GENDER AND SERVICE WORK
IN TURKEY'S NEW CONSUMERIST ECONOMY:

A CASE STUDY AT THREE CAFÉ CHAINS

Thesis submitted to
The Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Zach Richer
Boğaziçi University
2010

"Gender and Service Work in Turkey's New Consumerist Economy:
A Case Study at Three Cafe Chains"

A thesis prepared by Zach Richer in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree at the Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History of Bogazici University.

This thesis has been approved by:

Prof. Ayse Bugra _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Assoc. Prof. Duygu Koksal _____

Assist. Prof. Berna Yazici _____

An abstract of the thesis of Zach Richer, for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History to be taken February 2011

Gender and Service Work in Turkey's New Consumerist Economy:
A Case Study at Three Café Chains

Turkey's embrace of neoliberal economic policies since the 1980s has given rise to both to an urban consumer base and the retail industries that cater to it. The shopping centers, retail chains, restaurants, and coffee shops proliferating all over the cities are more than simply sites of consumption, however. They also constitute new, semi-public spaces where gender norms are relatively unfixed, and therefore open for social contestation.

Extending a literature that privileges the experiences of women shoppers in renegotiating acceptable public gendered behavior, this thesis focuses on the women workers who occupy an ambivalent role within the servicescape. In a labor market where women's participation has been historically low, these new service sector jobs offer potential avenues for the public and professional visibility of women. However, they are also constrained by their position in an employment relation that objectifies their subjectivities and subsumes their emotional and embodied labor in the company brand image.

Based on a case study of three café chains in Istanbul, this thesis shows the multiple ways gender norms are being structured and interpreted in Turkey's growing service sector. The potentials and pitfalls of these processes are explored in the words of the young women and men who occupy positions in this fastest-growing sector of the Turkish labor market.

Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Yüksek Lisans Derecesi için Zach Richer tarafından Şubat 2011'de teslim edilen tezin kısa özeti

Başlık: Türkiye'nin Yeni Tüketim Ekonomisinde Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Hizmet Çalışanları: Üç Kahve Dükkanı Zincirinde İnceleme

Türkiye'nin 80 sonrası dönemde neoliberal politikalari benimsemesi hem kentlerdeki tüketici tabanının artmasına, hem de bu ihtiyaci karşılayan mağazaların artmasına sebep oldu. Fakat şehrin her yerini saran alışveriş merkezleri, mağaza zincirleri, restoranlar ve kahve dükkanları yalnızca tüketim alanları değil, aynı zamanda cinsiyet normlarının tam belirlenmemiş olduğu yarı-kamusal alanları oluşturuyorlar. Bu nedenle de bu normlar toplumsal münakaşaya açıklar.

Toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı kabul edilebilir davranışların yeniden belirlenmesinde özellikle kadın müşterilerin deneyimlerine öncelik veren literatürden daha ileriye giden bu tez, "hizmet-alanları"nda (servicescape) muğlak bir yere sahip kadın işçilere odaklanıyor. Kadın katılımının tarihsel olarak düşük olduğu iş gücü piyasasında, hizmet sektöründeki bu yeni işler, kadınlara mesleki ve kamusal alanda görünürlük kazanmaları için olası bazı yollar sağlıyor. Fakat, bu kadınlar aynı zamanda onların öznelliklerini nesnelleştiren, ve duygusal ve fiziksel emeklerini şirketin markasına hapseden bir iş ilişkisiyle kısıtlanmış oluyorlar.

İstanbul'da üç kahve dükkani zincirinde gerçekleştirilen çalışmalara dayanan bu tez, Türkiye'nin büyüyen hizmet sektöründe cinsiyet normlarının farklı şekillerde yapılandırıldığını ve yorumlandığını gösteriyor. Bu süreçlerdeki güçlükler ve imkanlar, Türkiye işgücü piyasasının en hızlı büyüyen sektöründe calışan genç kadın ve erkeklerin anlatılarında inceleniyor.

Acknowledgements

In completing the present work, I owe a great debt to the individuals and institutions, friends, family and advisers who made it possible. I would like to thank the professors on my jury, Duygu Köksal, Berna Yazıcı, and my adviser, Ayşe Buğra, for their patience as I found my way in this work, and for their helpful guidance in pointing me in the right direction.

A great number of good friends assisted in various aspects of this work. Pelin Unsal, Djene Bajalan, and Josh Brown culled their respective libraries and offered stimulating comments and criticism. I am particularly indebted to Esra Bakkalbaşıoğlu and Lisya Yafet for helping me hone the wording of my questionnaire in order to capture the desired data.

The extraordinary efforts of Filiz Kahraman deserve special mention. In addition to the invaluable assistance she supplied in gathering data and conducting interviews, she showed deftness and wisdom in her always-appropriate application of encouragement/assistance, suggestion/criticism, understanding/pressure, and faith/skepticism.

Lastly, I would like to thank my respondents, the service workers at the three cafes that made up my case study. As is often the case among service work in Turkey's consumerist economy, these women and men work long and difficult hours at their jobs. Nevertheless, many voluntarily took time from their days to fill out a questionnaire, sit for an interview, or encourage their co-workers to do the same. In a very literal way, this work could not have been completed without their participation.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

GENDER AND SERVICE WORK
IN TURKEY'S NEW CONSUMERIST ECONOMY

Writing in 1972, Ernest Mandel coined a term "late capitalism" that defined an era of thinking among left-wing economists. "The basic hallmark of late capitalism," he said, is "the phenomenon of *over-capitalization*, or non-invested surplus capitals, set in motion by the secular fall of the rate of profit."[1]At issue was the fear that the enormous gains in productivity in the quarter-century after World War II had created more goods than the market could afford to absorb. "What the capitalist mode of production cannot do is to increase…consumption at the same rate as the productivity of labor."[2] The increasing top-heaviness of capitalism, the theory went, would lead to its eventual collapse.

Despite the recent Great Recession, this has not yet come to pass. Rather, four decades after Mandel, Yiannis Gabriel has cheekily described the contemporary economyas "latte

[1] Mandel, E. 1975 (1972). *Late Capitalism*. Verso. New York. Page 387.
[2] Ibid, page 398.

capitalism."[3] Far from the realization of underconsumptionist fears that drove debates in the 1970s, consumption is now seen by many as the driving force of the economy, and the creation of economic value is increasingly derived from the logic of the coffee shop. The new political economy of consumerism signals a break from the past towards a capitalismwhere services[4], experiences[5], and enchantment[6] are the new commodities. Here, the Fordist standards of rationalism and efficiency seem like quaint concepts—no longer saleable values. Instead, latte capitalism has reached its triumph when "charging a hefty mark-up for a cup of frothy milk with a shot of acqua sporca may seem to epitomize the rationale of value."[7]Goods may still be the formal objects of consumption, but they are no longer its main allure. In the consumerist economy, it is not the market price of the coffee bean from which the price of a latte is set, but rather the complex arrangement of sensory experience created in its presentation, atmospherics, and imagined cultural content.

This shift of locus from the factory to the shopping mall[8] in political economy has been accompanied by a shift in focus from the producer to the consumer in sociology. This has breathed new life into the time-wearied methodologies of political economy and allowed a

---

[3] Gabriel, Y. 2009. "Conclusion—Latte Capitalism and Late Capitalism: Reflections on Fantasy and Care as Part of the Service Triangle" in Korczynsky, M and Macdonald, C.L. (eds.) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge. New York. Page 175.

[4] Sherry, J.F. 1998. *Servicescapes: The Concept of Place in Contemporary Markets.* NTC Business Books. Chicago.

[5] Christensen, J. 2009. *Global Experience Industries: The Business of the Experience Economy*. Aarhus University Press. Langelongsgade, Denmark.

[6]Ritzer, G. 2005. *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Continuity and Change in the Cathedrals of Consumption 2/e*. Pine Forge Press. Thousand Oaks, CA.

[7] Gabriel, Page 175.

[8] Akcaoglu, A. 2008. "The Mallification of Urban Life in Ankara: The Case of ANKAmall." MA Thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the Social Sciences, Middle East Technical University. The Department of Sociology.

deeper engagement across a broader range of social dynamics, including gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and other forms of identities outside of class.[9]However, for all its potential in expanding methodological scope, the sociology of consumerism is in danger of making an important oversight. After having been bloodied by the marginalization of manufacturing in the post-industrial West, the dissolution of labor power, "flexible" employment(and the accompanying endemic high rates of unemployment) that typified late capitalism, the worker has been too often left for dead by the budding cultural theorists. Most treatments of the consumerist economy are heavily influenced by the symbolic manipulation of objects, placing the consumer in the center of a story surrounded only by abstract signs.[10]In all the excitement of "spectacular consumption"[11], "cathedrals of consumption"[12], and the "new means of consumption"[13], comparatively little attention is paid to the men and women, from the elderly to the adolescent, who make the consumption economy run. Where does the service worker fit in the consumption economy?

This thesis hopes to contribute towards answering this question, applying the analytics of the growing literature on service work in the consumerist economy to the front line service work in contemporary Istanbul. In doing so, it cautiously accedes that there has begun, and continues

[9] Indeed, "intersectionality theory" shows how these social groupings are variously configured in individuals, complicating their personal and social identities. See Collins, P.H. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.*

[10] This bias is heavily influenced by the works of Baudrillard. See Baudrillard, J. 1998 (1970) (Eng. Translation by C. Turner). *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures.* SAGE Publications, Ltd. London.

[11]Debord, G. 1994 (1967) (Eng. Translation by D. Nicholson-Smith). *The Society of the Spectacle.* Zone Books. New York.

[12] Fiske dissects this frequently quoted metaphor in Fiske, J. 2000. "Shopping for Pleasure: Malls, Power, and Resistance" in Schor, J. and Holt, D. (eds.) *The Consumer Society Reader*. The New Press. New York.

[13]Ritzer, G. 2001. *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption: Fast Food, Credit Cards and Casinos.* SAGE Publications, Ltd. London.

to be, a qualitative shift in the regime of capital accumulation away from production towards consumption that argues for new approaches to understanding social dynamics both inside and outside the workplace.As noted by a number of social theorists, both the nature and the objects of consumption have changed from a preoccupation with physical goods (traditional commodities) to one of experiences (immaterial commodities[14]).Such analysis carries significant implications for the labor market for service work, where classical labor theory continues to offer critical insights, but is no longer sufficient.As the increase of "front line" service employment in the consumption economy(that is, labor performed by those for whom customer interface is integral to their job description[15]) places more and more workers at the site of simultaneous production and consumption, the logic of the latter bleeds into the former. The (gendered) bodies and "bodily dispositions"[16] of the service workers perform the aesthetic[17] and affective[18] labor that is instrumental in adding value to the consumer experience.Put simply, the food court institutes different systems of control (and opportunities for resistance) than the shop floor. The labor performed in today's cathedrals of consumption is more than mere production in that it is also

[14] Hardt, M. and Negri, A. 2000. *Empire*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA. Page 290.
[15] See Korczynsky, M. 2009. "Understanding the Contradictory Lived Experience of sErvice Work: The Consumer-Oriented Bureaucracy" in Korczynsky, M and Macdonald, C.L. (eds.) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge. New York. Pages 73-90.
[16]Bourdieu, P. 1990 (1980). *The Logic of Practice.* Stanford University Press. Stanford, CA. Page 66.
[17] Warhurst et al. Page 102.
[18] Hardt and Negri. Page 292.

atmospheric.[19] Its exploitation is less visible in that servers are answerable to both customer and manager.[20]

In the following chapters, I will try to carve out space for understanding the identities of the front line service worker in the context of a growing literature on the consumerist economy in Turkey. The Turkish case provides an interesting example of the ambivalences of service work in the consumerist economy in that the country's experiences with consumerism have been relatively recent and incredibly rapid, closely tied with economic neoliberalization. In the past decade—a time in which the total labor market in Turkey actually contracted—the number of jobs in wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant services has increased by over 50%.[21]Meanwhile, the number of shopping mall openings in the first decade of the 21st century was more than five times greater than in the 1990s.[22] Istanbul now features the two largest shopping centers in Europe[23] and there are currently 121 separate new mall projects underway in that city alone.[24] Often labeled as *yaşam merkezleri* or "life centers", these evermore ostentatious cathedrals of consumptions have become fixtures of Istanbul's budding consumerist economy. The novelty of the form and content of shopping malls—with their imported products and intimations of foreign lifestyles—has captured the imagination those in Istanbul aspiring for

[19] An elaboration of how front line service workers are marketed as part of servicescapes will be given below. See also Sherry, 1998 and Bitner, M.J. 1992. "Servicescapes: The Impact of Physical Surroundings on Customers and Employees." *Journal of Marketing*. Vol. 56, No. 2. Pages 57-71.

[20] Korczynsky calls this the "customer-oriented bureaucracy", which will also get further discussion below.

[21] Turkish Statistical Institute. *Statistical Indicators 1923-2008*.

[22] Akcaoglu, 2008. Page 14.

[23] Istanbul Cevahir, built in 2005, was surpassed as Europe's largest by the 2009 opening of Forum Istanbul.

[24] Arslan, T.V.; Sezer, F.S.; and Isigicok, E. 2010. "Magnetism of Shopping Malls on Young Turkish Consumers." *Young Consumers. Vol 11, No. 3.* Page 179.

any number of social change, and they are increasingly the stage for negotiating new forms of identity, based along distinctions of class, gender and modernity.

A fixture of these shopping centers is the coffee shop. Istanbul, of course, has a long history with coffee, and neighborhood-based *kahvehane*s as well as tea gardens continue to be relevant sites of local socio-political activity.[25] What the coffee shop has offered Istanbul's new consumerist class, however, is something different than this. As an imported symbol of Western hedonic sophistication, and imbued with the imaginary cosmopolitan allure of "coffee culture", the coffee shop is a new quasi-public urban space where the normative boundaries of cultural inclusion have yet to be firmly drawn. However, neither are they in any manner *tabula rasa*—as centrally-conceived and organized chain stores, they have been purposefully branded and designed to engender a particular aesthetic, or what marketing analysts call "servicescapes."[26]And at the very heart of these negotiations—between the customer and the brand, the novel and the quotidian, and the cosmopolitan and local—stands the service worker.

My field research considers the subjective experiences of the service workers of three different café chains in Istanbul. All three are popular and successful cafés, offering their customers an array of different concoctions of coffee, milk, and sugar in environments built for the consumption of leisure. They have all come to Istanbul within the last twelve years and have since proliferated throughout the global city at an alarming rate. Each, as well, presents a different level of engagement with the imaginarycosmopolitan notion of "coffee culture", designing servicescapes to orient their brands to different segments of Istanbul's consumerist

[25] For an interesting historical example of the (male) political venue of the tea house, see Houston, C. 2001. "The Brewing of Islamist Modernity: Tea Gardens and Public Space in Istanbul." *Theory, Culture, and Society.* Vol. 18, No. 6. Pages 77-97.
[26] Bitner, 1992.

public. Integral to this design is the service worker, who is not only the customer's primary personal liaison with the coffee shop, but also provides what Sherman[27], following Goffman[28], calls "service theater": that critical element of experiential affect that is the foundation for value under latte capitalism. From demographic information gathered from employee surveys, as well as from qualitative interviews from managers and servers alike, this research sketches the position of the service worker in Turkey's growing consumerist society.

In doing so, I train particular analytic focus on one especially important aspect of identity formation and exploitation within Turkey's consumerist economy, that of gender. This aspect merits particular attention in Turkey due to the country's historically low levels of women's labor force participation generally, and their involvement Turkey's consumerist sectors in particular. Though Turkish women have long engaged in the provision of professional services such as law, medicine and public administration[29], they currently hold fewer than 15% of all positions in retail, restaurants, and hotels.[30]This is at notable variance with international trends, as the consumerist sector is one of the most "feminized" sectors of the economy. This also is worthy of close attention because of the strong gender focus within the literature on consumer society, both internationally and in Turkey,[31] that has nevertheless ignored how gender roles are shaped by customer interaction with service workers. As stated above, the consumerist sector is

[27]Sherman, R. 2007. *Class Acts: Service and Inequality in Luxury Hotels*. The University of California Press. Berkeley, CA. Pages 20-21.

[28] Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Anchor Books. New York.

[29]Öncü, Ayşe 1981. "Turkish Women in the Professions: Why So Many?" in Abadan-Unat, Nermin (ed.) *Women in Turkish Society*. E.J. Brill. Leiden. Pages 181-193.

[30] Turkstat.

[31]Durakbaşa, Ayşe and Cindoğlu, Dilek 2002. "Encounters at the Counter: Gender and the Shopping Experience" in Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Pages 73-89.

the fastest-growing in terms of employment in Turkey, and the 15% of those jobs currently held by women act as important, visible representations of women in the Turkish workforce.

As will be seen, the servicescape at each of the three café chains considered in my field research features a workforce and division of labor with very different gender compositions. A major purpose of this study is to determine how these brands have conceptualized gender in the consumer experience they hope to create for their customers, and how both men and women service workers at these coffee shops understand and fulfill these roles. The questionnaire and interviews were designed to address the following questions:

- How are gender identities formed and exploited at coffee shops in Istanbul's new consumerist economy?
- How are perceived differences in local and foreign gender norms mobilized in structuring and performing service work?
- How do men and women in the service industry view working together in a highly sex-segregated sector?

MAPPING THE SERVICESCAPES IN TURKEY'S CONSUMERIST ECONOMY:

SITES AND METHODOLOGY

Because this thesis is couched in and at the same time critical of the existing theoretical approaches towards consumption in contemporary Turkey, it will be useful to provide some initial context of the field and show what exactly my research hopes to contribute to it. A fuller

exegesis of the growing literature on Turkey's consumerist economy is provided in Chapter 3; the remainder of the present chapter is intended to introduce in brief the theoretical framework in which the subsequent chapters are to be approached. First, I provide a rationale for why the coffee shop is an appropriate site for the study of service work in Turkey's consumerist economy. This section will analyze the extent to which the servicescapes of café chains are meant to be understood as representative instantiations of the kinds of opportunities and constraints forming the experiences of service workers throughout the consumerist economy as a whole, and how my approach might be applicable to other places of service work. It also offers a preliminary introduction to the three café chains chosen for my field study, as well as my rationale for doing so.

