both the ones here and the ones in the cafés they come from similar economic levels but it seems as if the ones at cafes have different mindsets. Like for example, they put on too much make up, dress very ornately, they come to watch the other people, not to get the pleasure of the environment. But these people here they come with friends, to be with friends, they have nothing to do with the others they are not interested they don't gaze.

Similar arguments come for the coffeehouses and the cafes when asked to older people. Dressing up and getting prepared are the musts of the cafes for them too, but this is not questioned at all as the younger informants have. It is so unquestioned that the "see and be seen" function and its inconvenience are not emphasised, not mentioned at all by them. Almost all informants stated that Misir was a café that was relaxing and that they could come here without much preparation. Though, during the observations, there were also young people that came well dressed in their own styles, bikers with branded wear, students with latest fashion casual clothing besides those who appeared natural casual. Still this does not undermine the fact that the café style clothing is really different from that in Misir. The former is more formal and chic, and the latter casual stylish. Two of the informants also stress the mixture:

> It's very funny because punk and hip hop types come here ((Misir)) as well. Every type of people I mean. It's mixed up. And look for example mothers over there, but these aren't traditional mothers, you know these are modern mothers. (Selen, F, 25)

Tourists come here as well. There were foreigners the day before. Girls come here. Bilkent students, it's very interesting in fact. Bilkent's vamps also come here. The last time I came here I saw this young woman, with her boy friend, definitely vulgar. (Arda, M, 26)

As the examples given above suggest, Misir is much more of a relaxed space in terms of the "gaze" factor. Although according to the informants adapting this new consumption practice of smoking nargile in the revived coffeehouse, are following the trend for the pleasure the experience provides, they also like watching and being in the presence of those who smoke nargile. As Ugur (F, 28) says:

Trying nargile was an enjoyable experience, because the taste was good. I love seeing people smoking nargile because I see it as one of the things that you get pleasure from life and they live this pleasure.

Drawing pleasure out of any consumption activity is vital and actually shapes the pattern, sometimes makes it so unpredictable that there appears no pattern at all. The following is such an example experienced by Seda (F, 27):

I listen to foreign pop and Turkish pop like Sezen Aksu, Nilufer, Kayahan those that we are accustomed to from childhood, not the new ones very much. I only recently bought the tape of the new guy Tarik. I listen Latin and Greek, anything, mixed up I mean. For instance the last cd I bought was Notre Dame de Paris, whatever sounds nice…I like seeing people smoking nargile, they get pleasure from it ((I know that she is an anti-smoker)).

Another difference between the consumption practice of the revived coffeehouse and the café is that, for many of the informants, the decision to go to the nargile coffeehouse is haphazard rather than planned. No long process of decision making is expected for the coffeehouse explained in the following line of Emre (M, 22):

Usually when we go somewhere else and the idea pops up, we say lets go, sometimes in the middle of the night we used to go to the nargile coffeehouses in Istanbul.

On the contrary, the café usually requires a plan before going, since it also involves extensive preparation, you have to look fit and well groomed to feel well there as Seda (F, 27) mentions:

> For example if I were to go to Budakalti and Ivy with trainer suits I wouldn't feel comfortable. You have to have your hair fixed up and be proper looking all over. But here I would definitely feel comfortable with trainers.

The accounts mentioned above seem to provide that the revived coffeehouse is usually seen as a modern space in terms of the place-identity (especially from the customer profile and gender issues) and the nature of time spent (leisure not wasted). Although most informants are not comfortable with the "gaze" and the "rituals" of consuming the modern cafes, and state that they prefer the relaxed atmosphere of the revived coffeehouse, neither of them have suggested that this is the traditional way of consuming a traditional coffeehouse. This atmosphere and the practices of consuming the revived coffeehouse is a novelty not something inherited from the past for them.

Novelty, Curiosity and Experimentation

The accounts of the informants suggested that consumers are after experimentation out of curiosity, anything nearly, which is not beyond the limit of their tastes and values. They consume spaces and objects, ambiences and traditions for the sake of trying, to get away with the curiosity for the unexpected, never ending consumption choices and quenching the thirst for the new and different. Mustafa (M, 29) explains why he tried the nargile in Izmir:

Our ancestors were doing it, so I said to myself, I should as well ((laughs)), because it is a tradition ((laughs again)). Of course not, I just tried it for the sake of trying. Actually, I wondered what difference was there to smoking cigarettes. Like now in Misir instead of nargile I'm smoking Captain Black, when I'm in the mood I'll even smoke a cigarette ((he doesn't smoke)), it really depends on the ambience like that day the weather was great, it was evening and the place was authentic.

I have never been to Misir before. Actually nargile was something that I was thinking of trying one day, but I never knew that there was such a place that I could go. I smoke cigarettes normally, I wonder what the taste is like, like I also wonder how pipe tastes, I have tried cigar but didn't like it." (Ozge, F, 28)

Meanwhile there also appeared to be a reaction to this form of consumption in general. When the unexpected and different is sought after and becomes a consumption pattern, a trend, it loses its appeal, because every consumer starts being predictable. Emre (M, 22) for instance seems to be irritated by others continuously experimenting, who he himself travels to different places and does enjoy different consumption practices, says:

Ten years ago if someone were to say that I plan to go to India, people would look in his face and think he was weird, but now as far as I know from the people in Istanbul, you HAVE to go to India or to Nepal, God knows where else. They take the pictures of the poverty there as if we have developed ourselves, like you know Turkey has become sooo developed, that now we are taking pictures of the poor. Or like you have to have done hiking, have scuba dived done this and that.

Yet the limit for experimenting is at the borders of the Eastern, the Oriental and traditional for the older informants. For instance, trying the nargile was out of the question because it just did not fit their style.

I am addicted to Turkish coffee ((note that it is a drink not disassociated from modern, domestic consumption)), I love it very much, though this doesn't mean that I don't try different coffee servings from time to time. It really depends on what I want at that moment…I tried cigar and pipe but I don't wonder a bit what nargile is like." (Yonca, F, 55)

Meanwhile, almost all of the younger informants couldn't associate older women with smoking nargile and when asked why, they couldn't easily reply and usually referred it to the taste or the appearance:

> My mother and father they smoke cigarettes, but they don't smoke nargile, my father isn't a man who is devoted to pleasure ("zevk duskunu") someone who would say: let me sit and smoke the nargile with pleasure. My mother probably wouldn't like the taste. That's why she wouldn't smoke it. (Seda, F, 27)

> I can't imagine my mother smoking nargile, especially not here, in terms of form it doesn't suit. (Ugur, F, 28).

Yet there is also another limit to experimentation which the informants suggest that comes from the marketers or even the city itself. Ankara has been the cornerstone of the image and identity of Turkish modernisation. As Cinar (working paper, 2001) mentions, the Ottoman and Islamic symbolism of the former capital Istanbul did not fit with the values and aspirations of the new Republic. Hence Ankara, as "neutral" as any other city could ever be, was selected as the capital city to represent the reforms, the "Western" and modern identity of the new Turkey. Yet it fell short of offering the variety of consumption choices and this has been very evident in the yearnings and complaints of the consumers. As variety is supplied, lifestyles can really be shaped according to the consumer's real tastes and preferences. If not, the consumer is totally dependent on the producer or marketer. Thus, if the variety is plentiful enough consumers become more free to develop and claim authority in their lifestyles. If not, they become victims of fashions and fads, they become slaves of consumption, not able to determine on their own what to consume next. There was a constant theme in the interviews that Ankara did not inhabit any variety and that Istanbul was the place to construct lifestyles since there were endless opportunities of consumption. One example was Emre's (M, 22) suggestion for me:

You should interview people in Istanbul. They will have much more to say. Even the most common person there would have his/her own style in one way or another. They can tell you, "you should go here but not there for example", but in Ankara it is compulsory. For example even if I don't like this place at all it is the only place I can go and smoke nargile with friends…But in Istanbul you have so many alternatives.

For many of my younger informants, living the revived coffeehouse experience has become one of a touristic pleasure. It is something out of the ordinary, the everyday practice, something to be done once in a while and returned back to what is actually accustomed to. This is reflected not only in going to coffeehouses, but smoking nargile, sitting on the "authentic" chairs and tables and the consuming the "authoritative" ambience:

> The stools that we are not used to sit on in our everyday lives, in fact it was not comfortable…but still it makes the atmosphere warmer. (Mustafa, M, 29)

> Emre (M, 22): There (in Egypt) it hasn't been maintained as touristic as in our case, it is everywhere just imagine in every kahve, their kahves are like ours, in every street there are nargile kahves, this is normal for them, but of course they are aware of the touristic attraction it has, I mean they opened places like this as well (like Misir)
> I: do you think the survival depends on this touristic appeal in Egypt?
> Emre: no no, I don't think they continue it for the tourists, I think it is something they themselves like anyway.

The touristic pleasure goes the same for consuming raki as well as Turkish music in "meyhanes" (taverns) for many of the informants. These meyhanes are modernised, reinvented ones, different from the traditional gathering and drinking space for again male consumers, as Mustafa (M, 29) defines:

> I don't like meyhanes ((traditional ones)), I don't go there because I don't like the style of the men going there, nonsensical, drunken, swearing and shouting types.