Secondly, I explain the methodological approaches utilized in targeting, collecting, and analyzing data. This will provide the reader with an interpretive lens through which to view the findings laid out in Chapter 4, as well as identify possible limitations and shortcomings. Together, these two sections lay out the critique, approach, and contribution I hope to make through the rest of this study. Finally, the organization of the remainder of the thesis is outlined in a plan of chapters.

Sites of the Study

In seeking to instantiate how the dynamics of gender and front line service work are played out within the broader consumerist economy in Turkey, the decision of research site was an important one. The coffee shop became apparent as the ideal venue for such fieldwork for a number of reasons. Coffee shops are reliable fixtures within the cathedrals of consumption that

are the backbone of the consumerist economy, but they lack the generality of the shopping mall. Rather than the solipsistic hedonism of consumerist activities that take place in retail shops and boutiques, coffee shops evince a more other-directed aesthetic. Whereas the food court is the frenetic epicenter of the mall-in-motion, coffee shops are self-contained oases designed to promote the conspicuous indulgence in leisure. These dynamics allow for the longest sustained period of social posturing within the cathedrals of consumption while also creating the conditions for both substantive and imagined interactions with the service worker. This social feature of the coffee shop may somewhat subvert the temporal logic of consumerist economy based on constant motion, but it simultaneously produces its greatest commodity: The coffee shop more than any other place in the mall offers its customers the sensation of having had an experience.

This feature of the coffee shop best captures the spirit of the consumerist economy. Just as Gabriel explained how in latte capitalism, value is derived from creating a sensation of enchantment to the quotidian[32], marketing specialists claim that experience is best engendered through the construction and manipulation of servicescapes: "the ability of the physical environment to influence behaviors and to create an image."[33] As Christenson says, "experienced values arise whenever companies engage customers in a personal, memorable way...Companies offer experiences to customers when they use services as the stage and goods as props to engage an individual."[34] Of course, one key ingredient has been left out: if services are the stage and goods are the props, service workers are certainly the actors.

[32] Gabriel, 175.
[33] Bitner, 57.
[34] Christenson, 25.

Coffee shops, as "lifestyle enclaves"[35], are excellent sites to explore the dynamics of the service work within the consumerist economy because their servicescapes encourage frequent interaction between consumers and producers. As Bitner says, "because the service generally is produced and consumed simultaneously, the consumer is 'in the factory.'"[36] What's more, the server's identity represents such value-added to the final product, it is difficult to distinguish which exactly is being consumed.

Thompson and Arsel claim that the coffee shop industry exemplifies a feature of the consumerist economy wherein the servicescapes of individual café chains are formed in relation to a dominant template, what they call a "hegemonic brandscape" or "a cultural system of servicescapes that are linked together and structured by discursive, symbolic, and competitive relationships to a dominant (market-driving) experiential brand."[37] In the case of coffee shops, Thompson and Arsel claim that all café chains model their servicescapes in response to the hegemonic brandscape developed by Starbucks. This has certainly been the case in Turkey, where the similarities to the Seattle-based giant are not only discernible in the design and menus, but are constantly and purposefully evoked by both the managers and employees in each of the three considered café chains.

Indeed, each of the café chains in this survey was chosen for the particular orientation of its servicescapes to the hegemonic brandscape of Starbucks. However, the similarities among these three café chains should not be exaggerated. As will be shown at length, each projects its

[35] Thompson, Craig J. and Arsel, Zeynep 2004. "The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers' (Anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization." *The Journal of Consumer Research.* Vol. 31, No. 3. Page 639.
[36] Bitner, 57.
[37] Thompson and Arsel, page 632.

own desired associations with the imagined cosmopolitan "coffee culture" of Starbucks and a more "traditional" aesthetic, differences that are reflected not only in their menu items and design concept, but importantly also in their hiring decisions and their gendered devisions of labor. Rather than as a strict descriptivist tool describing the governing logic of all coffee shop servicescapes, then, the hegemonic brandscape will be approached for the purposes of this study as a useful heuristic to understand the different formations of servicescapes in the three café chains under consideration.

Crucially, it must be pointed out that the different strategies employed by the café chains to engender certain kinds of consumer behaviors can only be partially successful. As Thompson and Aresl concede, the most they can do is "provide a constellation of objectified meanings (i.e., discourses, material goods, and servicescape atmospherics) that consumers can incorporate into their worldviews and put to a wide variety of interpretive and identity-constructive uses."[38] Conflicts and contestations of the enforced behavioral norms of the hegemonic brandscape are played out on the café floor. It is exactly these processes between expectation and imagination that shape the subjectivities of the service workers in these café chains.

To what extent can an analysis of coffee shops speak to the various forms of service work within the consumerist economy? At this point, it is important to make the causal ordering of theoretical approach explicit. In choosing the café chain as the site of my field research, it is with recognition that no coffee shop can be a pure instantiation of all the complex dynamics determining the constraints and opportunities of service workers in the consumerist economy. Inductive generalizations drawn from this study will be only minimally useful in understanding the position of service workers in other spectacular sites of mass consumption, such as clothing

[38] Ibid.

stores, resort hotels, and thematic restaurants.[39] Rather, this study is intended to show the new kinds of platforms for social negotiation that the logic of consumerist ideology creates, engenders, and informs. In an economy in which value derives from the commodification of spectacle, enchantment, and experience, servicescapes will *always* configure service work in ways that market their brand and service workers will be forced to reconcile their subjectivities with these objectifications. Because of the particularities of the coffee shop—its relative temporal fixity, its emphasis on social display and flirtation, and the integral position of the service worker in the generation of commodity value—it provided ideal conditions for measuring these dynamics.

Methodology

As stated above, each of the three café chains in this survey has attempted to orient its brand to greater or lesser degree in relation to the imaginary cosmopolitan notion of "coffee culture"[40], and each was chosen specifically according to this criterion. Beyond this, they share a great deal of similarities, forming a reasonable basis for comparison. All are table-service oriented, with products served on quality plates alongside metal cutlery. All are sit-down cafés where leisure is a tacitly expected component of the consumed product. All occupy sites in the city which are largely coterminous, with a representative of each chain within walking distance of another. Most shopping malls contain at least one coffee shop from among these chains, and

[39] On this latter topic, see the fascinating discussion of the Camlica Restaurant in Çınar, Alev 2005. *Modernity, Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places and Time*. The University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis. Pages 127-133..

[40] The associations related to this trope are explained more fully in the context of my findings in Chapter 4.

many contain two or three. Consistent with the operations of latte capitalism, each has an expansive menu that (perhaps by design) prices out a great proportion of the city.

The key operational distinction between them is their differentiated consumer orientations of their servicescape. While these distinctions reflect a prior subjective judgment on the part of the researcher, in speaking with management and employees these distinctions were actively reinforced and can be said to reflect an intentional branding strategy. Under the stipulations conditioned by their participation in this research project, I have renamed each of them. Reflecting their different brandscapes and integration of gender, elaborated at length in the study itself (Chapter 4), these names are Global Gaze Coffee (GGC), Modern Home Coffee (MHC), and Paterfamilias Pastry Café (PPC).

There are a some relevant differences in ownership and management structure that are worth mentioning. Global Gaze Coffee, the café chain considered here that is most closely aligned along the standards of Starbucks, is foreign-owned. Modern Home Coffee began as a single café that was founded in Istanbul almost simultaneously with the importation of Starbucks, and can be claimed to represent a local alternative formed in its image. The potential for that market proved to be great, and it has since expanded to dozens of branches throughout Turkey's largest cities, all centrally-owned and –administered. Paterfamilias Pastry Café is somewhat different in that it began as a single-store pastry shop in an Anatolian city many decades ago. However, it fits within the criteria of our other coffee shops in that it did not open its second branch until nearly 15 years ago, and after "modernizing" its image and updating its menu, has flowered all over Turkey—including over 50 branches in Istanbul alone. This successful expansion was made possible through the leasing of franchises out to independent management, much like is done by McDonald's and other highly-standardized fast food chains in

the United States and elsewhere. The production of all its menu items still takes place in the city of its foundation and the design and brand templates are centrally-conceived. However, the company only maintained one centrally-managed branch in Istanbul as of the time of research collection. This branch was included in the survey, and was a key resource for gathering the participation of other branches within the café chain.

Preliminary contacts with each chain began in the winter of 2009-2010 at the corporate level, where human resources departments were informed of some of the general research goals of the project and data was collected about the aggregate employee profile for all Istanbul branches. The purposes of gathering this information was to attempt to measure the hiring practices of each café chain, and to provide a comparative rubric for the data gathered from the questionnaire. The management at GGC and MHC were generally forthcoming with the information, while PPC—with only limited statistical information about their individual franchises—provided me with annualized numbers of employees trained. While lacking in concrete information, they were the most generous with their time and engagement, reaching out to franchises to encourage their participation, and professing a great deal of curiosity about my findings.

Locations were scouted where at a branch from at least two of the three café chains were in walking proximity to control for potential district variations within the city. GGC, true to its international origins and orientation, maintains one important geographic dissimilarity from its peers in its ubiquity at airport concourses. This distinction is certainly intentional, and projects the cosmopolitan associations of the GGC brand to domestic and international travelers in Turkey alike. However, it also operates along a different hiring model from the GGC branches in the city center. For purposes of comparison, no airport branches were considered in this

research. All visited branches were in upper-middle income or wealthy neighborhoods, and most were in shopping malls and along the popular shopping boulevards of İstiklal Caddesi and Bağdat Caddesi.

All told, contact was made at 28 different coffee shops, 21 of which were visited multiple times. Branch contacts generally began with 30-minute to one-hour semi-structured interviews with the branch manager, when available, about their perception of the company's consumer orientation, the important characteristics of successful employees, and their role in the hiring process. With managerial permission, a 38-query questionnaire asking demographic information, brand identification, and the distribution of work tasks (see Appendix B on page 138 for the questionnaire, in Turkish) was distributed among the employees and filled out on-site.

The final step was qualitative semi-structured interviews with volunteer employees with more pointed questions about the characteristics of their employer, as well as their thoughts on the gendered associations of the workplace. These interviews usually took place with the permission of management, usually but not always at the workplace. All precautions were made to ensure privacy of responses, and interviews were scheduled at non-peak hours during the day and evening to assure the service worker the maximum amount of time possible for participation. Interviews were of variable length dependent upon the interest and volubility of the interviewee. The shortest such interview was five minutes, but several stretched to half an hour or more.

It should be said that as a foreign male with imperfect Turkish, my difference from my interview subjects was always immediately visible. This led to curiosity from a number of respondents, including managers, with a frequent degree of counter-interviewing. For the

majority of the interviews, I was accompanied by a Turkish-national woman, who eased gendered and cultural suspicions, and attenuated any potential global performance bias on the part of the respondents. Working with volunteer interviewees under the sanction of their managers also helped to relieve the reticence to talk about private attitudes to their working environments, and only in the rare case of a hovering PPC manager did the respondents betray any feelings of discomfort.

Men and women were not discriminated against in the distribution of surveys, but where possible extra effort was made to speak with women employees who were generally fewer in number. A total of 132 questionnaires were completed (41 from GGC, 44 from MHC, and 47 from PPC) and in-depth interviews conducted with a total of 21 employees and managers. The percentage of questionnaires filled out by women at each of these three café chains was 36.4% at Global Gaze Coffee, 43.2% at Modern Home Coffee, and 19.1% at Paterfamilias Pastry Café. In each of these cases, my sample contains a higher percentage of women than is registered as employed in the Istanbul-wide data provided by the corporate offices.

Information from these questionnaires, as well as the open-ended responses to the face-to-face interviews, provide the material for both quantitative and qualitative analyses. In both creating an aggregate statistical profile of the employment rolls for each of these café chains and in probing individual workers on their attitudes towards their company brand and role identity, it is hoped that differences in how gender is perceived and utilized at differentially-oriented coffee shops within Istanbul's consumerist economy will emerge. As discussed above, similar operational dynamics within the consumerist economy will not always yield identical outcomes in each consumer interaction, and as the field research will show, identity roles inhabited by service employees will differ according to the servicescape promoted by their employer.

However, what I hope to provide is a set of concrete examples of how gender norms are differentially coordinated and interpreted in the spaces organized around consumerist ideology. The formation of gender subjectivities under the objectifying intentions of the servicescape are a necessary supplement to the growing literature on consumption in Turkey, while the fact that the consumerist economy (and the front line service jobs that sustain it) continue increase will have important impacts on the gendered labor market.

Plan of Chapters

Chapter twodiscusses the development of the idea of consumerism from a social phenomenon, to a pillar of economic growth, and finally to a system of creating new forms ofcommodified value. This chapter first touches upon the conditions of capitalist accumulation that allowed consumerism to thrive in industrialized countries, both to orient the theory in its material history and to provide backdrop for relevant differences in the economic position of consumerism in Turkey. However, the primary focus of the chapter will be in discussing the theoretical literature on the unique structural features of consumerist ideology and itsimplications for subjectivities. The tension between these two—what Michel de Certeau called the hegemonic "strategies" of producer-structures and the agential "tactics" of consumers[41]—is most apparent in the service worker, and the chapter provides a theoretical review of existent approaches to service work within the consumerist economy thatproperly take this ambivalent position into consideration.

Chapter three describes the contours of Turkey's recent development of a consumerist economy, with attention towards important differences with North America and Europe that

[41]Certeau, Michel de. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. The University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.

affect the Turkish service worker. It then looks at a number of publications on consumerist ideology in Turkey. Rooted in the specificities of Turkish social politics, these studies provide key context about how consumerism is mobilized to (re)define spatial and practical boundaries of gender, class, and modernity within contemporary Turkey's cities. As valuable as much of this literature is, there has been a tendency within it to concentrate on how customers inhabit and interact with the new spaces and practices of the consumerist economy, and generally focus with how subjects posit new identities through consumption. I will argue that this ignores a critical dynamic of the consumption process. As will have been made clear, much of the value-added to the price and allure of the consumed good is performed through service theatrics[42] and gender positioning staged on behalf of the service worker for the consumption of the customer. In this sense, the service work, and indeed the server him or herself, becomes indistinguishable from the product/experience consumed.Adding the critical perspective of service worker subjectivities in the process of value-production in the consumerist economy, I offer what hopes to be a necessarycontribution to how consumerism is transforming the social landscape of Turkish cities.

Chapter four presents the findings of my research on service workers in three café chains in Istanbul's consumerist economy. By giving voice to the men and women who constitute the various servicescapes of coffee shops, this chapter will show how gender subjectivities are partially circumscribed by their employees for the creation of a consumerist aesthetic, but also how they are perceived and embodied by the workers themselves. It will be followed by concluding remarks that hope to point towards future elaborations of service workers that could broaden our understanding of the social changes taking place in Turkey's consumerist economy.

[42] Sherman, Pages 20-21.

Before beginning, it is worth emphasizing that such conclusions are only directed towards one particular segment of the Turkish economy, that which is generated by the ideology of consumerism. The research to support these claims was conducted exclusively in some of the most densely consumeristic spaces in the country's financial and cultural capital, Istanbul. The broader economy of Turkey is considerably less defined by consumerism, and it bears mention that the majority of workers both in Istanbul and throughout the country are engaged in less spectacle-oriented employments in agriculture, industry and public services. It should not be forgotten that much of the consumption that takes place outside of Turkey's privileged circles serves purely alimentary purposes.

However, it is equally important to note that whatever the limitations of access to direct participation Istanbul's consumerist economy, the cathedrals of consumption have become important social factories for the production of new identities and mechanisms of exclusion that implicate the Turkish population at large. Throughout the country, as consumerist ideology becomes circulated through images in the popular press, promoted through advertising strategies, and glamorized in celebrity culture, new norms of social behavior are becoming culturally hegemonic at the same time that they are restrictive of those without adequate money and cultural capital. It is this inherently (and perhaps purposefully) exclusionary aspect of consumption practices, and their instrumentality in consolidating class identity, that make the subject worthy of sociological inquiry. This thesis hopes to contribute to this field of study, adding the too-often overlooked fact that the majority of the service workers laboring at the city's ostentatious boutiques, life centers, and coffee shops are of different socioeconomic origins than the affluent customers for whom such places are designed. Their ambivalent inclusionin these exclusive spaces, and theirstruggles to project the perhaps conflicting cultural

and gender norms expected of them by both manager and customer, make theposition of the service worker in the consumerist economy all the more crucial to consider.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONSUMERIST TURN IN POLITICAL ECONOMY: THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR SERVICE WORK

Latte capitalism could only exist in a society of consumers. It defines the ultimate expression of a consumerist economy, in which production takes place in front of the consumer's eyes and at his or her bidding. Perhaps not surprisingly, the consumer has been relatively well-represented in the theoretical literature on the consumerist ideology. This thesis in general hopes to lay a foundation for applying this theory to the overall *consumerist economy*, which in addition to the consumer, would implicate new structures of the employment of service workers. This chapter in particular aims to discuss the existing theoretical studies that analyze service work in this vein. Already the leading employment sector in the post-industrial West, the amount of men and women laboring in front line service occupations are continuing to grow wherever the consumerist economy takes root, including in Turkey. To better understand the features and functions of the consumerist economy, it will be necessary to explore its historical origins and theoretical foundations in consumerist society.

It cannot be over-emphasized that the material conditions necessary to support a consumerist society, and the social and cultural theorizations that followed it, first arose and

proliferated in Western Europe and North America. The formation of what was to be called a 'consumer society' was not only a historically-contingent effect of political economy, but also a creative process that helped shape and eventually export it. By the time consumerist ideology reached Turkey, as one of the many changes brought to Turkish society following the adoption of neoliberal economic policies in the 1980s, it carried with it a number of structural rigidities borne from its specific historical origins that conditioned the socio-economic meanings constructed by its new host country. These differences will be remarked upon at the beginning of the next chapter. For the present, the structure and composition of the consumerist ideology underlying latte capitalism, and its implications for front line service workers will be discussed in its original context.