Quite a number of them said that they go to meyhanes ((modernised)) once in a while although most don't listen to the music played in these places anywhere else. Neither do they like drinking raki very much any other time, like for instance as Ozge (F, 28):

> I don't usually listen Turkish pop music, but when it is classical Turkish music, it is better, not that I listen it everyday. But when we are at meyhanes, we even drink raki, we listen Turkish pop in those places, you know now there is this very popular song by Yildiz Tilbe, I normally can't stand hearing it, but in a meyhane I could join singing.

For the informants, there is clearly a great difference between traditional spaces and revived "traditional" spaces of consumption. Though, most informants had expressed some sort of happiness to have something remaining of our own in this global marketplace of our own.

None of the informants believed themselves to be traditional. Yet they did find some traditions served good functions like socialisation customs, whereas others like religious ones were seen as not that beneficial and suitable according to their worldviews. Mustafa (M, 29) explains:

> I don't stick to traditions, but sometimes the outcomes don't turn out well. But there are things that should be maintained, I try to do them as much as I can…What I mean for traditions is the family ties, unity, I don't like those traditions that religion forces upon us. But for example, old cafes in Istanbul, I like traditional spaces, they should be kept alive ("yasatilmali") even if I don't like smoking the nargile, I like seeing people around smoking it.

Mustafa thinks that these spaces also should be supported for the sake of maintaining and sustaining cultural uniqueness. He is a person who buys tickets for Turkish movies just to support the film industry. He says:

> I think it should be kept alive. Why should we always go to foreign movies anyway? For example in the US, I talked to Americans, those guys adore our

culture, our history, they say the Ottomans are this great and that great. But I told them that we are now in fact living popular culture, the American culture, we are really in fact living their culture ((in a tone not so happy with this))…I mean there is no idiosyncrasy ("kendi ozelligi"). Nothing left any more. It is finished. Everything is so mixed up in the world.

Many of the other informants also think as Mustafa does, usually the popular culture products are reflections of the American or Western culture, but only bad imitations that should not be respected and thus not to be supported. They do however admire and get proud of "original" works like those that truly depict the Turkish scene and culture in movies and novels.

Even the socialising customs and traditions really don't fit with their lifestyles like kahves or revived coffeehouses, but they are still seen acceptable just for the sake of sustaining something from the past that doesn't really contradict to their worldviews but is in fact aesthetically irrelevant to the lifestyle like Mustafa's (M, 29) discomfort with smoking nargile with business suits on. Another similar point of view comes from Yonca's (F, 55) account:

> This isn't changing tradition, it is keeping the tradition alive ("yasatilmasi"), but in a modern way. Actually its nice, I liked it. The reason they modernised it is to appeal to young people. In fact I expected there would be classical Turkish music but it plays Russian music as well. The nargile coffeehouse has been revived. It is something that had become forgotten. A custom, a tradition that belongs to the past. But still look over there, the girl with cherry lipstick lips smoking that nargile. It doesn't look nice.

As Belk (1988) mentions, our definitions of our pasts are crucial in identity construction and possessions play a part in this construction: "Integral to a sense of who we are is a sense of our past. Possessions are a convenient means of storing the memories and feelings that attach our sense of past" (Belk, 1988: 148). In this case the revived coffeehouse, although not seen as traditions revitalised, has become a

means to attach the consumer with a collective identity taking into consideration the long forgotten past.

Misir: Authoritative and simulated space

Though happy with sustaining something from the past with the revived coffeehouse, Misir (and others) is definitely not a tradition "continuing" in the eyes of the informants. These are more "authoritative" spaces rather than "authentic". For instance, Mustafa (M, 29) does not even dare call the revived nargile coffeehouse he went to in Izmir "kahve". Probably one reason for this (besides his notion of traditional kahve is the neighbourhood coffeehouse) is that he really detests kahves due to his first experience of the space that irritated him so much. He instead describes: "the place I smoked nargile was something like a café but had these typical chairs you know, not chairs but stools". He also went to another revived nargile coffeehouse in Istanbul this time he describes the place as a café again but one that has been intentionally staged:

> It was somewhere near the Topkapi palace. It was a great café. Everybody was sitting on cushions. Everything was wooden. Old Turkish artefacts everywhere. Old Istanbul photographs. Besides they bring tea with this what was it called? The samovar, exact classic I mean. They play old music ("eski musiki").

The decoration of the "authentic" kahve should be simple (("salas")), less designed, inexpensive and more than anything else "wooden". Emre who describes Erzurumlular Kahvesi in Tophane Istanbul as the "real kahve", does not really recognize the authenticity of another one next door which he calls as the "McDonaldised" (("MacDonaldslasmis")) kahve since it has yellow plastic chairs

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and tables. I doubt whether he was referring to Ritzer's (1993: 1) "McDonaldization" concept which is "the process by which the principles of the fast food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world". Emre's reaction here is not to the American way of life or Americana. It is the inorganic, modern and technologically generated material, plastic and standardisation, which are irritating and not suitable for the coffeehouse.

The interesting part here is that the wooden chairs which makes Erzurumlular Kahvesi a "real kahve" were unable to accomplish this in Misir, where in fact the tables and chairs were of the same design and material. Even during summer, the tables and chairs outside the Erzurumlular Kahvesi are all plastic, the models are the most commonly found that gained popularity in a couple of years time. According to Emre, the reason for this failure to become authentic is that the Kahves represent continuity, it has a never-ending character, both in terms of consumers and the spaces consumed themselves. For him, the Erzurumlular Kahvesi is an "authentic" kahve also because it has a past, regular old customers, whereas Misir is a new space lacking continuity.

Misir is usually seen as a café, where the old nargile tradition continues in an atmosphere provided with a decoration that is neither Western nor Turkish or Oriental. There is some kind of an expectation for the decoration to have been more "simulated" with the Turkish, Ottoman or the Oriental, and should have been simple and worn out something that would resemble the ambience of the "authentic" kahve in their minds. Esra (F, 30) says:

The decoration in Misir is a bit in between. The curtains could have been more traditional. They haven't succeeded in making it Ottoman. Or if you think nargile is Arabic, then this place isn't Arabic at all. They could have put in sedirs. In Dubai there weren't sedirs but chairs, but unlike this it was "salas". The coffeehouse that I went in Tophane was "salas", there were old men there as well. It was like they had spider webs around them, they wouldn't move while smoking nargile. Still most of the customers were young. Like a coffeehouse that survived from the past. The owner didn't invest in anything. Like there was a lavatory, God it was so awful... I'm not a traditional person myself at all. But I like traditions like this going on. But I would prefer the Tophane coffeehouses instead of Misir. Here something makes me feel it is "constructed/ pastiche" ("yapistirma") and "not natural/forced" ("zorlama").

The sense of authenticity is so unconvincing that informants start playing with and making fun of it. When we get our nargiles, everybody starts trying to light it. Then Oguz (M, 25) turns to Arda (M, 26), poses with the nargile in a playful manner and asks: "How do I look? Do I fit in well?" and Arda responds: "No you have to look more authentic".

Misir becomes a stage where people are acting the traditional and authentic. This just doesn't look right for some informants like Mustafa (M, 29):

I: what do you think about these people in Misir?
Mustafa: I think they look very pretentious ((laughs)). It looks like that for me, you know smoking nargile is very contradictory to our general lifestyles. When I see now a man like me who has quitted work in the evening and has come here with his formal outfit sitting and smoking nargile "pofur pofur", I think they look very funny. Maybe because we are not that familiar with nargile's appearance. But still it is nice that traditions live with things like nargile. If people help survive these things then I guess we will get used to it...

Although the accounts of the informants mostly suggest the unauthenticity of the revived coffeehouse and smoking nargile, as mentioned above, many of them see it as a place to represent the Turkish culture. This can best be seen by how they talk about the place and in fact why in some occasions they consume the place. It becomes a place to show foreign friends for example, although almost all were

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totally confused about the Turkishness of the nargile that appears to be a very important part of the coffeehouse culture of the Ottomans. Many of the informants saw nargile anything but a Turkish product. Emre (M, 22) says:

> I asked about it in Egypt, most probably nargile comes from there, I mean Arabic, or you know Ottoman but Arabic, not from the Turks.

Although they were all puzzled about where it originates from, they all knew that it used to be consumed by their ancestors in coffeehouses and homes in the old times. None of their parents in fact go to coffeehouses or smoke the nargile. Still most of them viewed it as "our cultural richness" to be presented to the tourists but not as a "cultural product" that we necessarily should continue consuming. None of them ever expected to go to coffeehouses where they could smoke nargile before. Like Esra (F, 30) interprets the revived coffeehouse and nargile smoking among the youth:

> Nargile has become fashionable only recently…I bet there wasn't anyone here who said, "oh I wish there were nargile somewhere so that we could smoke" before this place opened. There is a trend towards the past recently.

Selen (F, 25) seems to be one of those Esra mentions. She never thought of smoking nargile, in fact when her brother saw the popularity of the revived nargile coffeehouse in Istanbul and offered to open one in Ankara, she told him not to talk nonsense.

> Selen: I used to watch my grandfather smoke the nargile when I was a child. I loved the appearance when it bubbled. I used to stare for hours.
> I: did you ever imagine yourself smoking nargile?
> Selen: are you kidding? Noway!

On the other hand there even appears to be a negotiation between traditions forgotten and modernity claimed by those of the elders. Yonca (F, 55) for instance who has been brought up with the mentality of the reformations of the Republic, living a

"modern" urban life all through her life, who even mentions that she refused to have a religious marriage since it was just "not proper for the children of the Republic", says:

> Yonca: I wonder where nargile comes from
> I: they say either from India or Iran
> Yonca: well, this is also an attraction for tourists. Nargile is also a good item to promote our culture. We could have our culture promoted in this way as well. We can show both sides, like the old coffeehouses in Istanbul, and here are the ones that we have modernised.

As mentioned before, the kahve is always seen as a place where regulars come, meet their friends there without any planned meeting arrangement. These customers have been regulars for ages. The entry is not explicitly restricted to others, but still all the customers inside are familiar with each other. Whereas in the case of Misir, like the other cafes, people go with friends and are isolated within their own groups. Emre describes Erzurumlular Kahvesi as the "real kahve" in the sense that old people and regulars go there. The "realness" fades away as the space becomes a popular place to go ("piyasa mekan") as in the case of Misir. Almost all informants have been aware of the fact that Misir is not a kahve in the sense that customers do not socialise with others there besides their own groups. Mustafa explicitly says: "We meet before coming here, but in a kahve you would have friends and regulars and can sit at their tables when you go alone."

No matter coffeehouses are the "revived" and staged traditions that no longer remain really "authentic" and fit well in our modern lives, they still represent implicitly, a tradition that is inherent in our culture: the sitting and chatting. This is what makes us different from the others, this is the cultural difference that tradition sustains. As referred to by many of the informants, this is really what remains "authentic", real

Turkish culture. Esra (F,30) describes her experience that she realised the difference in another culture:

> "Once I went to a café in Boston. It was a university environment, many young people around. But nobody came in and sat down, they would buy their coffees and cakes, sandwiches and get out. You know we have this, "sit for hours and chat" ("laklak") thing. Neither did I see anything like that in England but this was 5 years ago, young people went to pubs the most…I hated the one in America. I felt myself pretentious ("zorlama"), like there isn't anything like that there and I was still trying to do it myself."

Although Misir has been communicated as a space of consumption where traditions are supposed to be sustained, revitalised, consumers in fact see it as a novelty, they are experimenting new experiences not continuing traditions. There are several traditional practices of consumption in the revived coffeehouse like the relaxed behaviours, the informal appearance, the chat and of course the products consumed, the informants have not reflected upon these as traditional acts. The next section will similarly outline the analysis of this time the "Western" shopping mall and how it is perceived and reflected upon by consumers.

V.3.3. Producing and Communicating "The Award Winning Akmerkez"

Akmerkez is a very idealised "Western" type of shopping experience, has been deeply internalised into the lives of Istanbul inhabitants from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. It is considered as one of the best examples of the "Western" type shopping mall in Turkey built in the 90s, strengthening its reputation in being internationally acclaimed by winning several prizes from the International Council of

Shopping Malls. The official web page of Akmerkez (see www.akmerkez.com.tr) reads:

> The goal of Akmerkez is to provide for the different needs of visitors in a modern, pleasant atmosphere. The various social and cultural activities organised by AKMERKEZ make this more than just a shopping centre; it's part of lifestyle.

The mall management is influenced by and compares Akmerkez in terms of the US and other Western malls. The manager herself is very much interested in visiting the examples in the US while she attends the ICSC conferences and fairs (Las Vegas fashion malls, N.Y. department stores, the Chicago Water Tower, Las Vegas Fair and European Conference of ICSC for instance). She searches and investigates the malls in detail and compares it with Akmerkez.

The architecture of Akmerkez is also influenced by Western ideals. The architectural plan was selected with a competition which 7 or 8 well-known firms entered. The architects were taken to a trip to the US to see sample malls before they submitted their plans. The competition was held with a jury of international architects and the project of a Turkish architect Fatin Uran and US developer Gruzen Group won. The interior of the mall has been designed by a Baltimore based US firm called Development Design Group after the bosses of Akmerkez had a trip to the US to attend an ICSC fair. They consulted a shopping mix expert in Turkey and the traffic works of the mall were held by ITU.

The mall management appreciates the fact that the customers get lost in the mall. They claim their success to the architecture, the triangular shape of the mall that has no dead ends. The maintenance and preservation of the interior design of the mall as

it was first built is crucial to the management. The projects of the tenants have to be developed according to certain principles and approved by the mall management before being constructed. These principles include the structure of the shop windows, the name plate displays of the shops as well as the interior construction of the stores. There can be some exceptions to these principles, the mall management adds, since some foreign and Turkish brands have their own standards in shop design "there is room for negotiation".

General Manager Zeynep Akdilli mentions that the major differences of Akmerkez from American malls are the existence of a supermarket and the number of floors. She adds "Akmerkez is a mixture of the American way of thinking of malls and the European because we have the supermarket."

One of the partners Dinckok Group, has many relations in the textiles industry and they themselves decided and offered the main anchors to be Beymen, Vakko and Park Bravo. Ms. Akdilli says the Dinckok Group did "closed marketing" through their personal relations with the prospective tenants at the beginning. The selection process now also involves a great deal of investigation and assessment of the reputation and suitability of the firm that applies to become a tenant. In a very confident and uncompromising tone Ms. Akdilli says "the retailers, tenants have to accept the authority of the management in the shop mix". Board member Mr. Badi is head of the leasing group. You have to get permission from him to lease a store in Akmerkez. Akmerkez management gives great importance to the quality image sustained from the very beginning by this detailed and fastidious selection process. They do not compare Akmerkez with any other mall in Istanbul in terms of quality,

brandnames, and prices of the stores nor the quality of the interior design. Akmerkez is a "high fashion shopping mall" Ms. Akdilli says and adds:

> Did you discover shops that really did not fit Akmerkez? If shops go out of the mall it is because Akmerkez wants them to go.

At the beginning the movie theatres were great attractions for Akmerkez visitors. But now the popularity has declined. The management attributes this decline to the neglect in management of the operator. Now, they are planning to take-over the movie theatres and operate them.

Meanwhile, although there can be exceptions, the mall's corridors and floors have been reserved for specific categories of goods. For instance there are corridors that inhabit only women's, men's children's clothing and sportswear. There is one corridor that on one side you can find all the jeans brands in the mall. Whereas in the lower level for instance the electronics, home appliances, white goods, furniture stores come after each other.

PR Manager Ms. Melek says that there is constantly an inner coordination within the departments for the activities and events by teamwork and that many of the communications held for the events are made written within the organisation. For example all the entrance and exits of the merchandise and decorations used for the events are being communicated and indicated what time and by whom to the security department since these kinds of activities are done after the mall is closed. She reaffirms that all these transactions are communicated written to the departments.

Nisantasi is a competitor for Akmerkez. Stores in Nisantasi, Osmaniye and Sisli suffered loss of customers and sales after Akmerkez opened. Ms. Akdilli adds that 3 years ago Nisantasi became popular again with brand name stores. But still they share the shoppers. In fact, Emporio Armani and Gucci opened their first stores in Turkey in this district after restoring the Macka Palas. Ms. Akdilli mentions that Donna Karan will be opening in Akmerkez soon. She says they did not offer a space to Donna Karan but the company wanted to come to Akmerkez.

The management claims with pride that the mall's existence has increased real estate prices in the area. Besides, the mall has been so influential that even the new name for the neighbourhood has unofficially become Akmerkez. Now, there is even a bus destination called Akmerkez. Ms. Akdilli says: "Akmerkez is not just a mall but is a commercial complex for the good of many people and this is where the success comes from." Akmerkez is a high fashion shopping mall but it does not mean that it only appeals to high-income consumers. Benetton and Oxxo are the examples of shops for the middle income customers. She adds:

> Etiler is a high-class area. Armutlu is a low-income class surrounding area. People of Armutlu have seen nothing like this before and were amazed. The escalators were very exciting and the clean restrooms and the clean food stores were big attractions for them. Akmerkez is a contribution for lifestyle for everyone. The cinemas, shops, fast food are opportunities for the lower-income class to find something for themselves as well. This kind of a mixture in customer profiles is not a big problem. There is a problem everywhere, in Europe, the States in Turkey, those young people who tend to fight each other. We have the security to deal with such problems. But Turkey is different than Europe in terms of security as it comes second in importance in the management of the mall. The Kurdish and Islamist terrorism is a threat as well for the shopping mall. So the shopping mall has to be a safe area for us, the shoppers. The security walks around the shoppers in search for pickpockets as well. There are all these x-rays in the entrance, I don't like them. It is more like the entrance of an airport rather than a shopping mall. I plan to eliminate them in two years. It depends on Turkey's political problems.