The chapter is organized into three sections. The first explores theorizations of consumerism in different class contexts in North America and Western Europe, specifically how the idea of a consumer society emerged from the relative democratization of wealth and rationalized system of production. This brief historical section provides context to how social theorists came to understand consumption in the West as leveling class distinctions. Secondly, I review theorizations of the contemporary consumerist economy and its major defining quality: enchantment and atmospherics as the rationale for value-production. This will lead directly into the final section, which shows how service workers have been integrated into the theoretical literature and how their position within the greater economy has changed from the simple provision of the commodity to a role in the actual creation of value.

Through reviewing many authors' studies of consumerism in Turkey, the next chapter will make clear that even as many of the dominant theories of consumerist ideology enhance our

understanding of its implementation that country, the consumerist economy in Turkey has highly distinctive gender and class dimensions that differentially structure its dynamics.

Consumption from Social Phenomena to Economic Imperative

Arjun Appadurai notes, that "like breathing, consumption is a self-effacing habit that becomes noticeable only when contextually ostentatious."[43] True to this dictum, consumption was mostly overlooked in classic political economy and sociology. The first major theoretical treatment of the subject, Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* trained its focus exclusively on those aspects of consumption that were truly "contextually ostentatious." Indeed, Veblen offered the critical insight that this was purposefully done so. The author's designation of the meaning of consumption was categorical: "The possession of wealth confers honor; it is an invidious distinction. Nothing equally cogent can be said for the consumption of goods, nor for any other conceivable incentive to acquisition, and especially not for any incentive to the accumulation of wealth."[44]

A number of interesting conclusions can be extrapolated from this definition. First, Veblen's understanding of consumption sets Appadurai's remark on its head, asserting that much consumer activity, at least among those who had the luxury to do so, was mobilized specifically with the intent of becoming anything but self-effacing. That Veblen called his observation of consumption by the leisure class "conspicuous" denotes this overt and socially-directed orientation of the, in Appadurai's terms, "habit". Secondly, because consumption is "honorific" and an "invidious distinction" it is highly stratifying, and intentionally so.

[43] Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis. Page 66.
[44] Veblen, T. 1953 (1899). *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Mentor Books. New York. Page 35.

Thirdly, while "conspicuous consumption"[45] served an important function in demarcating social position in an economy of extreme disparities in wealth, the extent to which Veblen is discussing economic relations at all is rather limited. It is worth remarking that the "leisure class" of Veblen's title is not quite a class at all, in the Marxian sense that dominated political economy (i.e. membership to the leisure class is not confined to individuals united in their relation to the means of production). Indeed, as it was composed in large part of landlords and dynastic families of "unearned" (that is to say, unproductive) wealth, the leisure class need not have any relation to capitalism at all. For this reason, it may be more appropriate to, following Turner, label Veblen's unit of analysis a "status group" rather than a class.[46] As Lipset notes, for Veblen

> The function of conspicuous consumption—that is, an emphasis on pragmatically useless styles of consumption that take many years to learn—was to prevent mobility and to institutionalize the privileges of those who had risen to the top in previous years or epochs. Status groups are therefore identifiable by specific styles of life.[47]

In this first major theorization of consumption, then, it emerges as a *social practice* intentionally made visible through a particular kind of lifestyle for the purposes of exclusivity. It is primarily focused on the preservation of power, and is thus inherently conservative in nature. These conceptual features of conspicuous consumption, though rooted in the rococo fashions of Veblen's late-19th century environment, emphasize an impetus in economic activity that is not particularly economic in origin. This marking of status through consumption was, and continues to be, of great relevance in societies typified extreme disparities in wealth and will be returned to

[45] See Veblen Pages 60-80 for a full explication of this concept.

[46] Turner, B. 1988. *Status*. The University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis. Pages 5-8.

[47] From Lipset, S.M. 1968. "Social Stratification, Social Class" in *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. Crowell Collier and Macmillan. New York. Pages 296-316. Quoted in Turner, page 8, where the author also implicates Weber in this same conceptual orientation.

below. However it is first necessary to explicate the next development in the theorization of consumption, one that was interpreted through the analytics of political economy and under very different social conditions than those considered by Veblen. This second side of the coin conjoins the critical conceptual pairing of consumption as a social phenomenon with a practice of great importance to the function and growth of the economy.

Murmurings of a nascent "consumer society" in the United States and Western Europe began in the decades following World War II. As is well known, the incredible amount of labor mobilization necessary to power the war economy pulled the United States decisively out of the lingering effects of the Great Depression. However, the conditions for sustained growth once the War had ended were not completely ensured.

According to David Harvey "there were two major impediments to the spread of Fordism in the inter-war years."[48] One was the reconfiguration of class relations to create workers willing to submit to the particular demands of Fordist production, a problem that was differentially reconciled according to country-specific positions of labor. The other was the manipulation of the wage regime to ensure there was enough money in the hands of consumers to absorb this glut in production.[49] As Harvey has noted elsewhere, during this period "fiscal and monetary policies usually dubbed 'Keynesian' were widely deployed to dampen business cycles and to ensure reasonably full employment."[50]

---

[48]Harvey, David 1989. *The Condition of Post-Modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Blackwell. Cambridge, Massachusetts. Pages 127-128.

[49] Recall Mandel's fears, explained at the beginning of chapter one, that this had collapsed by the mid-1970s. See Mandel, 1975, for a lengthy elaboration of this.

[50]Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press. Oxford. Page 10.

This was the height of the national economy, and while the state regimes instituted in Western Europe and North America were of variously social, liberal, or Christian democratic character, all were broadly wedded to the idea and practice of dirigisme.[51] This created large domestic markets for consuming the flood of efficiently-manufactured goods coming from highly productive assembly lines. This gemination of lowering prices of mass-produced goods with the relative strength of wages allowed the ability to consume to be spread to a wider percentage of the population. This led to a renewed focus on consumption that took many interesting forms distinct from the social approach offered by Veblen.

First, a fundamental illogic underlying the seemingly happy marriage between Fordism and Keynesianism began drawing criticism from a wider array of commentators. The economist John Kenneth Galbraith, certainly no Marxist, unleashed a famous critique of postwar consumerism that is in many ways consistent with the preoccupations of the more radical Frankfurt school about the creation of "false needs."[52] Describing what he called "the dependence effect", Galbraith said in his influential 1958 book *The Affluent Society*: "So it is that if production creates the wants it seeks to satisfy, or if the wants emerge *pari passu* with the production, then the urgency of the wants can no longer be used to defend the urgency of the production. Production only fills a void that it has itself created."[53]

---

[51] This was much more true for Europe in the midst of reconstruction, with the United States actively aiding that development as the creation of a necessary market for American goods. See also Harvey 2008, 5-12)

[52] On false needs, see Marcuse, H. 1964. *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrialized Society*. Online version at http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/marcuse/index.htm. Accessed on October 30, 2010. Pages 3-4.

[53] Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1998 (1958). *The Affluent Society: 40th Anniversary Edition*. Houghton-Mifflin Trade and Reference. Boston. Page 125.

Galbraith's colorful example of this seems rather quaint and innocent by contemporary standards but nevertheless signals the recognition of a decisive paradigm shift in the rationale of material acquisition: "Yesterday the man with a minimal but increasing real income was reaping the satisfactions which came from a decent diet and a roof that no longer leaked water on his face. Today, after a large increase in his income, he has extended his consumption to include cable television and eccentric loafers."[54]

Galbraith was careful not to attribute this rise in consumerist ideology solely to the increased general level of affluence in society. It was not enough to assure the perpetuated growth of the postwar economy based on the structural rigidities of Fordism to simply supply laborers with the material means to consume, as rising levels of worker affluence might inspire cries for shorter workweeks. Rather, this wealth had to be directed towards formulating desires for consuming particular types of goods that are produced for the market. Here, Galbraith saw the critical role played by marketing, perhaps the first example of a service-oriented industry that is actually designed to create value:

> The even more direct link between production and wants is provided by the institutions of modern advertising and salesmanship. These cannot be reconciled with the notion of independently determined desires, for their central function is to create desires to bring into being wants that previously did not exist. This is accomplished by the producer of the goods or at his behest. A broad empirical relationship exists between what is spent on production of consumer goods and what is spent in synthesizing the desires for that production.[55]

In this passage, we see a key inversion of what Galbraith called the "conventional wisdom" of mainstream economics in that, with the ability of Fordism to produce goods cheaply

[54] Ibid, page 121.
[55] Ibid, page 127.

and in great quantities so long as the design did not change, it became more profitable to have the consumer respond to the supply of existent goods on the market than for the producers to manufacture goods desired by consumers. This relationship, along with the increase in sheer scale of both production and consumption, had major implications for North America and Western Europe. Returning to Harvey, "Postwar Fordism has to be seen, therefore, less as a mere system of mass production and more as a total way of life. Mass production meant standardization of product as well as mass consumption; and that meant a whole new aesthetic and commodification of culture."[56]

This new "way of life" was very different from the "lifestyles" discussed by Veblen half a century before the end of the War. The development of a new regime of capital accumulation created new social dynamics at great odds with the notion of status protection of a non-industrious "leisure class" during periods of vast wealth polarization that defined the context for which Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption applied. "Invidious distinction" became a more challenging objective in a world where nearly everyone had access to the "cable television and eccentric loafers" that defined the fantastical limits of available consumer goods. Indeed, the uniformity of products manufactured in the highly-centralized system of Fordism, coupled with the relative democratization of consumption through Keynesian wage and employment supports, caused a number of social theorists to worry that consumption had gotten so widespread as to become prosaic. A number of authors began to direct their attention towards a perceived threat to high culture rather than class divisions.

Daniel Bell is an egregious example, and his *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* often reads as a lament of the bygone days of Veblenian hierarchy. Bell claimed that beginning in the

[56] Harvey, 1989, page 135.

1950s, "a consumption society was emerging, with its emphasis on spending and material possessions, and it was undermining the traditional value system, with its emphasis on thrift, frugality, self-control, and impulse renunciation."[57]

This was a novel approach in that it claimed that consumerism was threatening to the very viability of capitalist production, rooted in the Weberian deferment of gratification and reinvestment of wealth in productivity. However, it was a particular sort of consumerism that was really at issue, about which Bell was unequivocal: "The cultural transformation of modern society is due, *singularly*, to the rise of mass consumption, or the diffusion of what were once considered luxuries to the middle and lower classes in society."[58] Where Veblen had observed a form of economy where consumption was meant to draw social distinctions, Bell saw the consumerism of the Fordist era as engendering a socially stagnant homogeneity. According to Bell, the proliferation of popular arts ensured that "bourgeois culture ha[d] been shattered"[59], while society at large was led "from the Protestant ethic to the psychedelic bazaar."[60]

While there is a considerable amount of this same snobbish sentiment in Baudrillard, who claimed that "a great democratic wind has blown through the heavenly Jerusalem of culture and art" creating a "lowest common culture"[61], his most enduring influence is in decisively shifting the debate about consumption away from a socially- (as in interpersonally-)oriented analysis to one of interpretations of images and objects. While coming from a different political orientation than Bell, Baudrillard's theorization of consumption follows a similar train of thought to a

---

[57] Bell, 64-65.
[58] Bell. Page 65. Emphasis mine.
[59] Bell, 41.
[60] Bell, D. 1976. *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. Basic Books. New York. Page 54.
[61] Baudrillard, J. 1998 (1970) (Eng. Translation by C. Turner). *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures.* SAGE Publications, Ltd. London. Page 106.

radical conclusion. The social, other-directedness of Veblen's era of consumption was completely obsolete—consumption was now understood as a solipsistic pursuit. Note the willful disappearance of people in the very first paragraph of his 1970 book *The Consumer Society*:

> There is all around us today a kind of fantastic conspicuousness of consumption and abundance, constituted by the multiplication of objects, services and material goods, and this represents something of a fundamental mutation in the ecology of the human species. Strictly speaking, the humans of the age of affluence are surrounded not so much by other human beings, as they were in all previous ages, but by **objects**. Their daily dealings are now not so much with their fellow men, but rather—on a rising statistical curve—with the reception and manipulation of goods and messages.[62]

Baudrillard's usage of "conspicuous consumption" cannot be coincidental here, but without an audience, to whom is consumption meant to be conspicuous? This is the very dilemma which Baudrillard sought to elaborate. What he has done here is to take Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption and generalize it to the point that it no longer performs any particular social function. Zygmunt Bauman makes a similar point when, in another direct reference to Veblen, who believed that consumption was always mobilized in competition to one's neighbors, he claimed "No particular 'Joneses' offer a reference point for one's own successful life; a society of consumers is one of universal comparison—and the sky is the only limit."[63]

Baudrillard identified this general form of conspicuous consumption, simultaneously unanimous and anonymous, as the "universal digest." Similar to Bell, the root problem was the expansion of access to material wealth. With the democratization of consumption complete,

---

[62] Baudrillard, J. 1998 (1970) (Eng. Translation by C. Turner). *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures.* SAGE Publications, Ltd. London. Page 26, emphasis in the original.

[63] Bauman, 2000. Page 76.

where "everyone has (or will have) the same washing machine and buys the same paperbacks"[64], Baudrillard believed the grounds for social differentiation defined by accumulation and ownership were ceasing to exist. This was tantamount to the passing of social life altogether, which presumably only arose out of such great disparities:

> The substance of life unified in this way, in this universal digest, can no longer have in it any meaning: what constituted the dreamwork, the labor of poetry and of meaning—in other words, the grand schemata of displacement and condensation, the great figures of metaphor and contradiction, which are based on the living interconnection of distinct elements—is no longer possible.The eternal substitution of homogeneous elements now reigns unchallenged.[65]

If such curious lamentations for the era of social discrimination based on exclusive consumption practices seem strange now, they commanded wide hearing in an age and context where the objective conditions for Veblenian theories of consumption (the aristocratic polarization of wealth) were becoming distant memories. Followers of Baudrillard, including Mike Featherstone, extended this tendency into its extremities, anticipating a bizarre future where class obsolescence is the epitome of dystopia:

> We are moving towards a society without fixed status groups in which the adoption of styles of life (manifest in choice of clothes, leisure activities, consumer goods, bodily dispositions) which are fixed to specific groups have been surpassed. This apparent movement towards a post-modern consumer culture based upon a profusion of information and proliferation of images which cannot be ultimately stabilized or hierarchized into a system which correlates to fixed social divisions, would further suggest the irrelevance of social divisions and ultimately the end of the social as a significant reference point.[66]

---

[64] Ibid. Page 60.
[65] Ibid. Page 31
[66] Featherstone, M. 1987. "Life-style and Consumer Culture." *Theory, Culture, and Society*, Volume 4. Pages 55-56. Quoted in Turner, page 75.

This final pronouncement illustrates well the lengths to which social theory had departed from previous considerations of the role of consumption in Western European and North American societies, from a form of "invidious distinction" made by wealthy groups for purposes of social exclusion to a habit supposedly so mundane and solipsistic as to rob humanity of all its vitality. But for all the attempts of post-modern social theorists to mourn the supposed passing of class stratification, it is important to remember that this nascent form of consumer society featured dynamics that were very much contingent upon the era in which it developed. First, consumerist ideology was born out of the necessity to sop up excessive production under Fordism, which was a highly centralized and structured form of manufacturing. Production maintained primacy in determining the commodities on the markets, while consumers were still relegated to the role of purchasing what was on offer (hence the need, as Galbraith identified, for "the producer of the goods" to "create desires" for those goods).

The second key historical particularity of the postwar consumer society was that it emerged in the context of rising median incomes and the greater democratization of consuming what had previously been considered luxury goods. As the mass-manufacturing model of Fordist production was unable to provide consumers with much more than "cable television and eccentric loafers" to spend their money on, social theory began analyzing how strata were either formed in communication with objects and symbols or disappeared completely. Even as the mostly national economy that fostered the growth of this nascent consumer society came unraveled during the period of neoliberal economic expansion, as will be discussed in the next section, much of the theoretical contributions of this era discussed above—particularly the preeminence of symbolic manipulation at the expense of human interaction—remains influential in discussing dynamics in the consumerist economy.

Consumption as Imagination, and the Implications for Service Work

The previous section described how consumer society was theorized as a system of mass accumulation, in which 'mass' is critically operative in two distinct respects. One that the sheer quantity of durable goods consumed was unprecedented. The second was that such consumption was taking place in increasingly widespread sectors of the population. Though large-scale consumption has always been the privilege of the affluent elites everywhere, for most of the 20th century both of these features were uniquely ascendant in the industrialized countries of North America and Western Europe. As was discussed in Harvey above, they coexisted as products of, and contributors to, a system of political economy based on the Fordist model of standardized mass production and a debt-financed wage regime to promote effective demand in internal markets.

However, while this had created the basis in the industrialized West for a consumer society, it had yet to develop into a full-fledge consumerist *economy*. As noted by Galbraith, consumer society was formed from a system of manufacturing that was too inflexible to respond to demands from consumers and hence needed to "create desires" for its products. The cultural malaise felt by Bell and Baudrillard, among others, can somewhat charitably be understood as the spiritual condition where "eccentric loafers" not only define the upper limit of desire, but become universally attainable. Following these theorizations, Zygmunt Bauman provides a pithy diagnosis of this problem while also signaling a way out: "The history of consumerism is the story of breaking down and discarding the successive 'solid' obstacles which limit the free flight of fantasy."[67]

[67] Bauman, Z. 2000. *Liquid Modernity.* Polity Press. Cambridge. Page 75.

Harvey saw the consumerist ideology and the economic system that bore it were constrained by the same obstacles. Consumption in North America and Western Europe had become banal and uninspiring with few remaining socially distinctive ways to consume. This led to the simultaneous collapse of the two pillars of the relatively nationally-bound economy that had created the consumer society: Fordist production and Keynesian wage and employment supports. Consumerist ideology demanded a less manufacturer-mandated form of production capable of servicing (and fostering) consumer desires, while the destruction of the labor regime necessary to sustain centralized production meant that effective demand had to be outsourced beyond national borders. The circumvention of obstacles to Bauman's "free flight of [consumer] fantasy" was thus accompanied by the neoliberal erasure of national economic planning.