PR Manager Ms. Melek confirms later on: "We want all kinds of people to come here from A, A+ socioeconomic backgrounds to people from the squatters because this place is open to public".

The management gives great importance on the activities organised in the mall. The events take place in special days like the New Year season, semester breaks, Valentines Day, Mothers, Fathers Days and national as well as religious holidays. There are events that range from Millennium shows with robots, Dinoshows with Jurassic Park animations, to Ramazan meals with Turkish traditional and classical music. Ms. Akdilli states:

> During Ramazan we play special music after Iftar. Turkish classical, fasil music but lively ones. On St. Valentine's day we play romantic music. We had two barter agreements with Baroque Music Company. They had the stands for free for their promotions whereas they played music on Dance Day in the mall.

They give ads for the two car campaigns each year on print media (newspapers). Besides these two campaigns held each year, they only consider "prestige ads" dependent upon the approval of the executive board. The example she gives is this instance when Turkish Airline's Skylife magazine offered a slot in their magazine. Although there has been some pressure from the press, they intentionally insist not to base their promotion strategy on advertisements. Instead, the promotion strategy depends on two tools, the events organised in the mall and mall exterior displays, which the management calls "living ads". "We are responsible for the shows and the external windows" states PR Manager Ms. Melek. Instead of having the exterior windows designed by foreign artists, last year they decided to have a competition among art students. She adds:

It was risky but succeeded and we decided that we make it traditional. This way we are more beneficial to our environment, the society, supporting young students, artists. This also provides them a 24 hours open exhibition to display their works. We provide them new job opportunities with these displays.

Ms. Melek states that they have charity organisations regularly that they do not communicate to the press nor the visitors. They do not donate money since they think this looks like advertisement as well:

Instead we rent buses, take a number of students from the Cocuk Esirgeme Kurumu (Society for the Protection of Children) and take them here to the activities in the mall. We aim to promote Akmerkez and make it live. We also have another event where we make a boat trip for disabled people from the Darulaceze (Alms House in Istanbul). We don't take them here to Akmerkez because it would be nothing but misery for them.

Akmerkez is definitely communicated as a Western, or even international shopping experience. The official webpage even starts with the heading of: "The Award Winning Shopping Experience". This image is also strengthened with the awards given to the mall, both displayed in the entrance of the mall, as well as communicated in all press bulletins and web pages. The web page of Akmerkez (www.akmerkez.com.tr) starts with explaining the shopping mall scene in the US:

Shopping centers in cities in US are constructed with a specific shop mix goal in mind. There are approximately 40.000 shopping centres in the US and this experiencing a major recession. As this sector is newly developing in Turkey, it is expected to make a significant impact through the changing lifestyle and shopping practices here. The lifestyle of people living in big cities is becoming more and more a race with time, giving rise to many new ideas and high standards.

It is a modern experience that will change the lifestyles of many shoppers. It is a brand new experience nothing to do with the past.

V.3.4. Consuming and Decoding Akmerkez

In the section above, the general principles, systems and procedures of the mall's management have been described from the accounts of the General Manager and the Public Relations Manager of Akmerkez. With having these outlined structures in mind, the further section will delve into the consumer's perspective in consuming the mall and find out whether they also view Akmerkez as a Western space, whether their consumption practices differ from the traditional forms or not.

The Western and Modern Space

Many informants do not remember the first day they came to Akmerkez. Galleria, the first shopping mall in Turkey was usually the first mall that the informants saw and remember. Often they reflect upon the experience and ambience rather than the shops inside. The first experience with the mall for the informants has a significance: it is the "first and only" (Ceyda and Didem, F, 17) unlike Akmerkez. It was out of the ordinary. Not something that was there before and not something that has roots in traditions. It is brand new, nothing to be associated with a present form of shopping experience or space, totally alien to them, very exciting and glamorous. Nergis (F, 26) describes her experience in Galleria:

> I used to urge my father to go to Galleria when it first opened, with all that ice skating it was unbeleviable, so glamourous.

Besides it was modern, and Western. Gamze (F, 30) says that it was so grandiose and with all the escalators "it looked really European".

One informant really remembers the first exposure to Akmerkez. He had heard about Akmerkez and dreamed of seeing this place. He had seen Karum in Ankara before and took this mall as a benchmark to compare with and dream about Akmerkez. Teoman (M, 30) says "the design, the chicness, the illumination, even the smell of the newness that doesn't remain today fascinated me". The "Legend Akmerkez" ("Efsane Akmerkez") had become the must destination on every trip to Istanbul when it was still "like a status symbol". He adds:

> It would be a proof that you went to good places and had good time in Istanbul if you had been to Akmerkez those days.

None of the informants consider Akmerkez as a traditional space; they associated neither it nor Galleria Mall as something that had predecessors in the Ottoman history. Akmerkez although impressive, did not really surprise most informants as Galleria did when it first opened. It was not a concept new to them because they considered Galleria the first and ultimate shopping centre, but not Kapalicarsi or other covered bazaars. In fact Kapalicarsi for them was a totally different experience. Like for Tomris (F, 35) who loves the predecessor, Kapalicarsi is a place that she can't go often but is rewarding: "It is authentic and great pieces can be found there, like kandils". She also adds that there is great variety there where you can get all those herbs and spices as well as well as the lanterns, carpets and antiques. Meanwhile Mehmet (F, 29) also describes the distance between the two experiences:

> The Kapalicarsi is more mystic. The architecture also. I go there for the ambiance. One is like a 1960 Chevrolet and the other is like a latest model Ferrari. You take pleasure from both of them. There are some that never go to Kapalicarsi. There is a different history there, the buildings, quite and calm, the shops whereas Akmerkez is noisy like a jungle.

Many of the informants find the architecture of Akmerkez outstanding, out of the ordinary, futuristic, modern and astonishing. Nil (F, 28) describes it:

> Akmerkez looks like from outer space in Ulus. The appearance doesn't really fit the physical environment ((we are sitting next to a window where the view is the grey, regular, high rise apartments, like 20 years old or more, though the other surrounding buildings look much much prettier)).

Akmerkez appears to be a Western space, as for the informants and for foreigners. A LA based artist Trici Venola, visited Istanbul to draw paintings for a special commission to promote Turkey ("Tourism for Turkey"). She has drawn numerous pictures of the especially historic places in Istanbul and the paintings usually depict the Oriental rather than the Western (see www.tricivenola.com). She mentions in this website with great fascination how the Western and the Oriental mixes together. She mentions Akmerkez as:

> A much celebrated shopping centre, a little piece of LA here in Istanbul. One of the few buildings I have ever seen that looks as grand as the architect's drawing.

Gamze (F,30) for instance mentions about the visitor profile:

> There are people in Akmerkez, of the sort that you can see in New York. High society, with high heel shoes, Louis Vuitton handbags, shopping and browsing women.

The mall's architecture and interior design implies quality for many of the informants. They have the notion of the exterior not giving the hint that there is a shopping mall inside. As soon as you enter, the interior gives impressions especially of quality. Like Teoman (M, 30) who admires the architect and states:

> When you enter the mall you have an immediate sense that whatever you buy here, even if it actually is not of good quality, it will be high quality and high class.

This impression is reflected on the purchases of the informants. Akmerkez indeed has a great variety of products sold and services rendered in its stores. Yet this does not mean that the informants in this study, which visit the mall regularly and frequently, do all their shopping in Akmerkez despite all the convenience and comfort it brings with. Akmerkez is almost always seen as a mall for expensive products especially referring the reason to the higher rentals. But this is not an obstacle for shopping for clothes, shoes, accessories etc. For example Nergis (F, 26) states:

> I don't really care about the prices, I don't calculate. I don't compare prices. The pleasure I get from shopping in Akmerkez offsets the price difference. I don't care."

Although most other informants mentioned that Akmerkez was indeed high priced, they still do shop in Akmerkez for specific purchases. Things that are basic but important in style and quality are bought from Akmerkez usually. These things are the more valuable and expensive pieces in price. Teoman (M, 30) buys his neck ties, shoes, parfumes, good socks, books and CDs from Akmerkez. He says these are the essentials, the basics. He buys other things like black pants, shirts elsewhere (at one point he said he shops regularly from abroad). Yet the "basic"s differ among the informants like for Nergis (F, 26), it is the quality and basic trouser and not the everyday blouse or cardigan to be bought from Akmerkez. All informants have suggested that the mall inhabits (contains/offers) all the good Turkish as well as foreign brand names with a few exceptions.

The quality image of the mall is also consumed with a sense of national pride on how modern Turkey has become, by some informants as they show Akmerkez to foreign

friends. For instance, Teoman (M, 30) always brings his foreign, European friends visiting Turkey even if they don't ask for it. He says they get fascinated and say that this is like another face of Turkey. He still is aware that this is only on the surface and artificial, but admits that he likes to show the glamour and design of the mall. The mall seems so glamorous that although most informants found the mall and the toilets very clean and well maintained, one informant (Nil, F, 28) stated "they don't suit the glamour of the shopping mall even if they are clean".

Yet, like Teoman (M, 30)'s reservation on how much Akmerkez represents the real Turkey, in a weekly magazine article (Aktuel Flas, 1997) the contrast between the level of economic development and the existence of great leisure and consumption sites in Istanbul has been referred to:

> Turkey is in the poor countries league with per capita income of 2.158 US $.
> But take a look at these: Istanbul is one of the liveliest entertainment centres of
> the world…Europe's biggest covered entertainment complex is Tatilya and the
> biggest shopping mall is Akmerkez.

Some of the informants do not think that Akmerkez is really intended for all, in terms of design and merchandise. Ali (M, 38) calls Akmerkez a "diamond", an exceptional mall for Turkey not really representative of the real social structure since this place is really developed for the riches to shop in. A contrary observation comes from Eda (F, 34) that Gilan Jeweller and Euromoda Bijouterie face each other. She says one is the most expensive accessory you can get and one is the worst and cheapest. She makes fun of it and does not seem to feel comfortable with the mixture.

If they have to eat or drink something in the mall, most informants prefer either the corner cafes along the corridors, Homestore café or the isolated cafes at the food

court. They usually don't prefer these cafes when compared to other alternatives outside the mall though but they become the only alternatives to be considered within the mall. But Mehmet (F, 29) is very opposed to these:

> I never go to the cafes here. It is like Manhattan Fifth Avenue. Too superficial. The package is beautiful but the inside is bad and too expensive.

Homestore café for example, can become a space where lower income people come to gain status according to Nergis (F, 26). It also is a "show off" place where "tikis's" (a term used for defining popular people and wannabies also sometimes referred to "beautiful people") like Turkan Soray's daughter go" that Ceyda (F, 17) and Didem (F, 17) firmly dissassociate themselves from. Almost all of the informants are dissatisfied with the food court. They say the food court is too crowded, dirty, poorly air conditioned because of the dense smoke and that the food served there, is not really suitable for their tastes. In general, they either use the food court for a quick drink, if they are really thirsty or to eat if they are really dying of hunger. Although almost all informants implicitly mentioned that the other reason for them to avoid the food court was the type of people attending, Teoman (M, 30) explicitly reminded me that the food court is the ideal place to view the heterogeneity of people in the mall.

It has been evident that all of the informants are aware of the mixture of social classes in the mall, either avoiding or living with it. They really don't reflect much upon Akmerkez's influence in bringing different people together as a social function of the place. In fact, they usually pity these people who can't buy from the stores but just use Akmerkez as a leisure site. Teoman (M, 30) has given more detailed reflections on the space. "The actual shoppers go elsewhere for skiing for example in

the weekends." He says that during weekends it is more the squatter people who come to Akmerkez rather than these actual shoppers:

> In Ankara we live very isolated. But, in Istanbul you cannot and Akmerkez has its share as well. Here, the two classes live together (lower and the upper class). There is no 'escape' from this. Maybe this is why Istanbul will be like those 3rd world cities in Kenya, in South Africa soon. Where you have these closed, special security areas you can live in without going out.

I ask him whether he means "gated communities". He says exactly this is what he means and this is because of this mixture and it has started in Ulus.

Besides being a quasi-public space embracing all consumers from every socio economic background, Akmerkez is also a space where you can see pop stars and models, film and TV stars and other nouveaux riches. In fact, not only see but can also act as celebrities, like Nergis (F, 26) has:

> I wear colourful clothes in the weekends, more crazy, very colourful. I had to come to Akmerkez one weekend and this young boy thought that I was a celebrity. I heard him asking his friend who I was. I was wearing sunglasses inside the mall because my eyes were swollen. Famous people wear sunglasses in Akmerkez not to be recognised but you know it works the opposite way. The boy resembled me to a VJ or something. He insisted in asking me whether I was her or not and I kept on saying that I wasn't. Then I gave up. He wanted an autograph and I actually gave one ((she laughs a lot here)). He followed me for 45 minutes in the mall.

Not only you can switch or claim identities from the mall, you can also negotiate them as in the case of Ceyda (F, 17) when she says "I don't belong to either group", she is not an Akmerkez tikis, nor is she an Atlas Pasaj grunge. She looks a bit tiki in the sense that she is well groomed but grunge enough in style. She explains her identity with her clothes. She shows her blouse from Atlas, her trousers from Mango and her boots from Deriden in great enthusiasm, showing her pleasure in such a mixture.

As well as being sites of modernity and the Western culture, shopping malls are also seen as the frontier of capitalism where we can see from a magazine article heading: "Capitol Shopping Centre: "Capitalist Action Till Midnight" (Aktuel Ajanda, 1997). So do some of the informants see Akmerkez alike. Ceyda (F, 17) says that: "Akmerkez is a great place for business opportunities. The place is great and the mall is very suitable for the target market. It is very important for the development of the city". There are reactions to the commercialisation of public spaces though. Once there used to be a training field for high school kids and amateur football teams on the land Akmerkez was built. Radikal newspaper columnist Metin Tukenmez (05/07/1999) states that the construction of such a commercial centre here prevents high school children from being physically, and thus mentally trained and how they instead "are after getting a sip of life pleasure from the glamorous environment". Teoman (M, 30) for instance says that there can be people who can be opposed to Akmerkez because of their political thoughts. Some of his friends from Mulkiye would very much resent the fact that he shops in and even enters Akmerkez, because of their leftist political thoughts.

The Non Modern, Non Western and The Turkish

Despite all the positive aspects attributed to Akmerkez being a Western and modern space, the non-Western aspects, often cited as the outcomes of the Turkish mentality, were refered to as the downsides of the mall. For instance, Ali (M, 38) says that the management of Akmerkez sacrifices the shop mix for money. We see many shoe stores between womens, mens and childrens stores as well as some lingerie stores

scattered around. He claims that this is due to the typical poor planning ((of the Turks)) at the beginning and that actually when Akmerkez was first opened there weren't this many shoe stores neither were there lingerie stores to have them situated in one place.

In the eyes of the informants, Akmerkez as a frontier of modernity and Westernisation could not succeed in inhabiting a more civilised type of shop assistant either. This is the most frequent issue that informants compared Turkey and the Western countries. They are still the "usual way". Mehmet (F, 29) says for example:

> The shop attendants could be different for services to higher income people but it isn't really like that in Akmerkez. It didn't create new people, new understandings in services.

While browsing in Paul and Shark with Teoman (M, 30), the attendant started following us around. Teoman (M, 30) reacted to this and told me that "we still have not developed the Anglo Saxon mentality" in shopping. He adds that in Europe you are left alone when you enter the shop. Whereas in Turkey they keep on asking you what you want, even actually showing you stuff that you would hate. He finds the attendants irritating in this sense. Still, he thinks the attendants in Akmerkez "much more qualified" compared to other shops. Tomris (F,35) on the other hand says that the level of attention in Akmerkez is less since the stores are big and there are loads of customers, so they can give little attention not more than she wants. But still, this doesn't change the fact that attendants are not very civilised and polite as they are in foreign countries.

Although informants don't like attendants following them around and just want attention when they ask for it, they also do like privileged attendance, which in fact leads to repeated visits. For instance, Gamze (F,30) usually shops from a couple of stores where she gets personal attention. She always expresses her pleasure of having XS size models specially tailored for her due to her good relations with the attendants. Yet she says:

> I should be able to browse without being disturbed. Only after I ask, then the attendant should interfere. I hate it when they say let me give you this and that under this. Abroad they just say hi, implying "I am aware that you are here and will attend whenever you want". I like it better. Here only assistants in prominent stores like Beymen and Yargici are like that.

Another example of this seems to be appearing in Nergis (F, 26)'s case. She says she definitely visits Sisley when she comes to Akmerkez. She says:

> They know me in Sisley. When I pass by and don't enter, next time they will say they were upset with me that I didn't enter, so now each time I go in and at least say hi. I love going there.

Meanwhile, patterns of Westernness and modernity often emerged on the issue of the security of the mall. Most of the informants do not really like the fact that they are searched at the entrance because it just does not fit the way they saw and imagine shopping malls abroad, particularly in Western countries. Nil (F, 28) says:

> When you go abroad and get used to shopping malls there, it really irritates you when you see all this security check here at the entrance. It gives you a peaceless, insecure image. And even I think this security stuff is artificial and for show off rather than real. It would have been better not to have it.

Akmerkez is not much secure for many of the informants in fact due to its "attraction" as being a quality, popular, developed and modern space that terrorists would most want to destroy. Tomris (F,35) says:

During the PKK events I stopped coming here for a couple of weeks. These shopping centres are generally places to be attacked first because they have good reputation and can be harmed. I know that they have won awards internationally and have a good reputation, so this would be the reason for a point for attack.

Many of the informants don't think that Akmerkez is particularly a safe place although there is an extensive security system, which particularly Teoman (M, 30) calls "very professional". The heterogeneity of people in the mall makes it even less safe. Almost all of the memories the informants seemed to be related with the lack of security in the mall. Akmerkez is not safer than anywhere else is in Istanbul and still the informants want to feel safe in Akmerkez. Nergis (F, 26) says:

I give much importance on safety because it is not really safe in Istanbul and anything could happen. I want to feel secure. You know what, it was so funny and ironic actually a couple of times a saw at the security check these men leaving their guns on the tray and getting through the security device and after showing their gun licence they enter with them. I said once that we could be victims of a licensed murder. I mean if the man gets crazy or something he can shoot someone in Akmerkez as well. This annoys me.