According to Harvey, the neoliberal regime of flexibility (in the sense of deregulating labor markets, the subcontracting of manufacture, and the encouragement of fair trade, among other things) "has been accompanied on the consumption side…by a much greater attention to quick-changing fashions and the mobilization of all the artifices of need inducement and cultural transformation that this implies."[68] The ascension of consumerism from a "way of life" sustaining Fordist production as described above to the primary engine of capitalist growth is seen as the pivotal moment in the development of a consumerist economy, or the point at which, as Juliet Schor says, "consumption shifted from being a functional appendage of production to its antithesis."[69]

One of the most important features of the consumerist economy is understood by Harvey almost as an unintended consequence of this system of accumulation: "The need to accelerate

[68] Harvey, 1989. Page 156.
[69] Schor.

turnover time in consumption has led to a shift of emphasis from production of goods (most of which, like knives and forks, have a substantial lifetime) to the production of events (such as spectacles that have an almost instantaneous turnover time)."[70] This notion of spectacle, while not without theoretical antecedents, has become a touchstone for the theorizations of value in the consumerist economy.

Channeling Weberian trepidation with the increasing rationalization of modern society, George Ritzer sees the primacy of the spectacle in the consumerist economy as a form of "re-enchantment" of the shopping experience[71] in response to the disenchantment in which consumer society is mired, as expressed in Bell, Bauman, and Baudrillard above. What Ritzer called the "new means of consumption"—"the almost dizzying proliferation of settings that allow, encourage and even compel us to consume so many goods and services"[72]—functioned according to exactly this dialectic between the rationality of productive systems and the desire of consumers to feel enchantment, or as Ritzer puts it, extending his metaphor to capture the "magical thinking"[73] Baudrillard saw as key to fostering continued growth in consumerism, "the challenge for today's cathedrals of consumption (as for religious cathedrals), is how to maintain enchantment in the face of increasing rationalization."[74]

These new settings of consumer society, including the shopping mall, tourist hotel, and the coffee shop, relied on presenting an atmosphere that fostered a sensation of experience,

---

[70] Ibid. Page 157.
[71] See Ritzer, G. 2005. *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Continuity and Change in the Cathedrals of Consumption 2/e.*
[72] Ritzer, 2001. Page 108.
[73] Baudrillard,
[74] Ritzer, enchant

achieved through the conscious presentation of spectacle. Much as Debord had before him,[75] Ritzer claims that "the spectacle is used to overcome the liabilities, especially the disenchantment, associated with highly rationalized systems."[76]Baudrillard saw premonitions of this trend as he walked through the newly-established indoor shopping centers of Paris in the 1960s, describing the now-familiar in novel terms:

> The unprecedented comfort of strolling among shops whose tempting wares are openly displayed on the mall, without even a shop-window for a screen, the mall itself being a combination of the rue de la Paix and the Champs-Elysées. Adorned with fountains, artificial trees, pavilions and benches, it is wholly exempt from changes of season or bad weather: an exceptional system of climate control, requiring 13 kilometres of air-conditioning ducts, makes for perpetual springtime.[77]

This passage reveals a transformation of the shopping experience to one of the utilitarian servicing of needs to one of having an experience. Much attention is paid to physical sensations—the comfort of the climate, the ease of leisurely mobility, but above all the emphasis is placed on the visual, with nothing (not even a window!) to impede the invasion of eyes on both the goods and atmospherics. While Baudrillard did not define it in such terms, this elevation of the gaze on consumerist activities lies at the heart of the spectacle, which in its etymological roots implies looking (John Fiske calls the cathedrals of consumption a "visual feast"[78]). This voyeuristic notion of enchantment by looking has important implications for the labor of service workers, especially in the heavily gendered performance of what Witz,

[75] Debord, 1967. *The Society of the Spectacle.*
[76] Ritzer, 2001. Page 133.
[77] Baudrillard. Page 30.
[78] Fiske. Page 322.

Warhurst, and Nixon call "aesthetic labor."[79] This theme will be returned to momentarily, but for now notice how Baudrillard gazed at the wares, the fountains, fake trees and benches, but somehow neglected to mention the bodies.

Onekey element to the success of the cathedrals of consumption that is underemphasized in Ritzer is the ability to make the spectacular, extravagant, and enchanted simultaneously quotidian.The sprawling atria of shopping malls sporting seasonal sales and, increasingly since Baudrillard's day, amusement park rides,are designed to do exactly that. Needless to say, few things are quite as habitual as one's daily cup of coffee, and the coffee shops offering ever-new blends of coffee, sugar, and milk to be consumed in imaginary cosmopolitan environments are another example of making a public display of daily behavior.

The position of people within the cathedrals of consumption, be they consumers or service workers, is rather unexamined in Ritzer's work, which assumes a structural approach towards analyzing the enchantment and identifies the creation of spectacle as the primary, and perhaps only technique invigorating the otherwise mundane activity of shopping. However, while spectacle emphasizes the gaze, it also implies passivity. It is the task of the means of consumption to present would-be consumers with an irresistible performance that they cannot afford to miss, and their response to this is taken for granted.

Other theorists have stressed the importance of subjectivities in enchanting the shopping experience. Much of this is inspired by Michel de Certau's attempts to reassert the power agency in social theory, by focusing on types of resistance to the supposed mandates of structures. In analyzing the grid-like rigidity of modern urban design, Certau observed that the

[79]Witz, A.; Warhurst, C.; and Nickson, D. 2003 "The Labor of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Organization." *Organization*. Vol. 10, No. 1. Pages 33-54.

movements of individuals "remain unpredictable within the space ordered by the organizing techniques of systems."[80] By implementing agential "tactics"—shortcuts, different sets of pace, and even loitering on city streets—in defiance of the attempts of structural "strategies" to control them, pedestrians "remain heterogeneous to the systems they infiltrate and in which they sketch out the guileful ruses of different interests and desires. They circulate, come and go, overflow and drift over an imposed terrain, like the snowy waves of the sea slipping in among the rocks and defiles of an established order."[81]

John Fiske appropriates Certau's concepts for use in the shopping mall, adding the critical insight that the structures of the cathedrals of consumption are not a hegemonic power, as might be emphasized by Ritzer, but are instead important sites of contestation and the reconfiguration of social identities:

> Shopping malls and the cultural practices…that take place within them are key arenas of struggle, at both economic and ideological levels between those with the power of ideological practice, hegemony, or strategy and those whose construction as subjects in ideology is never complete, whose resistance means that hegemony can never fully relax in victory, and whose tactics inflict a running series of wounds upon the strategic power.[82]

Fiske provides the additional service of analyzing how gender subjectivities are formed in the shopping malls that try in every way to objectify women. While acknowledging that the cathedrals of consumption truck in spectacle, or what he calls "the gendered politics of looking"[83], Fiske sees how women have asserted a public presence in the shopping mall as a way of asserting participation in the male-dominated realm of "progress." Even so, as will be

[80] Certau. Page 35.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Fiske. Page 307.
[83] Fiske. Page 322.

discussed anon, the limitation of Fiske's reading to the untethered movements of the woman consumer ignores the tighter structural grip on the subjectivities of women service workers, who, not incidentally, occupy a tense position embodying both the structural "strategy" of voyeuristic spectacle and the agential "tactics" of resistant subjects.

Still other theorists of subjective identities in the consumerist economy see consumers as less oppositional than as instrumental in sustaining consumerist ideology. Bauman, quoting from Harvie Ferguson's framework, traces the genealogy of consumerism from the satisfaction of needs (in the Marxian sense of providing the simple means for reproducing the laborer for the working day)[84], to desire (which is competitive and socially-directed in the Veblenian sense), to, finally, the wish:

> Where the facilitation of desire was founded upon comparison, vanity, envy and the 'need' for self-approbation, nothing underlies the immediacy of the wish. The purchase is casual, unexpected and spontaneous. It has a dream quality of both expressing and fulfilling a wish, and like all wishes, is insincere and childish."[85]

As Baudrillard had before, Bauman sees contemporary consumption as being essentially asocial. However, rather than dwell on the mechanics of the manipulation of the symbols of objects, Bauman focuses on how the consumer continues to be motivated to engage in consumer practices. This ascension of the wish required a change in the realignment of moral, ethical and above all practical values. In a passage that recalls Bell's foreboding a quarter-century earlier

[84] On this process see Marx's Capital in Tucker, R.C (ed. 1978) *The Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition*. W.W. Norton and Company. New York. Pages 361-364.
[85] Ferguson, H. 1992. "Watching the World Go Round: Atrium Culture and the Psychology of Shopping" in Shield, R. (ed.) *Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption*. Routledge. London. Quoted in Bauman, 2000. Page 76.

that the consumer society was undermining the Protestant Ethic[86], Bauman claims that "the consumerist cultural syndrome consists above all in theemphatic denial of the virtue of procrastination and of the proprietyand desirability of the delay of satisfaction – those twoaxiological pillars of the society of producers ruled by the productivistsyndrome."[87]

For Bauman, the wish signals the destruction on behalf of consumers of the "'obstacles which limit the free flight of fantasy" as discussed at the beginning of this section.[88] This concept is very similar to the approach taken by Appadurai, who, just as Bauman saw consumption to have transitioned from needs to desires to wishes, believed that "all socially organized forms of consumption seem to revolve around some combination of the following three patterns: interdiction, sumptuary law, and fashion."[89]

As an anthropologist, Appadurai's theorizations on consumption are more comparative than many of the other theorists discussed in this section. Appadurai believes that interdiction, or the social taboos that proscribe all manner of behavior (including consumption), only continues to exist in cultural contexts that have not internalized market logic, the "small-scale, low-tech, ritually oriented societies."[90] Consumerist economies, or what he somewhat confusingly calls "late industrial society", arise out of a "consumer revolution" which he describes as "a cluster of events whose key feature is a *generalized* shift from the reign of sumptuary law to the reign of fashion."[91]

---

[86] Weber, M. 2003 (1905). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Dover Publications, Inc. Minneola, NY.
[87] Bauman, Z. 2007. *Consuming Life.* Polity Press. Cambridge. Page 85.
[88] Bauman, 2007. Page 75.
[89] Appadurai. Page 71.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Appadurai. Page 72. Emphasis in the original.

Sumptuary law, as might be surmised from its name, is the fiscal prudence to reinvest in the future, drawing, as had Bauman and Bell, from the Weberian historiography of capitalist development. Appadurai's understanding of the consumer revolution to a "reign of fashion", however, offers a deeper explanation on the subjective role of the consumer in enchanting the otherwise mundane practice of consumption than the "wish" explored by Ferguson and Bauman. While "wishing" suggests, and Ferguson confirms, a "casual" and "spontaneous" engagement of the consumer with a purchase, Appadurai sees fashion as engendering a more sustained role of consumer attitudes. He calls this "the peculiar new force to the imagination in social life today" permitting and perhaps demanding that consumers "consider a wider set of possible lives than ever before."[92]

Significantly, Appadurai does not consider such considerations to be pure fantasy, or perhaps a "spontaneous wish", but rather, in a consumerist economy where consumption is the motor of growth, he sees the imagination as a form of labor: "Consumption has become the principle work of late industrial society...The heart of this work is the social discipline of the imagination, the discipline of learning to link fantasy and nostalgia to the desire for new bundles of commodities."[93] The consumerist economy, of course, eases this imaginative leap—creating all sorts of commodities that themselves are full of fantasy and nostalgia, and, as we will see in the next chapter, an air of cosmopolitanism.

While Appadurai provides a much-needed theorization of subjective responses within the "cathedrals of consumption" in the consumerist economy, it is strange to see him limiting the role of the imagination to the desire for physical "bundles of commodities." As Ritzer, among

[92] Ibid. Page 53.
[93] Appadurai. Page 82.

many others, has shown, the commodification of spectacle and experience accounts for much of the creation of value in the consumerist economy. Indeed, Appadurai's (as well as Bauman's and Fiske's) concepts should be seen as complements to Ritzer's analysis of the new means of consumption. The voyeurism encouraged by the commodification of spectacle, the spontaneous generation and ephemeral satisfaction of consumer "wishes", the struggle of subjectivities to express themselves in objectifying structures, and the expanded (and conditioned) necessity of imagining other lives all contribute in important ways in describing the dynamics organized within the shopping malls, tourist resorts, and coffee shops in the contemporary consumerist economy.

The Objectified Subjectivities of Service Workers in the Consumerist Economy

"In twentieth century capitalism," says Ritzer,"the focus shifted increasingly from production to consumption, resulting in a parallel shift from control and exploitation of workers to that of consumers."[94] This is part of what Ritzer believed to be the rationalization of consumerism, or what he more famously called its McDonaldization, and the dehumanizing logic that creates the need for the more enchanting "cathedrals of consumption" to be devised. Contemporary consumer society, in his view, functions according to the dialectic between a service industry based on "an increase in efficiency, predictability, calculability and control"[95] and the "enchantment" and "sense of unity" created at the new means of consumption.[96] While Ritzer develops this dialectic through analysis of the *settings* of consumerist ideology, such as in

[94] Ritzer, 2001. Pages 111-112.
[95]Ritzer, G. 1997. *The McDonaldization Thesis: Explorations and Extensions*. Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, CA.. Page vii.
[96] Ritzer, 2001. Page 184.

his work on the calculated extravagance of Las Vegas casinos, he devotes very little attention to the role of *service workers* in the consumerist economy.

As can be seen in the quotation opening this section, there is only increasing rationality—and no enchantment—in the service industry. "The customer is the laborer" in the consumer society in the sense that they "create value in the tasks they perform for McDonaldized systems"[97] such as filling their own drinks and bussing their own tables. While this insight helps us understand how such companies make profit-earning more efficient, they do little to explain the values created by the service workers themselves. Note Ritzer's use of the definitive article, where customers are *the* laborers, as if the people sweating behind the counter for minimum wage do not exist!

Indeed, when Ritzer does speak of the service workers in his consumer society, he focuses on how the rationalized (or McDonaldized) systems of production in the cathedrals of consumption "dehumanize" service work "through the substitution of non-human for human technology."[98] This mechanization of the service task is extended beyond the actual machines utilized in the provision of services to the very nature of service interactions. These "human robots"[99] or "*non*people"[100]with their proscribed service behaviors can only engage in "scripted, dehumanized relationships"[101] with customers. For Ritzer, the value provided by the service worker in the consumerist economy is only instrumental, while the subjectivity of service

[97] Ritzer, 1997. Page 64-65.
[98] Ritzer, 2001. Page 112.
[99]Ritzer, G. 2011. *The McDonaldization of Society, 6th Edition.* Pine Forge Press. Thousand Oaks, CA. Page 108.
[100] See Ritzer, G. 2007. *The Globalization of Nothing 2.* Pine Forge Press. Thousand Oaks, CA. Pages 78-83.
[101]Ritzer, G. 2007.Page 82.

workers is so thoroughly and successfully controlled by their employers that their personhood is even drawn into question. "Of course, a *non*person is a person," Ritzer concedes,"but one who does not act as if he or she is a person, does not interact with others as a person, and perhaps more important is not treated by others as a person."[102]

There is an apparent deficiency here in Ritzer's thought, where he acknowledges that the overly-rationalized settings of consumption are becoming enchanted in the consumerist economy, but the service worker is condemned to *non*personhood. Certainly those working in the heavily-enchanted cathedrals of consumption share some of that sheen.Meanwhile, the preeminence of spectacle in contemporary shopping malls, tourist resorts, and coffee shops cannot help to have trained some of its gaze on the gendered bodies that work in them.

These aspects of the consumerist economy are almost invariably ignored by dominant theorizations of consumerism, even those who attach great significance to the creation of value through spectacle, sensations and experiences. Indeed, Ritzer is relatively rare in that he devotes any time at all to analyzing the role of service workers, while other theorists have generally focused on the exoticism of settings and objects. This analytic bias overlooks how changing patterns, places, and presentation of consumption activities directly implicates the front line service worker in a number of ways.Ritzer's treatment, focusing exclusively on the instrumentality of the service exchange, is clearly inadequate for the purposes of this thesis. As the sites of economic growth are increasingly found in the "cathedrals of consumption" such as shopping malls, tourist resorts, and coffee shops, a great deal of the value added to what is consumed is produced through the on-site labor of the service worker. As Bitner says, "the

[102] Ritzer, nothing 79

consumer is 'in the factory'"[103] while as Sherman points out "the productconsists, to varying extents, of the interaction between workers and customers."[104]

As with any 'factory'—industrial or consumerist—firms attempt to manage the production of their saleable commodities. Marketing experts realize that it is equally important for companies within the consumerist economy to manage the experience produced for the consumer. As was discussed in brief in chapter one, they do this through manipulation of the *servicescape*, or "the ability of the physical environment to influence behaviors and to create an image."[105] Through the marketing of a brand image through advertisement and the creation of atmospherics at the physical sites of retail, firms in the consumerist economy "manufacture" an aesthetic sensation associated with the consumerist act.[106] The service worker is integrally situated within the intentional structure of the servicescape, not merely for the purposes of control or the functional provision of goods, as Ritzer said of rationalized service settings, the service worker in the servicescapes of the consumerist economy perform far more important, and far more varied, value-adding roles.