As some informants find the security working very properly and very systematically more others have memories that terrify them about how "sloppy" ("dandik") the security is:

Once a Galatasaray fan threatened a journalist saying 'you either write properly or I get you bulleted all over'. He was being searched all over Istanbul by the police. This man, I saw him wandering around Akmerkez freely, without any fear and he was even wearing a Galatasaray uniform. What kind of a security is this? They search you in the entrances actually. But I do find it useless. Usually in these security checks they don't search below the waist except for match entrances. They look at your appearance really. If you go in with confident steps they won't stop you. I claim here that I could easily get in plastic explosives inside if I wanted to. I heard that once a car was on fire and that there was an explosion. They used to search the cars with mirrors and everything but they didn't check the trunks. These are only artificial you know. Just to show off. Anybody that watches American movies could do everything here. (Mehmet, F, 29)

Informants want security in the mall but they don't want to harm the Western and developed, peaceful image. Morever, they usually think that this Western and developed image of Akmerkez makes it the very point of attack if the security is not handled in great strictness.

The informants generally refrain from doing their everyday shopping here, for instance from the Macrocenter branch in Akmerkez. This is a medium sized supermarket and often claimed to be very expensive by the informants. The price difference is sometimes attributed to the mall itself and sometimes to the expensiveness of Macrocenter in general. The supermarket is a convenience only for urgent needs. Teoman (M, 30) for example says: "if you always shop from Macrocentre it will be voluntarily emptying your wallet". Instead they usually browse around to see what's new and compare prices. Tomris (F,35) likes the variety and quality in Macro but doesn't usually shop there. She says that only these very rich and stupidly spending women buy from here. In fact, that day we went to Macrocenter to look for the price of a Tefal pan set that she had heard was in price promotion. She phoned her mother to learn the price elsewhere and got surprised that it was the same as in Macrocenter and eventually bought the set. Ceyda (F, 17) and Didem (F, 17) are the only informants who occasionally shop from Macrocenter. They shop especially here for their home parties to buy their drinks, alcohol and chips. I ask them whether they have any problems in buying alcohol here because they are under 18, they say no, laugh sarcastically and add that it is never a problem anywhere. They say that they were very happy with the expansion of the alcoholic beverage section in Macro. Not only price is compared or novelty searched for in shops like Macrocenter.

Browsing just for the pleasure is also possible in the mall. After all as Gamze (F,30) says: "You don't have to buy anything. You can browse around and they won't interfere". Tomris (F, 35) says she likes the jewellery shops and that she loves looking at their windows but she adds that "this is more to satisfy the eye, not to shop". Some informants were not that conscious about their "serendipitious search" habits (Sandikci and Holt, 1998). Before going into Mango, Ceyda (F, 17) talked about Homestore: "We always go in and look around". But Ceyda (F, 17) stops and thinks and realises "but Didem (F, 17) we never buy anything here actually, do we?" It comes as a surprise to them. They can't figure out why they have never bought anything although they say it is worth looking inside that there are good things there.

Meanwhile right next to the mall, each Thursday a street bazaar is frequented by shoppers. On such an afternoon, we saw a few people with unbranded black plastic bags around. One was a well dressed young women with a plastic bag with some textiles inside while Nergis (F, 26) stopped me and nodded:

> You can see scenes of this every Thursday evening, it is this bazaar next door and lots of people come here to Akmerkez after the bazaar shopping. They come and eat in the food court afterwards I suppose. The bazaar is very cheap. All sorts of people come here. High income people as well as people from other cities.

She tells me that there are even tours from Izmit, Bursa, Zonguldak to the Persembe Bazaar. Tomris (F,35) also mentions about the "bazaar shopping scene of Istanbul". She says that you can buy everyday items for clothing and for the house from these bazaars much cheaper. "For example" she says "Zeki Triko t-shirts are 25 million in the store in Akmerkez, whereas you can find the same t-shirt with very minor defects at the Persembe pazari for 2 million." She made sure that she wouldn't buy proper

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clothing from the bazaar, but just casual t-shirts and shorts for instance to wear to the beach or during the weekend.

Besides symbolising a modern and Western consumption space, and as a space where cultural traits can be seen, in the eyes of the consumers, Akmerkez also an important destination where many conveniences are bound up together. Still the convenience is also accompanied by difficulties and unwelcomed particularities of the mall which will be described in the following section.

Akmerkez: the convenience vs. the confusion

Even those who don't really appreciate malls, or those who would regret the presence of the architectural structure being in the middle of the district, admires the convenience of such a complex of commerce in such a dense and tiring city as Istanbul.

Mehmet (F, 29) for instance who would have preferred to live in Tesvikiye instead of near Akmerkez, where he could have a walk in the open, accessing many different destinations easily, Akmerkez still is a convenience rather than a pleasure. "Here in Akmerkez it is not open air. When I get out I will only be able to walk a couple of minutes and the only place to go is Akmerkez" he adds. Akmerkez becomes one destination, a whole that inhabits many others for Mehmet (F, 29).

Akmerkez provides convenience for its customers by providing a large variety of goods and servives in one destination. They can find many shops under one roof as Eda (F, 34) points out:

> You can find anything here, clothes, decoration, shoes. When you compare it with Bagdat caddesi and Nisantasi, the best thing about Akmerkez is that everything is side by side here in one single and small area. In Bagdat caddesi and Nisantasi within all those stores you have less variety. Here it is more compact and you walk less. There is more merchandise here in Akmerkez stores.

Besides, this is a very big opportunity for an Istanbul inhabitant since the distances one has to travel is great. Like those in the Ottomans, there are still carsis today that specialise in specific lines of products in a variety of areas in Istanbul (Akbayar et al., 1994: 477). Informants also give hints of the fact that the principle of shop mix of the Ottomans remain today. Nil (F, 28) likes the way the stores are situated because she finds all the stores she wants in one place. Though she realised that the relocation of Marks and Spencer made her not to come here ever since it changed places. Ayse (F, 40) thinks for a moment and says that she never thought of how important Akmerkez was for her before she was asked what she would do if Akmerkez were closed down. She says that she does all her present shopping and purchases for her child as well as going to cafés in one place and that this is very convenient for her. She says she would get scattered around if Akmerkez were to be closed. Although she gets bored with the place she still says that it "solves problems". She likes the tideness of the shop mix at the childrens stores coridor. But, Akmerkez alone is not enough for her, she also shops in different places. For instance, Bagdat Caddesi is one alternative she goes to with friends.

Akmerkez is a real convenience for many informants, but it can also become a burden. Although the stores in Akmerkez are basically situated in similar product lines, the triangular shape confuses almost all of the informants. In the end they say they get tired, confused and bored. Dogu and Erkip (2000) mentions, spatial factors of the mall as well as signage systems affects the wayfinding capacity of consumers greatly. This is one of the reasons why many informants do their shopping in places other than Akmerkez. Nergis (F, 26) started the tour guide business when she was very young, at 7th or 8th grade. She used to guide UAE tourists here in Akmerkez. She said she would never get lost here, but only within a couple of minutes we got lost. Teoman (M, 30) says he can find his major stores next to each other in Nisantasi, but he still doesn't like street shopping in Turkey. Whereas in Akmerkez he gets confused and doesn't always have a perfect shopping experience because at a point when he gets confused he gets tired and bored as well. This is why he prefers to do 80 % of his shopping of clothes in Ankara Karum or Migros which are much easier. He says about Akmerkez:

> You may buy things that you don't plan when getting lost, but it also steals from your time and energy for the actually planned purchase.

The trips we made all showed that they got lost, but also showed out that informants do in fact browse through shops that they did not intend to. Some know that the mall has been designed like this intentionally to confuse people and have them walk all around so that they can shop more. The inefficiency of the signage systems is also a major dissatisfaction for the informants. Although Dogu and Erkip's (2000) case study in Karum mall in Ankara has shown that signage systems have been more influential than "building configuration, visual accessibility and circulation paths" in wayfinding capabilities, they stress the fact that these spatial factors can be tackled

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by consumers depending on the extent of their opportunities of consuming the space. Similarly, as this research has shown, some informants have developed strategies to find their ways like mental maps that they construct with specific stores as benchmarks. Tomris (F,35) came to Akmerkez when it was under construction:

> I used to work for Mood, which supplied the furniture for the food court. Even then we couldn't find what was where, we got lost, it was so huge and complicated. I don't know whether they build shopping malls so complex intentionally or not. I am good at wayfinding. I used to get lost before but now I am used to it. I have several stores where I can get the sense of where I am and where other stores are. I even tried out the way finding thing in Akmerkez to keep in mind what is where and I trained myself. I first started a trip from the right hand corridor of Nectar, came back, then this time the left hand corridor and searched what is where to keep in mind.