One unsubtle critique of Ritzer's rather one-sided conception of the service worker as the automaton of his or her employer comes from Korczynsky, who argues that "even at McDonald's, there can be a not insignificant degree of social embeddedness in the service encounter."[107] Furthermore, for Korczynsky, the more interactive the nature of the service work, the more conflictive the demands between the rationalizing mandate of his or her employer and

[103] Bitner. Page 57.
[104] Sherman. Page 22.
[105] Bitner, 57.
[106] See also Christensen, and the discussion of servicescapes on pages 9-12 above.
[107] Korczynski. Page 75.

the more open-ended expectations of the customer. The service worker occupies a difficult position in this "customer-oriented bureaucracy."[108]

While Korczynsky would certainly not argue that service workers are always treated with appropriate respect by the customers to whom they are subservient by design, he does dispute that service workers are "not treated by others as a person." As he makes clear, "the ideal-type of the customer-oriented bureaucracy contains within it the dual logics of rationalization, and orientation to the formally irrational aspects of customers."[109] That is, service workers are often expected to compensate for what Ritzer calls "the irrationality of rationality"[110] created in many service environments. Customers wishing to deviate from the rules of the service environment, by perhaps taking more items into the changing room than is allowed by store policy or by requesting their Starbucks coffee in a ceramic mug, often appeal to human ability to "override" such formalities. This places strain on the service worker whose job follows the maxim "the customer is always right" but who ultimately serves at the pleasure of the employer.

Korczynsky highlights an important tension of the embodied producer in the consumer factory, and it is a worthwhile objection to Ritzer. However, it still fails to extend past the functional aspects of the service relationship, ignoring the greater role the service worker has in actually creating the value for the product being served. Never forgetting that the sole purpose of the service worker is to gain profit for the shop owner, Warhurst, Thompson, and Nixon eloquently show how the exploitative employment relationship demands two simultaneous functions of the service worker in the consumerist economy:

---

[108] See Korczynsky, M. 2009. "Understanding the Contradictory Lived Experience of Service Work: The Consumer-Oriented Bureaucracy" in Korczynsky, M and Macdonald, C.L. (eds.) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge. New York. Pages 73-90.

[109] Korczynski. Page 80.

[110] Ritzer, 2011. Pages 16-18.

> There are two principle ways in which the capitalist seeks to ensure a profit from (interactive) service labor. First, this is undertaken by seeking to remove as much of the indeterminacy as possible. As this labor is simultaneously produced and consumed, the most likely means is to impose standardized scripts and verbal or aesthetic recipes. Second, management is compelled to seek a more intensive utilization of labor power. For example, it not only seeks to appropriate and transmute workers' knowledge…but also workers' feelings and bodies.[111]

This first principle should be familiar, and it is essentially no different in Warhurst, et al. than as described by Ritzer (with a helpful extension by Korczynsky). The "indeterminacy" referred to here echoes the four principles of McDonaldized structures referred to above as "efficiency, predictability, calculability and control."[112] These all emphasize the very functional role of the service worker to simply deliver the desired good or service to a customer unable or unwilling to do so for him or herself. In this respect, the corporal aspect of service workers truly is incidental, and their replacement with mechanized structures would not be seen as problematic and might even be welcomed.

This second aspect of the service worker's job is of no lesser importance, however, especially in those consumerist industries—such as those that promote luxury, leisure, or imagination—for which the functions of service workers by definition cannot be replicated by machines. Arlie Hochschild understood this well in her ethnography of flight attendants published in her 1983 *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling*. In this book, Hochschild coined the influential term "emotional labor" which "requires one [i.e. the

[111] Warhurst et al. Page 100.

[112] Ritzer, 1997. Page vii.

service worker] to *induce or suppress feeling* in order to sustain the outward countenance that*produces the proper state of mind in others.*"[113]

Hochschild's definition of emotional labor highlights two critical components to the jobs in the service industry. One is that flight attendants, more than just purveyors of peanuts and cocktails, are regarded as producers. Significantly, what they produce is intangible: it is the "proper state of mind" in the customers. The value created for consumption lies primarily in this production rather than in providing service per se. Secondly, this production is not done by manual labor, nor through innovation. Rather, flight attendants must manipulate their own feelings in order to produce the value for which they were hired.

This criteria for hiring service workers based according to their perceived ability to project the desired emotional sensation on the part of the consumer has obvious gender implications, and Hochschild's analysis of flight attendants captured the role of the service industry in proscribing femininity. Since Hochschild's work was published, her framework has been adopted and expanded beyond the gender dimension, including an intersectional approach integrating how the different ages, sexualities, ethnicities, and class backgrounds of service workers determine their prospects in employment in service industries using just the right bodies to create a particular emotional effect. Of particular interest is how the inherently self-denying productivity of "emotional labor" in the consumerist economy has strengthened class hierarchies between service workers and consumers. As Sherman showed for"luxury settings in particular,

[113]Hochschild, A. 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling.* The University of California Press. Berkeley, CA. Page 7. My emphasis.

thisinteractive product is more than 'service with a smile'; it is, rather,recognition of the customer's limitless entitlement to the worker's individualizingattention and effort."[114]

Macdonald and Merrill call this trained supplicant class of service workers the "emotional proletariat."[115]This contribution to forming a class analysis of the consumerist economy adds critical depth to theories which, as we have seen, been mired in the illusion popular within the consumerist literature of status equality. Needless to say, such important dynamics of gender and class conditioning service work relationships within the consumerist economy go completely unexamined in analyses that focus purely on the functional role of service provision.

Hochschild's greatest accomplishment in acknowledging the *productive* value of services, then, is in offering a fundamentally different basis of labor exploitation of service workers within the consumerist economy. Whereas Ritzer and Korczynsky conceived of the classic "hard exploitation" that comes from employers exercising direct control of the actions of service workers, either through the mechanization of the service relationship by scripting exchanges (as in Ritzer) or as utilizing the service worker as a sort of human apologia for the inflexibility of the service environment (as in Korczynsky), Hochschild saw "a managed heart"—the exploitation of the worker's very emotions.

[114] Sherman. Pages 5-6.

[115] Macdonald, C.L. and Merrill, D. 2009. "Intersectionality in the Emotional Proletariat: A New Lens on Employment Discrimination in Service Work" in Korczynsky, M and Macdonald, C.L. (eds.) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge. New York. Pages 113-134.

This corporeal metaphor is taken quite literally in Hardt and Negri, who draw on the Foucauldian concept of biopower, or the integration of the body into systems of control.[116] Hardt and Negri claim that biopower is of even greater importance in a post-industrial consumerist economy staffed by "immaterial labor", that which "results in no material and durable good" but rather "produces an immaterial good, such as a service, a cultural product, knowledge, or communication."[117] Ritzer felt service workers were turned into *non*people, showing how labor is affect*ed* by rational systems, while Hardt and Negri claim that front line service work is "affect*ive*" in that it is primarily intended to produce value in the consumer sensation. Far from being dehumanized, in the consumerist economy the humanity inherent in front line service work is a potent productive force: "the instrumental action of economic production has been united with the communicative action of human relations."[118]

However, as Witz et al argue, the body is implicated in service work in ways beyond the production of emotion and affect described above.This role is fundamentally physical rather than psychical, and constitutes what they call the aestheticization of labor: "the stylization of workplace performances and particularly the ways in which new modes of workplace embodiment are currently being produced and valorized."[119]

---

[116] See Foucault, M. 1990 (1976). *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. Vintage Books. New York. Pages 140-141.

[117] See Hardt, M. and Negri, A. 2000. *Empire*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA. Pages 289-294.

[118] Hardt and Negri. Page 293.

[119] Witz, A.; Warhurst, C.; and Nickson, D. 2003 "The Labor of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Organization." *Organization*. Vol. 10, No. 1. Page 34.

In an obvious reference to Bourdieu[120], Witz et al claim that workplaces in the consumerist economy aim to capitalize on the "bodily dispositions" of service workers in the creation of a particular aesthetic they wish to associate with their brand. Using the organizational language of "hardware"—"marketing material, product design and the physical environment of workspaces"[121]—and "software—the mobile means to operate the system—Witz et al describe the recent changes in the service relationship: "Employees are increasingly seen not simply as 'software', but as 'hardware', in the sense that they too can be corporately molded to portray the organizational aesthetic."[122]

This conception most clearly implicates the role of the service worker in the servicescape, which has highly visual connotations. Places of spectacle command a gaze, and many qualitative studies have noted the strategic display of bodies is meant to attract the eyes of consumers. Much as "emotional labor" played on perceived gendered qualities of feminine care, "aesthetic labor" produces value through the placement of desirable gendered bodies throughout the site of consumption. As one study of service workers at a British cathedral to consumption found, this relationship was a conscious and cynical strategy on the part of the management, and the sexual aggression it purposefully promoted was simply something to be dealt with: "sexual harassment was expected from the customers and management encouraged women workers to 'laugh it off' as it was just 'part of the job.'"[123]

---

[120] See Bourdieu, P. 1990 (1980). *The Logic of Practice.* Stanford University Press. Stanford, CA. Pages 66-79.

[121] Witz et al. 42.

[122] Ibid. Page 33.

[123] Adkins, L. 2002. "Sexual Servicing and the Labor Market" in Jackson, S. and Scott. S. (eds.) *Gender: A Sociological Reader*. Routledge. London. Pages 199-200.

Such sexually-charged aestheticization of the workplace is not reserved for the sex industry, but has become an integral part of the function of the overall consumerist economy, as Witz et al aver: "This labor of aesthetics is no longer an occasional initiative of sometimes idiosyncratic or exotic organizations, or even enterprising individuals, but a deliberate, managerially determined characteristic of an emerging subsector within services that involve face-to-face, voice-to-voice interaction between employee and customer."[124]

The emphasis on the "stylization of workplace *performance*" so prominent in aesthetic labor is echoed in Sherman's concept of "service theater." Borrowing from Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Sherman sees the service worker engaging in a series of emotional, aesthetic, and class acts designed less as an expression of inner identity than as a projection of perceived expectation.[125]As Sherman says, "a major similarity between the service theater and the dramatic theateris the importance of meaningful performance. Actors take on roles,which they may or may not be comfortable executing. Performance isguided by learning done outside the theater as well as by norms within it."[126]

This learning process is an important point to consider, as it highlights how subjectivities are molded by the objectifying structures in which they work, while at the same time hinting at the possibility for the expression of individuality. This is expressed through work by Karla Erikson, who noted that in addition to value for the shop owner, service workers create value for themselves by "producing familiarity"[127] with their customers. Not destined to be the mere

[124] Witz et al. Page 50.
[125] Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Anchor Books. New York.
[126] Sherman, 20-21.
[127] Erikson, K. 2009. *The Hungry Cowboy: Service and Community in a Neighborhood Restaurant*. The University Press of Mississippi. Jackson, MS. Page 26.

emotional slave of their employers, service workers "are left to choose to invest or detach"[128] from their customer interactions. They can form bonds through the service relationship that defy the commanding logic of their proscribed roles, establishing personal contacts with regulars, or perhaps even denying friendliness to unwanted customers.

As Erikson notes, "Servers aredrawn into emotional performances through multiple routes—not only managerial strategies but also their own sense of craft and the collaborativeconstruction of a sense of community."[129]This use of the word "strategies" takes us back to the language used by Certau (and adapted to the consumerist literature by Fiske) to describe the structural constraints against which individuals resist through agential "tactics."[130]

This last addition to the complex identity formation and role performance that defines the opportunities and constraints of the service worker in the consumerist economy provides a much-needed corrective to a literature heavily focused on consumers alone. Theories of consumerism, having grown out of a context of conspicuous displays of wealth to a blindness to social difference in favor of symbolic objects, have historically tended to emphasize the consumer. Rather than treating consumerist ideology as a fad, or a sign of cultural degeneration, it is important to acknowledge the role that consumerism has come to take in the overall economy. This has also changed the nature of service work, and has thrust the service worker into a number of contradictory positions. Service workers don't merely staff the consumerist economy, the generate value within it. They are thus, as Warhurst et al say, "central to employers' generation

[128] Ibid. Page 57.
[129] Ibid. Page 60.
[130] See Certau, pages 34-35.

of profit and reveal why workers' feelings and bodies are being commodified and therefore why the employment relationship matters."[131]

The roles of service workers are largely proscribed by the controlling servicescapes of their employers, while they often face conflicting constraints from the customers. Service workers are not just provisioners of goods, but are producers of emotion, affect, aesthetics, and familiarity while simultaneously acting out identity performances of class and gender. Through all these systems of objectification, however, service workers never cease to be subjects, and they implement a number of tactics to attach individualized meanings to their social positions.

[131] Warhurst et al. Page 107.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSUMERIST ECONOMY IN TURKEY: NEW BOUNDARIES OF CLASS, STATUS, AND GENDER

The consumerist economy that has developed in Turkey since the 1980s differs in many important ways from that in the Western European and North American contexts discussed in the previous chapter. While Baudrillard and Bell bemoaned the "democratization" of consumption from the broadening middle classes of France and the United States in the 1960s and 70s, Turkey spent those decades largely walled off from the world economy in the attempt of creating an industrial base. This import-substitution regime reversed almost overnight following the military coup on September 11, 1980 as the country began rapid economic liberalization.[132] While the stated purpose was to increase national exports and attract foreign capital investments, the world economy to which Turkey opened its borders was already very much in progress.

For the most part, Turkey was welcomed with open arms, for, as George Ritzer has noted, the contemporary consumerist economy "must concentrate on creating ever-larger

[132] The specific processes of this historic transition are beyond the focus of this thesis, but a good foundation for the transitions of this period can be found in Öniş, Ziya 1998. "The State and Economic Development in Contemporary Turkey: Etatism to Neoliberalism and Beyond" in Öniş, Ziya (ed.) *The Political Economy of Turkey in Comparative Perspective.* Boğaziçi University Press. Pages 455-476.

numbers of people in more and more parts of the world willing, even eager, to consume the products being produced. Thus, capitalism is increasingly as much about producing consumers and consumer culture as it is about creating products and services."[133] In this sense, for a country such as Turkey, in which imports had long been restricted, the principal import was not any particular good from the West, but rather what Leslie Sklair calls the "culture-ideology of consumerism": "the value-system that has been most successfully put in place for the transition to capitalist modernization and subsequently capitalist globalization."[134]

Just as Bauman had seen the neoliberal collapse of protectionist borders simultaneously destroying "obstacles which limit the free flight of fantasy"[135] among consumers, Turkey's previously closed internal market became open to a number of imported European goods and services previously known only by reputation. The spectacular display of these goods unleashed what Appadurai called the consumer imagination, or the ability to "consider a wider set of possible lives than ever before."[136]

However, these imaginary cosmopolitan lifestyles were not value-neutral, much less were they easily accessible by all. Indeed, contrary to how it developed in North America and Western Europe, consumerism was not borne out of some *belle époque* of high employment, middle class growth, and the distribution of wealth. Rather, consumerist ideology arrived in Turkey alongside the economically and socially polarizing tumult of neoliberal deregulation,

[133] Ritzer, 2007. Pages 169-170.

[134] Sklair, L. 2002. *Globalization: Capitalism and Its Alternatives*. Oxford University Press. New York. Page 164.

[135] Bauman, Z. 2000. *Liquid Modernity.* Polity Press. Cambridge. Page 75.

[136] Appadurai. Page 53.

structural adjustment, and austerity.[137] The depth and rapidity of these changes had a strongly disrupting effect on the Turkish population, enriching some and displacing many. This period is aptly expressed in few sentences by Deniz Kandiyoti:

> In time, rapid urbanization and the influx of rural populations into the cities created a bewildering array of styles and subcultures. New modes of dress and consumption became complex signifiers of class, gender, place of origin, and, more recently, ideological predilection. The boundaries of the traditional and the modern became open to both multiple interpretations and contestation. These interpretations are constructed through the perspectives of social actors who are differently located with respect to class, status, gender, ethnicity, and residence.[138]

As Kandiyoti makes clear, those who could afford to experiment with the imaginary cosmopolitan lifestyles newly available for consumption utilized this opportunity to draw new lines of "invidious distinction."[139] This mobilization of consumer goods and experiences for the demarcation of class identities hearkens back to Thorstein Veblen's notion of "conspicuous consumption"[140], which as was shown in the last chapter, had in the more egalitarian post-war era become seen as an obsolete obsession with a dwindling aristocracy. In the Turkish context, however, high levels of income disparity and a nascent consumer society coexist in a deeply stratifying manner.

---

[137] An excellent, many-sided volume of the social changes in this neoliberal era can be found in Balkan, Neşecan and Savran, Sungur (eds.) *The Ravages of Neo-Liberalism: Economy, Society, and Gender and Turkey*. Nova Science Publishers, Inc. Hauppague, New York.. For a perspective on gender and employment, see Çağatay, Nilüfer and Berik, Günseli 1990. "Transition to Export-Led Growth in Turkey: Is there a Feminization of Employment?" *Review of Radical Economics*. Vol. 22, No. 1. Pages 115-134.

[138] Kandiyoti, Deniz 1997. "Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity" in Bozdoğan, S. and Kasaba, R. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. The University of Washington Press. Page 118.

[139] Veblen. Page 35.

[140] Ibid. Page 60.

The construction of new *class* divisions in Turkey through consumerism was perhaps inevitable, considering how access to consumer practices is so exclusionary. However, as Kandiyoti points out, class was one of several traditional lines of social demarcation that were reopened for contestation in the socially tumult of the neoliberal era. These forms of identity, of which gender will be of primary interest in this and the following chapter, became renegotiated at the quintessential public fora of the consumerist economy—the shopping malls, tourist resorts, and coffee shops that constitute the new "cathedrals of consumption." This normative dialogue implicated more than just the shoppers browsing the spectacular goods and imaginary lifestyles on display, it also engaged the service workers. Indeed, the growth of Turkey's consumerist economy has meant an explosion of front line service sector employment, now accounting for 25% of the total labor market. This chapter will explore the growth of the consumerist economy in Turkey, with attention towards developing a role for service workers in the social environment. The results from my field study in the next and final chapter are meant to contribute towards including this perspective.