Despite all these efforts she also got lost. She claimed that there wasn't a particular corridor or floor she gets stuck into. But there was in fact this instance when we did get stuck into the middle floor and she realised it when we started touring around the floor to end up coming across with Macro supermarket over and over again.

Though not all informants were as rigourous as Tomris (F,35) was on training for perfect wayfinding. Mehmet's (F, 29) first impression about Akmerkez that it was too complex and confusing did not change over the years. He says:

> I didn't realise that it was a triangle shape you know. I know that this building has an award winning architecture but the inner plan is sooo confusing I hate it, when I enter from a door I can't figure out which corner I am in. I want to delve right in and find what I am looking for. They still haven't put the sign posts into alphabetical order you know. You have to search all the list to find which store is where. Why don't they just change and improve this? I get tense. Actually I love shopping you know. But this place is like a labyrnth. You go around and around. Oh by the way, Profilo also has this strange thing, the elevators are capraz. This is either intentional so that you move more inside the mall or the architect is retarded. In Akmerkez at least the stairs are normal, you go up, turn around and again go upstairs. For example in Profilo you can never be on time for the movies if you have parked in the parking lot because you go around sooo much to get to the theatre.

Ceyda and Didem (F, 17) were the only exceptions to the wayfinding puzzle in Akmerkez. This case seems to strengthen Dogu and Erkip's (2000:751) stand on the issue that the wayfinding capability can depend on cultural factors such as "gender differences in spatial behavior". The two youngest informants said that, in the beginning it was confusing, but now they know the place by heart. In fact they say that Profilo shopping mall (which they have been less acquainted with) is disgusting in this sense, because it is a "labyrinth". They say the architect of Akmerkez is great because it is too easy to find ways. Both informants have stated that there are youngsters whom "live" in the mall. According to accounts from interviews, it seems probable that Ceyda and Didem have spent much more time in Akmerkez than have the other informants. Especially their practice of consumption, the intensity of the meaning the mall provides (especially in terms of sociality in the mall) also differs among Ceyda and Didem and the other, elder informants.

In conclusion, Akmerkez, communicated as a Western and modern shopping mall, is also concieved as such by the informants although there are particular (especially negative) aspects that informants suggest to be linked to the Turkish culture and mentality. In the next chapter the findings of this analysis will be discussed.

CHAPTER VI

VI. CONCLUSION

VI.1. Modernity and Traditions Coexisting in Consumption

The experience of Misir is differently construed by the marketers of the space and the consumers. Misir managers have intended to revive traditions and remind consumers the pleasures of the past as part of their commercial strategy. However, the managers do not claim it to be a real coffeehouse, instead what they have done was to create an "alternative café" (in Tayfun Karahoda's words) drawn from the traditional coffeehouse. In fact, it was very hard for both my informants and me to give one basic definition of the space. There are so many different names given to basically similar spaces for similar purposes in the context of coffeehouses. But whatever the name should be, the descriptions of the informants played an important role in differentiating between the spaces. After the analysis, I still call Misir, a "revived coffeehouse" or a "revived nargile coffeehouse" (the former seems more appropriate since the study on history of coffeehouses has shown that nargile was indispensable in almost all types of coffeehouses), since the marketer has recontextualised it intentionally to revive a tradition. Though, the consumer does not really feel the same about the space.

There are more differences than similarities in the consumption of the revived coffeehouse and its predecessors. The most striking difference is the presence and integration of women in the space. Women are even more frequent in the revived coffeehouses. This becomes a modern rejection of the tradition of coffeehouse, which is often seen as a space for male socialisation.

One similarity that the revived version seems to offer for the consumers is the relaxing environment, the sincerity although not attained fully, since still there is an isolation from the rest of the customers in the revived coffeehouse. Yet, informants mention how comfortable they feel in Misir compared to posh spaces like the cafes. They don't have to get dressed up for the occasion, to get ready for the gaze. They can even come to Misir in trainers. It is a more natural and casual environment where they feel as if in the comfort of their homes. This was a privilege only given to men in the traditional coffeehouse though.

Obviously, the consumers realise the "inauthenticity" of Misir, since both the space and the consumption practices are new and can seem "pretentious". An everyday activity that has long been forgotten has been put back into the modern lives but does not seem to fit with modern, Western lifestyles. So what is it that attracts the consumers so much to Misir to smoke the nargile, drink tea and Turkish coffee? It is the pleasure first of all. The pleasure of experimenting something new to their everyday lives, but in fact something old and traditional. It is the curiosity, the touristic experience that attracts them, offering variety and new pleasures to explore.

They don't waste time in the revived coffeehouse, contrary to those who do in the existing coffeehouse that "we know". The time spent in the revived coffeehouse is a deserved leisure time just as it is in the cafe.

Preferring the revived coffeehouse is not continuing traditions, since it already has ended for them. Actually, it is has never been a tradition for them to sustain anyway. But it is a unique trait that distinguishes "our culture" not from all but from the "West". It is the culture of the Ottoman, although whether it originates from the Arabs or Turks does not really seem to matter. For these consumers, the Ottoman culture is "our" culture anyway. The problematic heritage of the Ottoman for these consumers seems to be fading away. The pressure to cultivate a Western image rather than an Oriental one is not felt that much among the young urban and modern consumers in this space of consumption. One of the most modern and least traditional informant loves smoking the nargile and talks about her contentment with sharing this pleasure with her Lebanese and Egyptian friends and adds: "The Westerners don't really like it anyway". Still the negotiation of these identities does not imply a strict return to the Oriental or the Ottoman. The space is a hybrid form drawing from both the Western café and the Eastern coffeehouse that excludes those patterns and practices of consumption of both spaces that do not fit any more with their lifestyles.

Although, even from the planning phase it has been under the influence of international and Western standards and principles, Akmerkez management deliberately engages in activities and organisations to create traditions of its own. The detailed and meticulous selection of tenants, organisation of the management

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functions, strict bureaucratic processes, conformity with initial architecture and interior design principles, the responsibility claimed to provide a space for social harmony and peace, all are signs to intentions of creating uniqueness for the mall.

Despite the fact that these strong principles in management of the mall are influenced by modern and western systems of mall orchestration, traces can also be found in the organisation of Kapalicarsi as well.

For instance, although the glamour of Akmerkez is at once felt with the quality of the interior design material, the glamour of Kapalicarsi was felt with the quality of the products displayed on the shelves serving as decoration as well. Although Akmerkez management does not work as an association for the storeowners, it does in fact support the stores in times of trouble, as in the case of the last economic crisis. In this aspect, it resembles one of the functions of the guild that gave credit and supported the merchants of the covered bazaar. Besides, the selection criteria for being a tenant in the mall also seem to resemble the principles required for becoming a Kapalicarsi merchant by the guild system.

Moreover, the shop mix of the two shopping spaces in fact resemble each other very much. They also resemble each other in terms of shopping experiences. Kapalicarsi was also a space for passing time, "serendipitious search" and "product foreplay" (Sandikci and Holt, 1998) especially for women in the Ottoman period, as mentioned by numerous sources in the chapter on history.

Both are shopping centres for the highest quality products and mirror the social heterogeneity of the city of Istanbul. The Kapalicarsi was a heaven of products coming from all over the world as well as the quality handcrafted Ottoman products: "With its Damascus swords, Tartar bows and arrows, Arabic spears, Persian daggers, Nishabur turquoise, Bahrein pearls, diamonds, Ankara blankets, Afghan shawls, Indian muslin, English and German linen and Swedish steel, the Istanbul Bazaar was a dreamland for those from the West." (Gulersoy, 1980, p. 39). Akmerkez today, has a selection of stores selling the best Turkish and foreign brands.

In 1836 Julia Pardoe, a traveller to Istanbul visited the Kapalicarsi and wrote: "The Bedesten inside is very rich in jewellery. But if one wants to see these jewellery in great extent he or she either has to be a real buyer or has to pretend to be one since the ones displayed in the open are the relatively cheapest" (Evren and Girgin, 1997: 44). Atakli (Sabah, 1998) also mentions that the Gilan Jewellery in Akmerkez has a special flat at the residence tower for its special customers where the finest designs can be seen and ordered.

Yet of course, there are also essential differences between the two institutions. For instance, Kapalicarsi was built by a foundation (Vakfiye), and stores inside were rented to generate income for charity as well as other institutions like the mosque. In Akmerkez, the stores are rented by a commercial partnership, the owners of the mall, Dinckok, Dogu-Bati and Tekfen Groups. The architecture of the Kapalicarsi has not remained as planned but did change a lot due to the times' requirements and events. Although of course Akmerkez has not had any destructive events in its history of merely 8 years, it has also not gone through major architectural alterations. In fact,

the mall management has stressed the fact that even the simplest changes in the interior design cannot be easily realised due to their principle of sticking to the original design. Yet, they also mention that "the life of a mall is 50 years and during this lifetime it is usual to have 3 to 4 decorations". But, they may have to renovate before as new competitors enter the field.

Yet what is striking the most is that, the clearest principles of Kapalicarsi like the shop mix, or the passive attendance style of the storekeeper and the great security system, are attributed a Western concept that has not yet been successfully applied at Akmerkez.