The Structural Formation of Istanbul's Consumerist Economy: The City, Retail Growth, and Gendered Service Work

The rapid transition from an insular, national economy to a more neoliberal international economy was accompanied by a significant shift in the locus of public expenditure from the central government to the cities. As Keyder and Öncü showed, the share of total tax revenues distributed to local governments more than doubled between 1983 and 1985, allowing Istanbul to expand its budget from simple municipal administration to major infrastructural

developments.[141] Meanwhile, the state government developed the Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) 1984 in order to exert more government control over building projects, including the authority to reclaim occupied land for redevelopment.[142] The Istanbul municipality, suddenly flush with tax receipts and with the ability to mobilize TOKI for claiming domain, quickly became attractive to public investors abroad, which doled out over a billion US dollars in loans to the city from 1983 to 1989.[143] Private capital, too, flooded into Istanbul. While before 1983, there had only been four buildings with 20 floors or more, by the end of the decade five times as many more again were constructed.[144] The urban rejuvenation continued through the 1990s, as the municipality and state government raced to outspend each other in preparing for the TOKI-sponsored UN Habitat II conference.[145]The city government alone spent over $5 million, embarking on a series of beautification projects and rejuvenating historical neighborhoods that it deemed had fallen into disrepair[146] and setting to work cobbling roads and lining the Golden Horn with promenades, remaking the city "under the global gaze."[147]

The changes during this era, however, were far from all positive. This massive reallocation of public wealth in Turkey's large cities was mirrored by growing disparities of wealth among private individuals. Particularly hard hit were agricultural workers, who after the collapse of state subsidies and price-support programs, saw a decline in the intersectoral terms of

[141]Keyder, Çağlar and Öncü, Ayşe 1997. *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities*. Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Istanbul. Pages 21-22.
[142]Keyder, Çağlar 1999c. "The Housing Market from Informal to Global" in Keyder, Çağlar (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York. Pages 143-159.
[143]Keyder and Öncü, 1997. Page 22.
[144] Ibid. Page 28.
[145] Çınar, Alev 2005. *Modernity, Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places and Time*. The University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis. Pages 118-127.
[146] Öncü, 1997.
[147] Çınar, Alev 2005. Page 118.

trade greater than 40% in the decade following 1978, which led to sustained urban flight.[148] For their part, the mostly urbanized manufacturing laborers were prohibited from participating in union activities during the prolonged state declaration of martial law.[149] As a result, real wages dropped by nearly 40% between 1980 and 1988, a period in which real profits almost doubled. Wages did not return to 1980 levels until 1996.[150]

Not surprisingly, the simultaneous rise of investment in urban consumerism and the growing polarization of wealth created a number of economic contradictions. For one thing, the declines in wages slackened demand for the imported goods and services on which the consumerist economy depended. As Tokatli and Boyaci noted of the factors necessary for sustained private investment, a "large scale retailing became a viable option for large corporations when urban populations started to provide retailers with a large,steady and consistent demand for products. At thesame time, industrial production together with importliberalizations made it possible to have a large, steadyand consistent supply of goods."[151]

As discussed above, this latter condition had become consolidated through the enactment of an export-oriented industrialization regime following the military coup of 1980. As for generating the necessary levels of demand, Erkin Ödemis has shown how the Turkish banking sector began aggressively promoting consumer borrowing through the development of a credit

[148] Pamuk, 2008. Page 288.
[149]Zürcher, Erik Jan 2004. *Turkey: A Modern History*. I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd. New York. Page 306.
[150]Özar, Şemsa and Ercan, Fuat 2002. "Labor Markets in Turkey: Maladjustment or Integration?" in Balkan, Neşecan and Savran, Sungur (eds.) *The Ravages of Neo-Liberalism: Economy, Society, and Gender and Turkey*. Nova Science Publishers, Inc. Hauppague, New York. Page 167.
[151] Tokatli and Boyaci. Page 349.

card industry.[152] This process began with the liberalization of financial markets in 1988 and the shifting focus of banks from investing in state projects to direct lending to consumers on credit.[153] This banking innovation introduced the concept of spending unseen, and as yet unearned, money to a raft of would-be Turkish consumers. As noted by Ödemis, "most of the [credit] applications were made for purchasing durable consumer goods" rather than for investments in education or money-earning activities.[154] The number of people gaining access to these consumer credits skyrocketed from their date of their initial offering, going from 195,312 in 1989 to 5.8 million in 2008.[155]

With capital mobilized for investment and private access to consumer credit assured, all the ingredients were in place for what Appadurai called a *consumer revolution*, or the "shift from the reign of sumptuary law to the reign of fashion."[156] It is not a coincidence, then, that the international retail sector that thrives in a consumerist economy began to take off at exactly this time. Tokatli and Boyaci's report on the Turkish retail sector found that while "small-scale, capital-weak, independent, and family-ownedretailers [had] dominated the trade"[157] throughout the Turkey's history, "in fast-food retailing, the UScompanies McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken andPizza Hut entered into the market in the late 1980s,and Subway and Burger King in

[152] Ödemis, Erkin. 2009. *The Financialization of Consumption in Turkey: The Emergence of Consumer Credits (1988-2008)*. MA thesis submitted to the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History. Bogazici University.
[153] Ibid. Page 61.
[154] Ibid. Page 67.
[155] Ibid. Page 2.
[156] Appadurai. Page 72. Emphasis in the original.
[157] Tokatli, N. and Boyaci, Y. 1998. "The Changing Retail Industry and Retail Landscapes: The Case of Post-1980 Turkey." *Cities. Vol. 15, No. 5.* Page 346.

the 1990s" while the first Turkish outpost of international *haute couture* came in the form of Marks and Spencer in 1995.[158]

The first cathedrals of consumption emerged at about this time in the form of ever-expansive hypermarkets. Almost exclusively an urban phenomena, and with Istanbul leading Turkish cities in both consumer clout and retail possibilities, these shopping centers introduced those who had means, or who were able to borrow them, to a mass proliferation of consumer options previously unavailable to them at small neighborhood markets:

Figure 3.1: The Growth of Cathedrals of Consumption in Groceries

	Hypermarkets + 2500 m²	Large supermarkets 1200 – 2500 m²	Small supermarkets 800 – 1200 m²	Large markets 400 – 800 m²	Small markets 100 – 400 m²
1990	0	15	8	59	1095
1991	0	21	11	70	1195
1992	2	26	18	81	1291
1993	16	30	25	92	1407
1994	27	36	31	117	1630
1995	35	44	48	157	1903
1996	42	70	74	251	2244
1997	55	83	78	301	2678

Source: Tokatli and Boyaci, 1998. Page 355.

A Turkish retail trade journal, *Arasta* (ironically named after an Ottoman-era bazaar), aptly captures this transition (Figure 3.2), with *Bakkal Amca*, the neighborhood store owner, dismayed at the changes in the retail sector. Unsurprisingly, the magazine is sponsored by a major credit card in Turkey, and includes the caption "Traditional Retail is Modernizing":

[158] Ibid. Page 347.

Figure 3.2: Turkish Retail Trade Journal: "Traditional Retail is Modernizing"

Source: Alışveriş Merkezleri ve Perakendeciler Derneği. www.ampd.org

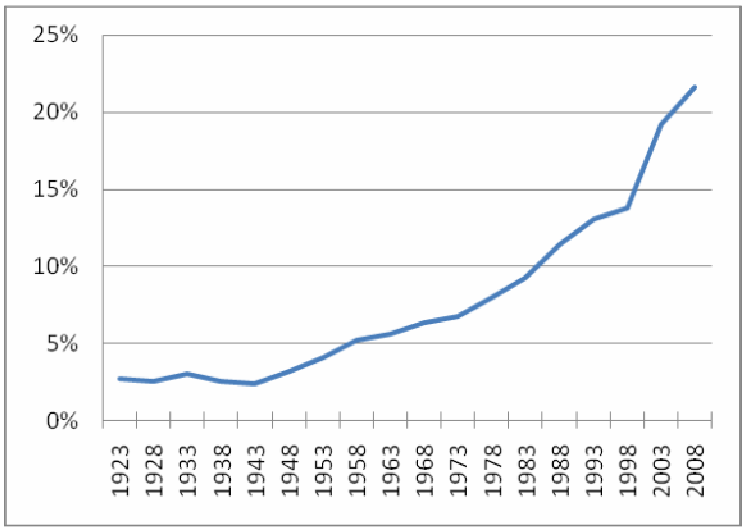
Of course, the retail boom was not limited to fast food chains and hypermarkets. The first shopping mall came to Turkey in 1988[159], and established a retail sector that has become synonymous with consumerist economic life in contemporary Istanbul. As of early 2010, Istanbul had 71 fully-completed shopping malls, including the two largest in Europe, with a further 121 mall projects under construction or in planning stages.[160] These evermore ostentatious shopping centers are typically anchored by large international companies that make no attempt to hide the exoticism of their origin; indeed, the more upper-end malls have actively branded their global aspirations through the usage of English names and advertising slogans. A standard feature of these cathedrals of consumption was another international consumer import that came to Turkey in the late-1990s: the imaginary cosmopolitan coffee shop. Those who enter

[159] Akcaoglu, 2008. Page 13.
[160] Arslan, T.V.; Sezer, F.S.; and Isigicok, E. 2010. "Magnetism of Shopping Malls on Young Turkish Consumers." *Young Consumers. Vol 11, No. 3.* Page 179.

most shopping centers now have a choice to consume at an on outlet from one, and often two or three, of the café chains considered in this study.

These changes in the retail landscape and the growth of the consumerist economic base were accompanied by a deep structural change in sectoral composition of the Turkish labor market. In recent decades, a legion of laborers in front line service work—those jobs requiring face-to-face customer interaction and the in-house production of affect[161] and aesthetics[162] as described in chapter two—has cropped up to feed the credit- and imagination-driven appetites of Turkish consumers in the late 1990s. As shown in Figure 3.3, Turkey's consumerist economy only begins to show signs of development around 1980, before exploding during the retail boom at about the turn of the millennium. The subsection of the overall service economy specializing in retail, hotels, and restaurants (including coffee shops) has now become the largest single sector of Turkey's labor force, accounting for nearly a quarter of all jobs:

Figure 3.3: Employment in Wholesale and Retail Trade, Restaurants and Hotels, %



Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI), *Statistical Indicators 1923-2006.*

[161] Hardt and Negri. Pages 289-294.
[162] See Witz, et al. See also a discussion of service work in the consumerist economy in chapter two, *supra*.

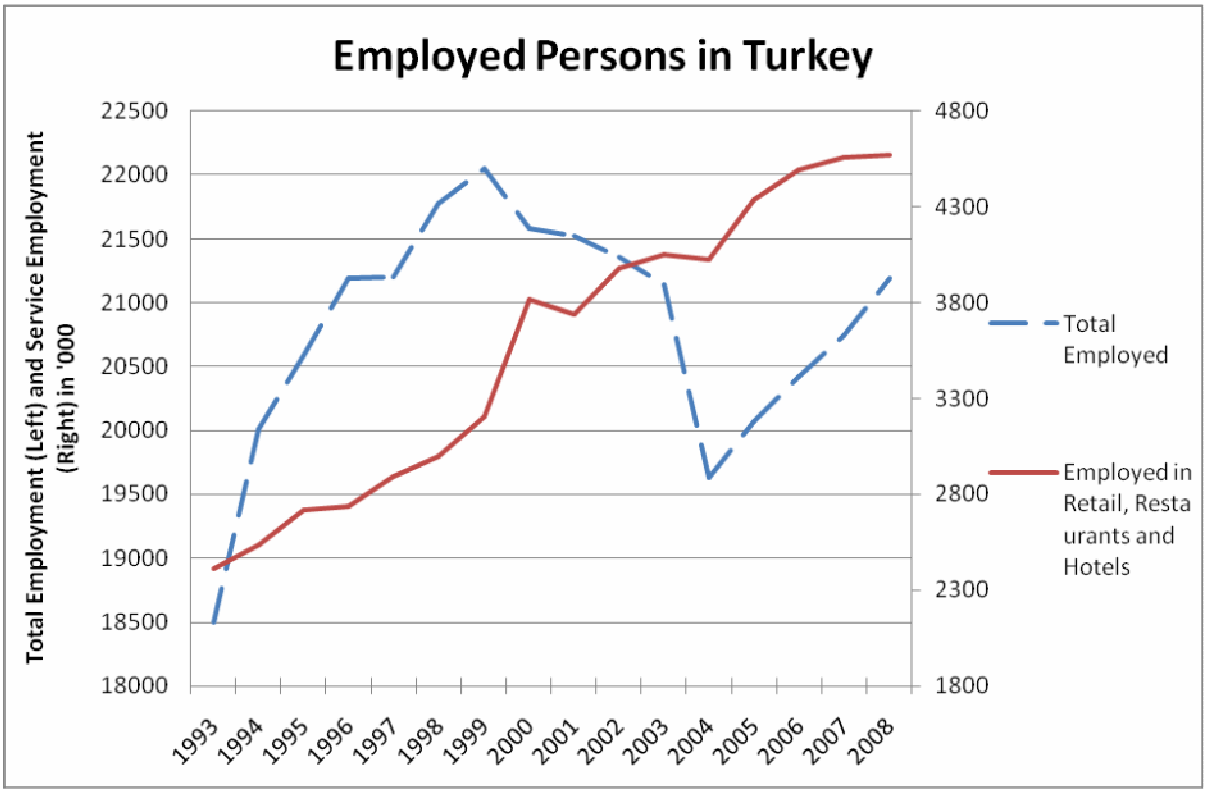
What is perhaps most interesting about this development of a consumerist economy is how drastically it deviates from the material conditions that engendered the growth of consumerism in North America and Western Europe in the 1960s. When John Kenneth Galbraith published *The Affluent Society* in 1958, he was not referring to the consumption behaviors of a particular elite class (as Veblen had before him), he was describing the affluence of society *at large*. Cultural elitists like Daniel Bell declared that "bourgeois culture has been shattered"[163] and that "the cultural transformation of modern society is due, singularly, to the rise of mass consumption, or the diffusion of what were once considered luxuries to the middle and lower classes in society."[164] High wages and low unemployment had permitted the lowliest worker to engage in consumption standards previously known only to Veblen's leisure class.

The consumerist economy in Turkey, by contrast, has emerged under opposite socioeconomic conditions. Not only were unions blocked and wages rolled back, but unemployment also shot up during a succession of financial crises. Figure 3.4 shows how the crisis in production in the Turkish manufacturing center has led to the explosion of job growth in front line service work even when the labor market was shedding jobs overall.

In the first eight years of this decade, the overall number of people employed in Turkey has contracted by 300,000, while the number of front line service workers in the retail, restaurant and hotel sector increased by nearly 1.4 million, a 43% jump. This drastic restructuring of the labor market has had an enormous impact on how the consumerist economy has taken shape within Turkish society in ways that were not witnessed in North American and Western Europe.

[163] Bell. Page 41.
[164] Ibid. Page 65.

Figure 3.4: Service Work Continues to Rise as Total Employment Drops



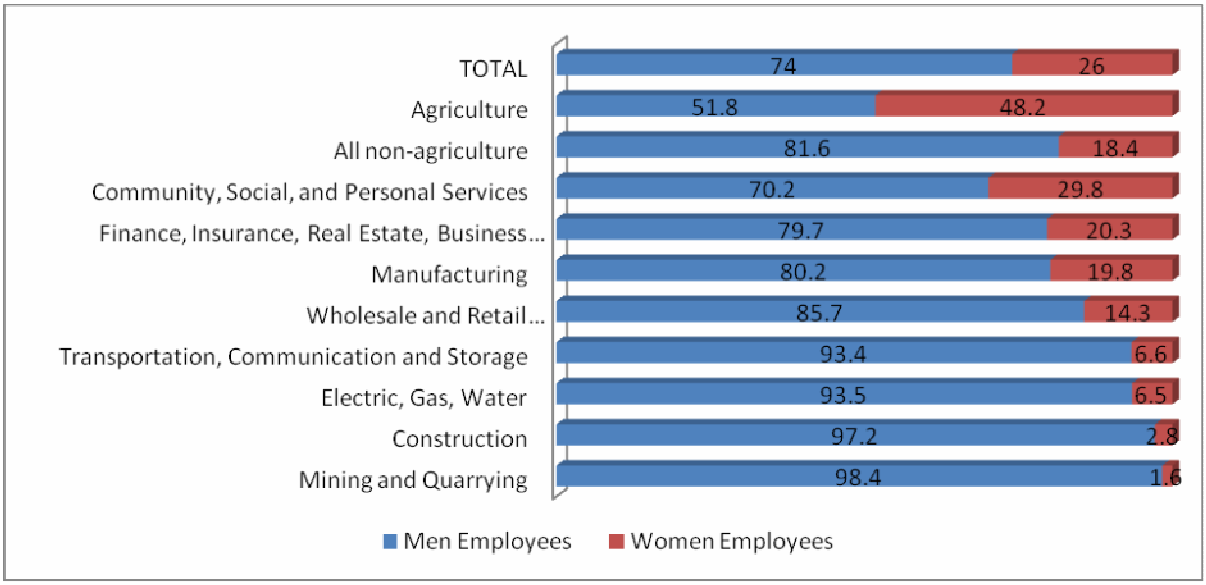
Source: TSI, *Turkey's Statistical Yearbook.*2008.

In the first eight years of this decade, the overall number of people employed in Turkey has contracted by 300,000, while the number of front line service workers in the retail, restaurant and hotel sector increased by nearly 1.4 million, a 43% jump. This drastic restructuring of the labor market has had an enormous impact on how the consumerist economy has taken shape within Turkish society in ways that were not witnessed in North American and Western Europe.

Before moving on to considering some of the social consequences of this transformation, it is important to note that this segment of front line service work in Turkey is incredibly gendered. While the urban population of women in Turkey have historically had very low levels of participation in the labor market, this has been especially so in the services sector. While for

generations, women have maintained relatively high levels of participation in the so-called professional services[165] (women currently compose nearly two-thirds of all employment in public health and legal services),[166] Figure 3.5 shows that women make up a paltry 14.3% of jobs in retail, restaurants, and hotels. This sector is the number one employer of men (where 25% of all men work), while it is the 4th-largest sector for working women (only 12% of women find jobs in retail, restaurants and hotels). This almost certainly reflects how a still-substantial number of retail businesses are family-owned.[167] However, as was seen in the last chapter, the provision of affective and aesthetic labor, with its heavily gendered connotations, constitutes a high percentage of value within the consumerist economy. Each of the three café chains has a much higher rate of women's participation than the national average.

Figure 3.5: Gendered Participation in Service Work, Other Sectors



Source: TSI, *Turkey's Statistical Yearbook 2006.*

[165] For an early analysis of this phenomenon, see Öncü, Ayşe 1981. "Turkish Women in the Professions: Why So Many?" in Abadan-Unat, Nermin (ed.) *Women in Turkish Society*. E.J. Brill. Leiden. Pages 181-193.

[166] Arat, 2010. Page 169.

[167] See Çalışkan, Şebnem 2008. "Overview of Family Business Relevant Issues: Country Fiche Turkey." Report Prepared for the European Commission. Page 1.

The gendered employment relations in Turkey's consumerist economy add a second structural dynamic in which Turkey differs from North America and Western Europe. The emergence of new fragmented class realities and contested gender possibilities in Turkey's consumerist economy has had a dramatic impact on the social meanings attached to consumption. The following section elaborates the forms of identity definition and role renegotiation that have taken shape in contemporary Turkey's cathedrals of consumption.

Consumerism as a Social Practice at Istanbul's Cathedrals of Consumption

In explaining the rise in popularity of the shopping mall in Turkey's neoliberal era, Feyzan Erkip said that "given that they are exposedto global products relatively late, Turkish people areeager to consume international brands, in shoppingmalls, as they have seen in Hollywood movies andin foreign countries."[168] While this statement clearly recalls Appadurai's claim that the rise of a consumerist economy is driven by the imagination of other ways of living,[169] neither the capability to consume these products, nor the meanings attached to these practices are uniform in the Turkish context. The receptivity of Istanbullites to the imported oddities found at the shopping malls, and their ability to afford to consume them, differed according to their social position within the urban nexus.

As has been discussed, the gulfs between the socially-divided groups in Istanbul were considerably widened by the same neoliberal forces that supplied the consumption choices that demarcated them. Turkey's integration into global markets and the "new channels of

[168] Erkip, F. 2005. "The Rise of the Shopping Mall in Turkey: The Use and Appeal of a Mall in Ankara." *Cities*. Vol. 22, No. 2. Page 90.
[169] Appadurai, 1996. Page 53.

accumulation and upward mobility…had given birth to a new category of rich in Istanbul"[170] and those who had benefited were free to define themselves anew through purchase and practice. To return to Keyder, "The spectrum of available services and consumer goods became much wider, and the disparities in consumption between the top and the rest too visible. A two-tier system emerged and the two spheres grew apart whenever lifestyles and consumption patterns could be segregated."[171]

This "growing apart" is not meant to be taken figuratively. There was and is an explicitly spatial component to the differentiation between social groups, and the fault lines were largely drawn along a sense of belonging to the city. This is particularly visible in recent trends in urban architecture, as gated communities (*site*) have erected physical walls separating Istanbul's moneyed crowds from the working class "squatters" in quasi-legal housing developments (*gecekondu*). As Keyder says, these "new complexes built for the globalizers were landscaped, expensive, inaccessible, and forbidding to the outside population."[172]Whereas the *gecekondu*, in its haphazard sprawl and opportunistic organization of land, was the picture of rural backwardness, the *site* was the triumph of order—with the structural and spatial uniformity signifying common consumption abilities and preferences. In the words of Ayşe Öncü, the target demographic for *site* developers were those

This physical separation of Istanbul's upper classes, aided by the requisite private automobile, afforded them to be *of* the city while not *in* the city. Their target demographic was those "desiring to escape the pollution of the city: air pollution, traffic pollution, noise pollution

[170] Öncü, 1999. Page 110.
[171] Keyder, Çağlar 1999a. "The Setting" in Keyder, Çağlar (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York. Page 24.
[172] Keyder, 1999a. Page 24.

and, most important, *cultural* pollution."[173] This differentiated consumption of space aimed to put the maximum amount of physical distance between those with the means to live what they understood as the global lifestyle and those taken as reminders of Anatolia's embarrassing cultural backwardness.

However, as Gül Özyeğin points out, what could be kept physically segregated in domestic life became increasingly difficult to separate in urban public places. The continuous "occupation" of Istanbul over the previous half-century by migrants, drawn to the same economic opportunities from which the established classes had earned their wealth, had made them "an increasingly indispensable part of middle-class existence, [as] the middle class came to define itself in contradistinction to the peasants. Indeed, the contact between these groups gave rise to intensified forms of boundary-defining activities."[174] That is to say, what could not be kept apart through the consumption of space became separable through consumerist behavior; just the "globalizers" found "boundary-defining" places to live in the *site*, in the shopping mall they found new and distinguishing ways to spend their money.

John Fiske saw the shopping experience as being one of social assertion, with identities that had ossified in older contexts being actively renegotiated in the public spaces of the new "cathedrals of consumption."[175] In the Turkish context, too, it is more than the product itself that defines the orientation of consumption, but the social norms obtaining in its purchasing venue.To

[173] Öncü, 1997. Page 65. Emphasis in the original.
[174] Özyeğin, Gül, 2002. "The Doorkeeper, the Maid, and the Tenant: Troubling Encounters in the Turkish Urban Landscape" in Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Page 47.
[175] See Fiske, J. 2000. "Shopping for Pleasure: Malls, Power, and Resistance" in Schor, J. and Holt, D. (eds.) *The Consumer Society Reader*. The New Press. New York. Pages 306-330. A further discussion of Fiske's approach can be found in chapter 2.

quote Kandiyoti again, "new modes of dress and consumption became complex signifiers of class, gender, place of origin, and, more recently, ideological predilection."[176]

From a gendered perspective, Ayşe Durakbaşa and Dilek Cindoğlu describe the shopping experience at Istanbul's vast and proliferating shopping centers as potentially liberating:

> Women use the shopping mall as a tool to involve husbands more in the daily upkeep of the family and homemaking practices. Also, through family shopping trips women have acquired the power of choice over much of what is bought, and to have access to their husband's income. On the weekend shopping trip, usually women fill the basket and men pay the money.[177]

The shopping mall is described here in contrast to the traditional shopping arcades (*çarşı*) of old Istanbul, "a predominantly male domain in which sellers and buyers are mostly men."[178]As the authors describe, the *çarşı* is almost universally outdoors, and is both a social and transportation hub, and as such exposes women to the elements of anonymity and male gaze. The shopping center, by contrast is a deliberate space enclosed by walls and patrolled by security guards. Its spacious corridors, at once more commodious than the streets and confined from the outside, allow for women to move about in a manner both supervised and free. This supposed liberation is derived not only from the structural design of the shopping mall, but through its imaginary cosmopolitan contents that signal participation in others' lives. In Durakbaşa and Cindoğlu's words, "the mall has afforded, especially for women of the middle and upper classes, the opportunity for a 'fictive' global experience and the freedom of a wanderer in a public

[176]Kandiyoti, Deniz 1997. Page 118.
[177]Durakbaşa, Ayşe and Cindoğlu, Dilek 2002. "Encounters at the Counter: Gender and the Shopping Experience" in Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Page 81.
[178]Ibid, Page 75.

place."[179]Away from the status signifiers and dubious safety of the street and amidst the unfamiliarity of global goods, the authors claim, "one can magically shed a social identity and take on a universal one."[180]

Just as Fiske had done before, Durakbaşa and Cindoğlu find the mall as a liberating place where women can assert their public presence in a context free of any objectifying power. The shopping experience, then, is a form of social resistance precisely because it is lacking in social content: at the shopping mall "there is intense energy dispersed into objects of desire rather than interpersonal contact and interaction."[181] However, the women who pass through the anonymity of the shopping center with the supposed ease of Baudelaire's *flâneur*[182] do much more than consume foreign goods; they also consume gender as reinterpreted through the global gaze. Indeed, with the importation of Western goods, lifestyles, and habits, gender—in a highly sexualized form—went on sale. Öncü expresses Istanbul's inundation with this global gender consumption in eminently quotable eloquence:

> "Sexuality as a form of consumption—decoupled from its reproductive focus and associated with leisure and pleasure—had hitherto been confined to specific sites or quarters of Istanbul, identified as centers of depravity and immorality. Now, images of sensuality and sexuality were everywhere boldly displayed—on billboards lining the thoroughfares of the city, on commercial television screens in the domestic setting of the home, on covers of glossy magazines sold in street-corner racks, or the Sunday supplements of the largest-circulating dailies. And what was opened to the gaze soon became available to buy in a multiplicity of material forms and price ranges."[183]

---

[179] Ibid, 86
[180] Ibid. Page 83.
[181] Ibid. Page 82.
[182] See Harvey, David 2003. *Paris, Capital of Modernity*. Routledge. New York. Page 14.
[183]Öncü, Ayşe 2002. "Global Consumerism, Sexuality as Public Spectacle, and the Cultural Remapping of Istanbul in the 1990s" in Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Page 179.

This emphasis on the gaze again evokes the primacy of spectacle as the foundation of value in the consumerist economy, which extends to role of the service worker as well. Aesthetic and emotional performances of "service theater", the sexualized images observed by Öncü take living form in the sales clerk and barista. In Istanbul's growing shopping centers, where the products for consumption are indistinguishable from the people who serve them, the "objects of desire" imagined by Durakbaşa and Cindoğlu are also human bodies. The shopping experience within Turkey's consumerist economy is not the denial of "interpersonal contact and interaction", it is the embodiment of them.

A couple of noteworthy exchanges between the service worker and mall user[184] are observable in Akcaoglu's excellent ethnography of the ANKAmall, the largest shopping mall in Turkey's capital city of Ankara. Each is illustrative of the service worker dynamic in the Turkish cultural context. The first involves the identity politics of an unexpected encounter. In his study, Akcaoglu provides a typology of different patrons of the shopping mall, analyzing how those of various socioeconomic backgrounds engage in different usages of the mall's "restrictive but inclusive quasi-public spaces."[185] Young, mostly newly urbanized men from the working class, who are unable to participate in the pecuniary aspects of consumption but are nevertheless drawn in by its spectacle, add a new dimension to understanding "window shopping" at the ANKAmall. The window shopper is a regular feature of the shopping mall, mingling as much with the social identities on display as the products for sale in the shops. As he passes through the mall, browsing through people and objects, one "window shopper complains about the

[184] Erkip makes this designation of "user" rather than "customer" to capture the fact that not everyone is drawn into the shopping mall with the intention to shop. Indeed, in his 2005 survey of 427 "users" at the Bilkent Shopping Mall in Ankara, he found that "Almost half of the visitors using the mall without doing any shopping." See Erkip, page 102.
[185] Akcaoglu, 2008. Page 50.

judgmental gaze of the salespersons, whom he realizes work for a minimal salary and live in *gecekondu* [urban shantytown] areas just like himself. Furthermore, he thinks that the salespersons claim superiority:

> The salespersons of the mall see themselves as superior to me. They are cold and arrogant toward me. I am disturbed by their judgmental gaze. When I enter the store, they behave as if I do not exist."[186]

This sad and touching moment of recognition met with rejection indicates one way in which consumerist ideology distorts previously recognizable forms of identity and potential solidarity. As Erikson noted, front line service workers exert agency through "investing" or "detaching" from patrons of the workplace.[187] The service workers here, in the mind of the window shopper, have used their position as employees within the shopping mall to draw boundaries of belonging to the imaginary cosmopolitan aesthetic they promote. The window shopper knows he is excluded from fully engaging in the consumption splendor of the ANKAmall, but it is ultimately this sense of denied recognition that most unnerves him. The spaces of the consumerist economy—the shopping malls and life centers, boutiques and coffee shops—provide for a number of such encounters, where identities of socioeconomic class and claims of cosmopolitan belonging intersect in alienating ways.

But the aestheticization of labor as a marketing strategy as discussed in Wurtz, et al[188] makes shopping malls also sites of sexual play, where people are as much on display as goods, and where proscribed gender norms that obtain outside their walls are potentially more negotiable within them. As one recent male migrant told Akcaoglu, "In my first days in Ankara,

[186] Ibid, 95. The interviewee is identified as a 29-year-old "lower class" male. I have made some minor alterations of the author's translation from Turkish into English.
[187] Erikson, 2009. Page 60.
[188] Witz, et al 2003.

I visited ANKAmall with my friends only to see beautiful girls."[189] One might expect as much in sites oriented towards spectacle and hedonism. This underscores much of the rationale guiding the gender norms in the spaces of consumerism, a logic that no doubt informs the labor markets that function within them. The second encounter of Akcaoglu's consumers with the service workers of the ANKAmall is not unexpected, but quite an intentional one:

> One of my friends found a girlfriend from the shopping mall. The girl was a salesperson in one of the stores. For a period of time, we visited the shopping mall only to see that girl. After our third visit to the store they started dating.[190]

These two encounters at the ANKAmall, one unexpected and the other intentional, felicitously (if unwittingly) reveal some of the tensions experienced by the contemporary service worker occupying this ambivalent position in Turkey's consumerist economy. Placed uncomfortably between allegiance to the cosmopolitan imaginary of their work environment and their ascribed social identity, the service worker sets new criteria for belonging. At the same time, the semi-social service interactions that take place in these new spaces of indefinite gender norms provide service workers with the opportunity to formulate and live out new fantasies.

It should not, incidentally, pass without notice that encounters of both these sorts are perfectly suited towards the capitalist impulses of the shop owner, who no doubt nodded in approval at the service worker who shooed away the window-shopping riffraff, and cashed in on the repeat business of the suitor courting his alluring employee. Such outcomes are anticipated in the logic of the consumerist economy, where the house always wins. Nor is it clear from these exchanges the amount of disdain with which the affluent members of the consumer classes treat

[189] Akcaoglu, 2008. Page 42.
[190] Ibid.

their younger and poorer counterparts employed to serve them, and it is highly unlikely that all sexual play at the workplace is invited or appreciated. These brief encounters are two of many that take place throughout the working day of service workers in Turkey's consumerist economy, the rest of which are seldom heard.

The primary objective of my field research is to contribute to the efforts of Akcaoglu and others in describing the changing consumption and gender relations in Turkey, adding the critical perspectives of service workers.Istanbul's new cathedrals of consumption, the luxury hotels, shopping malls, life centers, and indeed coffee shops that lie at the heart of the city's burgeoning service industry, are also the critical factories of social positioning that draw new "invidious distinctions"[191] of status and class, while providing opportunities to contest and reshape gendered identities. But this is not a process limited to the interaction between customers and objects, as conceived by Baudrillard and others. Crucially, the cathedrals of consumption are staffed and run by service workers who in their embodiment and liaise with the customers generate value through representation of brand aesthetic, the production of affect, and the imagination of new sensibilities. These are foundations of the "latte capitalism", as a good deal of the saleable value is produced through the labor of the service worker. Labor in the consumerist economy constitutes a different form of exploitation, in which the subjectivity of the service worker is objectified for the purpose of producing experiences for the customer and income for the shop owner.

The following pages will discuss findings from research conducted on three chains of cafés well-integrated into the consumerist economy of Istanbul, with each orienting their servicescape, and the labor within it, in the cosmopolitan imaginary notion of "coffee culture."

[191] Veblen. Page 36.

As will be shown in questionnaire data and formal interviews with managers and staff, companies within the consumerist economy actively construct and promote the experiences of their customers through mobilizing gender expectations and possibilities in different ways. These practices not only provide the structural backdrop of the cathedrals of consumption where new forms of social interaction are negotiated, they have direct bearing on the employment relationship experienced among the service workers who now make up the largest sector of labors in Turkey's economy. It is hoped that the inclusion of voices from service workers in the precarious position between structure and subject in the consumerist economy will contribute to the broader understanding of social changes in Turkey's neoliberal era.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENDER AND SERVICE WORK IN ISTANBUL'S CONSUMERIST ECONOMY: A SURVEY OF ISTANBUL COFFEE SHOPS

The previous chapter discussed the development of a consumerist economy in Turkey visible in the changing urban landscape, the transformation of the labor market towards consumerist services, and the adoption of consumption as a method to contest and redefine social identities. In this it differed remarkably from the growth of consumerist economies in North America and Western Europe, which had occurred during times of relatively even economic growth and a democratization of consumption. While much of the theories of consumerist societies arose out of the perceived disappearance of class differences, the wealth-polarizing effects of neoliberalism made consumerism into a highly stratifying social act.

Similarly, the importance given to spectacle at the "cathedrals of consumption", centered around service workers' production of experience, affect and aesthetics, has striking implications in a highly-gendered Turkish labor market in which few women work. These dynamics condition the forms of social interaction that take place in the consumerist economy, as well as the position of service workers within it.

After a brief introduction to the three sites of this field research in terms of how they relate to the imaginary cosmopolitan trope of "coffee culture", this chapter describes the mobilization of gendered identities at three café chains in Istanbul. This section, relying on the results of a 38-query questionnaire completed by 132 service workers[192], shows how the labor of men and women is differentially apportioned and presented to signal particular kinds of experiences meant to be associated with that brand. The following section discusses how service workers perceive their own positions in the service sector, with regard to brand-identification and gender expectations. The responses to questions posed in qualitative interviews reveal private attitudes towards the "service theater" performances mandated in the contemporary consumerist economy.

Of course, as one of the hallmark features of a consumerist society lies in the production of a brand-specific aesthetic meant to produce particular sensations in customers (what marketers call the "servicescape"[193]), the gendered behaviors of service workers will naturally vary among the different shops within the cathedrals of consumption. The shapes of gendered service work at the three café chains considered in this section, then, cannot be said to indicate the position of all service workers throughout the consumerist economy. Rather, they are separate instantiations of how service workers are implemented to produce a commodified consumer experience. These illustrations reveal new forms of labor exploitation within what is now Turkey's largest sector of employment, as well as reveal some of the structural ways subjectivities are presented for consumption within important new public spaces of social life in Turkey.

[192] The questionnaire (in Turkish) can be seen in Appendix B to this thesis. For a full methodological account of the data gathering and interview process, see Chapter One above.
[193] See Bitner 1992 and Sherry 1998.