Despite all these resemblances as well as the differences, Akmerkez must definitely be characterised as a Western space, a frontier of development and modernity both in the eyes of the consumers as well as how the mall management has communicated the space. From both perspectives, the mall represents nothing of the traditional, the past, the Ottoman. The consumers were not alien to the shopping mall concept since they had been familiar with the first mall in Turkey. They have a general notion that malls are Western and European. But specifically Akmerkez is European, it is a "diamond" exceptionally developed and modern for the Turkish context. It becomes a source of pride for the consumers that they can show off to foreigners with Akmerkez. This can at least to some extent, relieve the underdeveloped image Turkey reflects.

Akmerkez is somewhat a reflection of the Istanbul population and many informants are aware of it. This does not mean that different social classes live happily together

and practice the same activities or consume the same identities. In fact it is rather the opposite. The spaces consumed within the mall are even segregated, the food court and the corner cafes for instance depict very clearly such discrimination. There are also many identities produced inside the mall, making it all too confusing even to describe. Akmerkez has many identities that one could draw from as Ceyda (F, 17)'s description of the different levels of "tikidom" within the mall. There are tikis "raised from the seed" ("cekirdekten yetisme"), "wannabe tikis" ("ezik tikiler"), "beyond tikis" ("asmis tikis") that all consume the mall differently for different purposes. Consumers develop strategies and practices of consumption to avoid the loosening borders of social distinction in the mall.

Moreover, the mall is indeed a controlled space that does not really allow access for all the realities of social heterogeneity and differences to go inside. For instance, an old poor peddlar woman had just sat down in front of a window of Homestore as I and a couple of kiosk attendants noticed her. She thought that I was interested in buying her handicraft goods, so I nodded and turned away to find a better place to observe her. It took only a couple of seconds for me to go around the kiosk and turn my eyes back at her to find out that she had literally disappeared. I could not see her at any of the corridors as I searched very quickly. This is not quite definite but I assume that she was moved away from the space by the securities. Other than being searched at the entrance (which is not specific to Akmerkez, you can even be checked on the open road that leads to Kapalicarsi), and seeing the K9 dogs around the mall a couple of times, this was the real experience that made me feel that Akmerkez is really a very controlled and regulated "public space" as mentioned by Zukin (1998). It is not just a covered shopping area, it is also well controlled.

Besides, you get so much into the created atmosphere of the mall that the existence of the old pedlar women represents a great contradiction to the image of the luxurious, pompous, glamorous and Western Akmerkez. In this sense, there is a limit to say that Akmerkez really becomes a mirror of the social realities and heterogeneity of Istanbul streets where poverty and luxury co-exists.

Although Akmerkez provides great convenience for all informants, it is not a mall for everyday shopping as in the case of Kapalicarsi in the past. It is a mall that they search for quality products, browse through stores just for the sake of pleasure and buy those valuable and basic items. They prefer to do their everyday shopping in other shopping centres and even the bazaars like Persembe pazari, another shopping practice of the past.

In contradiction to convenience, the mall also brings with great confusion and stress with its triangular shape. Although the mall management is very content with this characteristic which makes visitors stay longer, the consumers think differently. Some have stated that the labyrinth-like mall makes you go to stores that you don't intend to but in turn distracts you from your actual purchase. Though Akmerkez still cannot compete with Kapalicarsi in terms of its complexity and confusion it appears. The Turkish competition of the Johnnie Walker Action Time 2001 World Orienteering Championship was held in Kapalicarsi because it was the most complex site within the city as the stand attendant distributing the application brochures in Akmerkez said.

Kapalicarsi seems to have been a very particular space for women to go out in the public, a very significant space where they can only be seen besides the home. Yet this is not the case for the urban modern women as Akmerkez is not the only space a woman can socialise and be seen in public. While explaining the shopping mall scene in contemporary Turkey Cindoglu and Durakbasa (forthcoming in Kandiyoti) identified malls as "controlled and safe" places for women to freely shop. This observation might have come out of a different group of social background. The informants under scrutiny in this research (young, urban and modern) did not really reveal any kind of extra freedom given to women by this specific space. In fact, Akmerkez is usually seen as an unsafe space for both genders. Moreover, in light of the accounts of this research in particular, male informants have also very much entered the domain of shopping, benefiting from its convenience and pleasures.

VI.2. Concluding remarks

As Thompson (1996: 94) had argued, traditions are not abandoned in the modern society, they are "re-embedded in new contexts". We can see this in the Akmerkez case, which constructs a tradition of its own, both through the practices of the consumers and managers of the mall just as Kapalicarsi had done in the Ottomans. Akmerkez has become a model for other malls to be constructed around the country and Istanbul, like in the Sabah newspaper title (30th April 2001) about a "shopping and culture complex" to be built in the Fatih district reading; "A carsi like Akmerkez for Fatih". Although Akmerkez mirrors an image of prosperity, development, modernity and Westernisation, it also seems to reflect traditions of the Ottoman Kapalicarsi. This continuity is not something intentional, neither the mall

management nor the consumers reflect, act and give meaning upon traditions while producing and consuming Akmerkez.

Meanwhile, the revived coffeehouse has not turned out to be a space where traditions are consumed. It clearly is a lot different than how it used to be consumed in the old days, even different from how neighbourhood coffeehouses are consumed today. The revived coffeehouse is a café that also derives its management principles and visions from the modern and Western, which in return is consumed in a modern way, rejecting well questioned traditions by playing and recontextualising them. But both marketers and consumers have their own ways, practices and ends in producing and consuming the space. The marketers stress the importance of utilizing modern management principles but in return they also want to sustain and revitalize traditions in this space of consumption. For the consumers on the other hand, the authenticity of the traditional performance is in great suspect. Neither informants have said that they find revived coffeehouses "authentic" but still they admire the fact that something from the past, a cultural uniqueness is being sustained, remembered and continued next to their modern everyday preferences just as the "authoritative performances" Arnould and Price (2000) have mentioned.

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APPENDIX 1
MISIR INFORMANTS

Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	Education
MUSTAFA	29	M	Banker	University
EMRE	22	M	Student	Undergraduate
SEDA	27	F	Broker	MA
OZGE	28	F	Investment	University
UGUR	28	F	Government	University
ETHEM	47	M	Journalist	University
DILEK	45	F	U. Teacher	University
SELEN	25	F	Embassy	MA
ARDA	26	M	International O.	MBA
ESRA	30	F	Not working	MS and MBA
GAMZE	30	F	Government	University
YONCA	55	F	Housewife	High school

APPENDIX 2
AKMERKEZ INFORMANTS

Name, Age & Gender	Occupation	Education	Lives & Works	Frequency of Visit
ESRA, 34, F	Banker	MBA	Goztepe Taksim	≥Once/twice a month
TOMRIS, 35, F	Banker	University	Ulus Levent	Once a week
MEHMET, 29, M	Investment	University	Ulus Harbiye	≥ Twice a week
ALI, 38, M	Store owner	MBA	Etiler Various	Once in a while
AYSE, 40, F	Housewife	MBA	Etiler H. Wife	≥Once a week
NERGIS, 26, F	Platform Assistant and student	Undergrad.	Sariyer Taksim	≥ Twice a week
NIL, 28, F	Banker	University	Bebek Taksim	≥Once a week
TEOMAN, M, 30	Exporter	PhD	Ulus Ulus	≥Once a week
CEYDA, 17, F	Student	Highschool	Levent Besiktas (school)	≥ Twice a week
DIDEM, 17, F	Student	Highschool	Levent Beyoglu (school)	≥ Twice a week
GAMZE, 30, F	Government	University	Ankara Ankara	3-4 times a year

FIG.1: Masters at leisure: Retired regulars at Genclik Parki, socialising with nargile.

FIG.2: The crowd gathers after six o'clock in Anadolu Kahvesi: Informal environment where you can join any group you want. No "gazing" was apparent here**.**

FIG.3: Wooden chairs in Erzurumlular Kahvesi: Classics of the café and surprisingly what makes a revived coffeehouse "authentic".

FIG.4: The "McDonaldized" coffeehouse in Tophane.

FIG.5: Further revivals in Misir: returning to the old language and symbols.

FIG.6: The interior of Misir: Mind the stove in the middle.

FIG.7-8: Who says girls don't go to coffeehouses? They can even smoke nargile in coffeehouses but in revived ones. Is this the modern resistance?

FIG.9: Not just nargile, you can also smoke your own tobacco that you roll yourself or Captain Black, whichever suits your mood.

FIG.10: Thinking back the good old days in Erzurumlular Kahvesi: Memories were much better than today. Those days people would gather together in the coffeehouse and chat altogether while smoking nargile. Today it's very different.

FIG.11-12: Traces of the local shop mix principle. Note the specialisation of the corridor in home appliances and electronics. Even branches of electronic stores of Dogubank are situated in Akmerkez.

FIG.13: One of the corner cafes in Akmerkez.

FIG.14: The food court featuring the MusicWall.

FIG.15: Interior of Akmerkez.

FIG.16: Interior of Kapalicarsi today.