Mapping the Servicescapes: The Imaginary Cosmopolitan Notion of "Coffee Culture"

Baudrillard claims that in the consumerist economy, "consumption is governed by a form of *magical thinking.*"[194] Bauman said that consumerist ideology has broken down the "obstacles which limit the free flight of fantasy."[195] As Ritzer has it, the "new means of consumption" have "enchanted a disenchanted world."[196] Compared to the magic, fantasy, and enchantment of these theorists, Appadurai's analysis of the new social role of the imagination in the consumerist economy seems rather prosaic. However, it best explains the cachet achieved by "coffee culture" in contemporary Turkey. For Appadurai, the consumerist imagination is the ability to "consider a wider set of possible lives than ever before"[197] and to "link fantasy…to the desire for new bundles of commodities."[198] Visiting one of the coffee shop chains that have exploded on the consumerist scene over the last decade in Turkey is meant to evoke access to a rarefied experience of cosmopolitan sophistication, what such coffee shops aggressively market as "coffee culture."

While such imaginary cosmopolitan coffee shops are new to Turkey, coffee itself is decidedly not. Coffee consumption in Turkey precedes its importation to Western Europe by centuries, and the beverage that came to be known there adjectivally as Turkish coffee—a short and strong cup brewed with pulverized coffee grounds in a long-handled metal ladle-shaped pot (*cezve*)—is still in wide currency in Istanbul and throughout the country as a whole. However, the hegemony of foreign methods of coffee preparation has challenged the primacy of Turkish

[194] Baudrillard, 1998. Page 31. Emphasis in the original.
[195] Bauman, 2000. Page 75.
[196] Ritzer, 2005.
[197] Appadurai, 1996. Page 53.
[198] Ibid. Page 82.

coffee as the national beverage of choice. Significantly, it now carries the national qualifier even in the language of its origin—*Türk kahvesi*.

The reinvention of Turkish coffee as something distinct from the global template has taken place over decades. As an example of this, Alev Çınar dissects the "construction of authenticity" of the Çamlıca Restaurant, an eatery designed in classic Ottoman style by the Istanbul municipality and overlooking the most popular tourist destinations in the old city. "The city administration's primary goal was to display there what theybelieved to be authentic Turkish culture,"[199] adorning the marbled floors with rugs, the walls with Ottoman calligraphy and paintings, and lining stools along low tables. The music was classical Ottoman, while the food was made up of traditional favorites. In deference to the supposed Islamic foundations of Turkish culture, alcohol was prohibited, as were carbonated drinks associated with the West. In the repurposed "Ottoman Coffee House" appended to the restaurant, however, one conspicuous anachorism[200] could be found: the menu included instant coffee! A large board placed near the counter in the garden listed the beverages available. The bottom line read, in capital letters, "NESCAFE," which is a brand name but has become the generic term for instant coffee in Turkey.[201]

Compared to instant coffee, which has long been "authenticated" in Turkish gastronomy, the filter coffee that is the staple of the coffee shop carries the connotation of imaginary cosmopolitan consumption (and perhaps decadence). As discussed in chapter one, individual café chains are formed in relation to a dominant template, what Thompson and Arsel call a "hegemonic brandscape" or "a cultural system of servicescapes that are linked together and

[199] Çınar, Alev. Page 129.
[200] i.e., the state of something being "out of place." Cresswell, 2004. Page 103.
[201] Çınar, Alev. Pages 131-132.

structured by discursive, symbolic, and competitive relationships to a dominant (market-driving) experiential brand."[202] This template was originally created in the image of Starbucks, which occupies a premiere position in the Turkish coffee shop market.

The position of Starbucks in the popular imagination as the epitome of cosmopolitan coffee shop (it is constantly evoked as such in the interviews below) imbues "coffee culture" with highly-charged normative assumptions of modernity, sophistication, and Westernism. "Coffee culture" is a way of defining a particular kind of consumption that exceeds its object and signifies instead a lifestyle pregnant with class and status distinctions. As Kandiyoti argues, the importation of these consumerist norms to the Turkish context "implied not simply a refashioning of tastes but also a hierarchy of worth."[203] Rather than simply supply a caffeine fix, the "conspicuous consumption" of coffee signifies class and status—the ability to pay and the desire to be seen.

While each of the three café chains in this survey has their own distinct brand identities, their management is highly conscious of their relation to the imaginary cosmopolitan template. This orientation of the servicescapes is reflected in the products for consumption, the atmospherics of design, and the aesthetics projected by its service workers. Before attending to this latter aspect of the servicescapes of the three café chains, it will be useful to consider some of the general branding characteristics of each of them.

Global Gaze Coffee (GGC) as the name suggests[204], is the site most readily identifiable with producing the "modern" and "global" aesthetics associated with the cosmopolitan

[202] Thompson and Arsel, page 632.

[203] Kandiyoti, 1997. Page 119.

[204] This name comes from Cinar, 2005, who claimed that post-1980s Turkey was designed "in the global gaze." See pages 118-125.

imaginary. It is the only one of the three café chains considered in this research to be internationally-owned, with its first Istanbul location founded in 1999. Its cosmopolitan orientation is visible in all aspects of its design, and by its unabashed utilization of English in the names of its products. Of the three café chains, it is also the one most explicitly self-identifying with the imaginary cosmopolitan notion of "coffee culture"—with those words being spoken repeatedly among their management and staff. In the Global Gaze concept, coffee means the filter coffee popular in North America and Great Britain, though a number of sugary (and enormously pricey[205]) coffee confections are on offer, as well as European-style espresso. Turkish coffee is also on the menu, but without a corresponding photo display and isolated from the marquee coffee options in the way a kid's meal might be on the menu of a fancy restaurant (needless to say, instant coffee is not for sale). In terms of design, variations among branches are minimal and each location offers a choice between proper chairs and plush lounge chairs separated by low tables. The music is multi-cultural and of ambiguous origin, sung mostly in English but with frequent songs sung in Spanish and Portuguese and with a fondness for the Latin American and African rhythms that are associated with "world music." Aside from the atmosphere, and the worldly leisure it promotes, coffee is the main attraction for consumption. A number of light foods, such as cold cuts and foreign cheese on hard rolls alongside elaborate salads, suggest a deli-style lunch—another unfamiliar concept in Turkey.

Modern Home Coffee (MHC) is a Turkish-owned and operated company that is nevertheless clearly designed in the cosmopolitan "coffee culture" imaginary. Opening its first location in the mid-2000s, in the wake of the foundation of a number of internationally-owned coffee shops including GGC and Starbucks, MHC has all the accouterments of the global chain:

[205] For a size small of one of these chilled coffee drinks, the price is 9.75 TL (over $6). At ten to twenty times the cost of tea at any number of tea gardens, this certainly constitutes a luxury.

a uniform design template that is rigorously promotional of its brand, a specialized line of retail products bearing its trademark, and the casual, yet sterile art concept that has come to be associated with café chains everywhere. Indeed, its original Turkish name betrays its universal self-image and aspirations. However, as was stressed repeatedly in interviews, MHC regards itself as Turkish in origin and orientation, and indeed heavily promotes Turkish coffee as the "primary product" on its menu marquee and on its website. This point of pride is somewhat attenuated by the conspicuous, decorative presence of large burlap sacks filled with coffee beans from Kenya, Guatemala, Ethiopia and other leading world producers. The coffee is served to large clusters of semi-casual chairs ringed around a coffee table structured to accommodate large groups of friends, co-workers, and (particularly) families. Alongside coffee, MHC has a parallel line of chocolate products for immediate in-store consumption or for take-home purchase. It hosts a number of retail counters where its chocolates and store-made pastries are sold, and where one (significantly) can find MHC's own brand of instant coffee for sale. It earns its name, as will be discussed at further length below, for its on-site production, large and gendered division of labor with a keen sense of what is "women's work", and the non-self-consciously hybrid "authenticity" of its atmosphere. Despite scarcely a decade in existence, MHC has proliferated incredibly rapidly in Istanbul on both sides of the Bosphorus, as well as in Izmir and Ankara, and in a smattering of smaller Anatolian towns and cities. It is by no coincidence that it has become a sponsor of the European Union's designation of Istanbul as the 2010 European Capital of Culture. The EU program's logo is prominently displayed at MHC branches and on the aprons of its servers as the seal of European approval, signifying MHC's legitimacy to be the European face of Turkish coffee culture.

Paterfamilias Pastry Café (PPC) is the café chain most dissimilar from the hegemonic brandscape of the coffee shop set by Starbucks. Though the management pointedly mentioned the presence of espresso and cappuccino on the menu, its specialty items are a number of traditional Turkish and imported European desserts. With its emphasis on Turkish traditionalism, here also Turkish coffee is the coffee beverage of choice, though this distinction is not taken to be self-defining as it is with MHC, and in effect tea is consumed at least as often. PPC is also distinct from the other cafés in that it licenses franchise rights outside of the central management. While all of the products on the menu at each of the branches are produced at the corporate base in an Anatolian city, the company logo and style are uniform, and (critically) all training of new employees is centrally-managed, there is a greater degree of variance from location to location. Typically in this survey, the branch manager maintains an observable authority over the running of day-to-day business that is more supervisory than imperious. This individualized aspect helps to account for some of the minor differences in presentation, as some PPC branches, notably those near the well-to-do districts of Nişantaşı and along Bağdat Caddesi, had more glitz than the reliably subdued atmospheres of GGC. Still, the overwhelming majority of the cafés are laid out to promote traditional table-service with proper seats and tables and in one case, even pre-set places. The absence of a full kitchen and the late hours of operation (typically past midnight, later than either GGC or MHC) make it an obvious location for the consumption of leisure, and indeed it is the most social and vibrant of the café chains, with a high din of conversation drowning out any attempts by the management to control the aural ambience.

Figure 4.1 illustrates some of the relevant structural differences of the three café chains, indicating the distinct customer experiences their servicescapes are attempting to engender:

Table 4.1: Some general brand differences among the three café chains.

Company Name	Signature Product	Environment	Price
Global Gaze Coffee (GGC)	Filter coffee Sugary coffee confections Toasted sandwiches w/foreign cheeses	Cosmopolitan and multicultural; Heavy use of English; Both dining and lounging chairs; English and "World" music.	Small coffee 5.25 TL Sugary Drink 9.75 TL Expensive
Modern Home Coffee (MHC)	Turkish coffee Storebrand Chocolates Storebrand Instant Coffee Desserts produced *in situ*. National coffees.	Comfortably social. Chairs in hybrid dine/lounge style. Patios in frequent use. Interiors banked with different "kitchens" and shopping counters. *Muzak*-style pop standards outdoors	Turkish Coffee 4 TL Filter Coffee Moderately expensive
Paterfamilias Pastry Café (PPC)	Traditional Turkish desserts Milky puddings European cakes and pastries Turkish coffee Turkish black tea	Considerable variety according to location. Largely table-oriented, and tightly packed. Terrace seating common. Low music indoors, international pop standards outside.	Turkish Coffee 4 TL Tea (glass) 3 TL Moderately expensive

Quantitative Findings: Demographic Commonalities and Shades of Difference

For the purposes of statistical data collection the Turkish State Institute of Statistics counts the 132 workers who filled out surveys for this fieldwork among the Wholesale and Retail Trade, Hotels, and Restaurants sector of the economy. This sector, for the emphasis on interpersonal interactions in its job description, as well as its reliance on part-time and flexible work and the prevalence of evening and weekend shifts, is expected to be among the most "feminized" of job sectors.[206] Nevertheless, this sector in Turkey attracts a disproportionately

[206] See Standing, 1999 for a discussion on the "feminization of employment."

low percentage of women laborers (14.3%) even compared to low overall national numbers (26%).[207]

In the case of the three café chains in this field study, women made up 43 of the 132 responses—for nearly one-third of the total (32.6%). This represents a considerable increase over the sectoral proportion of women, suggesting that café employment provides more amenable conditions than other service jobs. This may be partially explained by the fact that the service industry in Turkey, like most sectors of the economy, is heavily-dominated by family-run enterprises (94.1% of small- or medium-sized enterprises and 90% of all companies[208]) where women who help in the shop or restaurant are often not considered employed for the purposes of state statistical gathering.[209] As was discussed in the preceding two chapters, the corporatized servicescapes in the consumerist economy rely heavily on gendered bodies producing what Witz et al described as aesthetic labor.[210] Furthermore, the relatively high presence of women in the shopping malls that typically house these café chains create an environment where gendered norms differ from what is expected in the unprotected outdoor retail settings in the *çarşı*.[211] Indeed, the results from this survey find that women are relatively over-represented in employment at the three café chains than in all sectors in Turkey (26%).

The following table shows the results from the data collected through the distribution of questionnaires to 28 branches among the three cafés, compared with the employment numbers

[207] See Figure 3.5 above.
[208] Çalışkan, Şebnem 2008. "Overview of Family Business Relevant Issues: Country Fiche Turkey." Report Prepared for the European Commission.Page 1.
[209] For a critique of the SIS methods, see Dayıoğlu, Meltem 2000, page 46.
[210] Witz et al, 2003.
[211] See Durakbaşa and Cindoğlu, 2002.

provided by human resources for all branches in Istanbul.[212] PPC was an exceptional case in that it did not collect employment data from its franchises and at the corporate level had very little idea about the demographic profile of the employees representing their company brand. In several telephone conversations with the human resources executive, management was apologetic and even slightly embarrassed at not having access to this information and was eager to assist this research in the acquisition this data. As training for all branch employees isconducted by corporate HR managers, they were able to provide some information regarding

Table 4.2: Gender Profile by Company: Corporate Data and Survey Findings

Company Name (Ist. Branches)	Total Workers (HR Numbers)	Men/ Women	Men%/ Women%	Total Workers (Survey Numbers)	Men/ Women	Men%/ Women%
Global Gaze Coffee (35)	360 full-time	258	71.7%	41 full-time	26	63.4%
		102	28.3%		15	36.4%
Modern Home Coffee (30)	**650 total** 630 full-time 20 part-time	413	63.5%	44 full-time	25	56.8%
		237	36.5%		19	43.2%
Paterfamilias Pastry Café (49)*	*No Corporate Information Available*†			47 full-time	38	80.9%
					9	19.1%

*Number of Istanbul branches listed on the company website.
†PPC central management does not keep employment data from its franchises.

total numbers of employees trained per year (878 in 2009), but as this information was not disaggregated by region or gender, it is of limited use. At the meager total of nine completed questionnaires (out of 47 for PPC as a whole), women at PPC make by far the smallest population in this survey. This makes it difficult to quantitatively speculate as to their position,

[212] Again, for purposes of like comparison, only Istanbul locations were considered.

but even then patterns have emerged. In spite of the low response rate, there is reason to believe that these numbers are roughly representative of PPC's self-image as a brand. One of the locations that participated in this project was the only individual branch owned and operated by central management. Of the six questionnaires collected from that branch, all were from men, and in a number of visits for interviews with management and staff, only one woman was spotted (and was not volunteered for interviewing by the manager). Their low response rate among all locations speaks volumes of their relative rarity in employment at PPC—about half the proportion of women at the other two coffee shops.

One striking feature of the profiles emerging from Table 4.2 is the overwhelming employment of full-time workers at all three companies, contrary to what might be expected from a business sector that keeps long working hours and has extremely variable degrees of patronage throughout the week. This seemed to require little explanation from managers, who cited a need of total commitment and total availability of their workers. In the context of these companies, full-time constituted nine-hour shifts or longer six days a week. Uniformly across chains, shifts are distributed on a more-or-less rotating schedule, but always subject to change and employees should make themselves available for potential shifts and overtime hours. A constant theme at GGC was the complete separation of social and professional lives. One PPC manager, casting the workplace in characteristic terms, emphasized that "[my employees] see me more than their families."

The long working hours, irregular shifts, and no part-time work were not controversial among the employees either. While grumblings among workers were not uncommon (one interviewee bitterly quipped "What weekend?" when asked about the strain of work on her free time), most also express gratitude as well. Indeed, during the interview sessions, the most-cited

reason for choosing to work at their place of employment is that it is institutionalized (*kurumsal*), which connotes formality, steady hours, the proper legally-mandated benefits, and a predictable paycheck[213]—all crucial job perquisites in an economy with high degrees of informality. Over three-fourths of respondents, with no statistically significant variation by company, look upon their jobs as careers and none expressed outright dissatisfaction with working conditions in interviews.[214]

Aside from the desire to work at a "regular" job, there were a number of demographic features that remained consistent across place of employment and for both men and women. Showing the significance of migration on the labor market in Istanbul, nearly half of all employees were born in other provinces. Among the six populations in the survey data (each of three chains, separated by gender), five of them featured between 47 and 50% Istanbul-born employees.[215] The one outlier is among women working for GGC, who were substantially more likely to be born in Istanbul. This may be partly explained by their relative youth as compared to other populations in the survey (see below), but may also be a reflection of relative acculturation to city norms expressing itself in the preference to work with the most overtly "urban" and "cosmopolitan"-themed coffee shop. Indeed, this relationship begins to take shape for all

[213] Without exception, corporate contacts refused to divulge statistics on compensation. When asked, branch managers gave various accounts. One PPC manager said minimum wage (575 TL [$365] per month) was the norm, but another somewhat obliquely suggested that extra money is paid under the table for tax purposes. A far-from negligible source of additional income came in the form of tips. One manager claimed that including tips, a server could earn 1200 TL a month, which she somewhat spitefully referred to as "ultra money." That such spoils go exclusively to servers will be important to understanding the earning hierarchy in each company's division of labor.

[214] See Table A.1 in Appendix A.

[215] See Table A.2 in Appendix A.

women when looking at the birthplace of their parents, with a strong correlation between the daughters of Istanbul-born couples vis-à-vis their sons.[216]

Again here, men show a noteworthy consistency across employers regarding their parents' birthplace, with all three male populations having a 20% occurrence of one or both parents hailing from Istanbul. For women, however, the ratio of urbanized parents is double that of men, suggesting that for Global Gaze and Modern Home (if PPC to a lesser extent), deeper roots in the city lead to a higher likelihood of being employed in this sector.

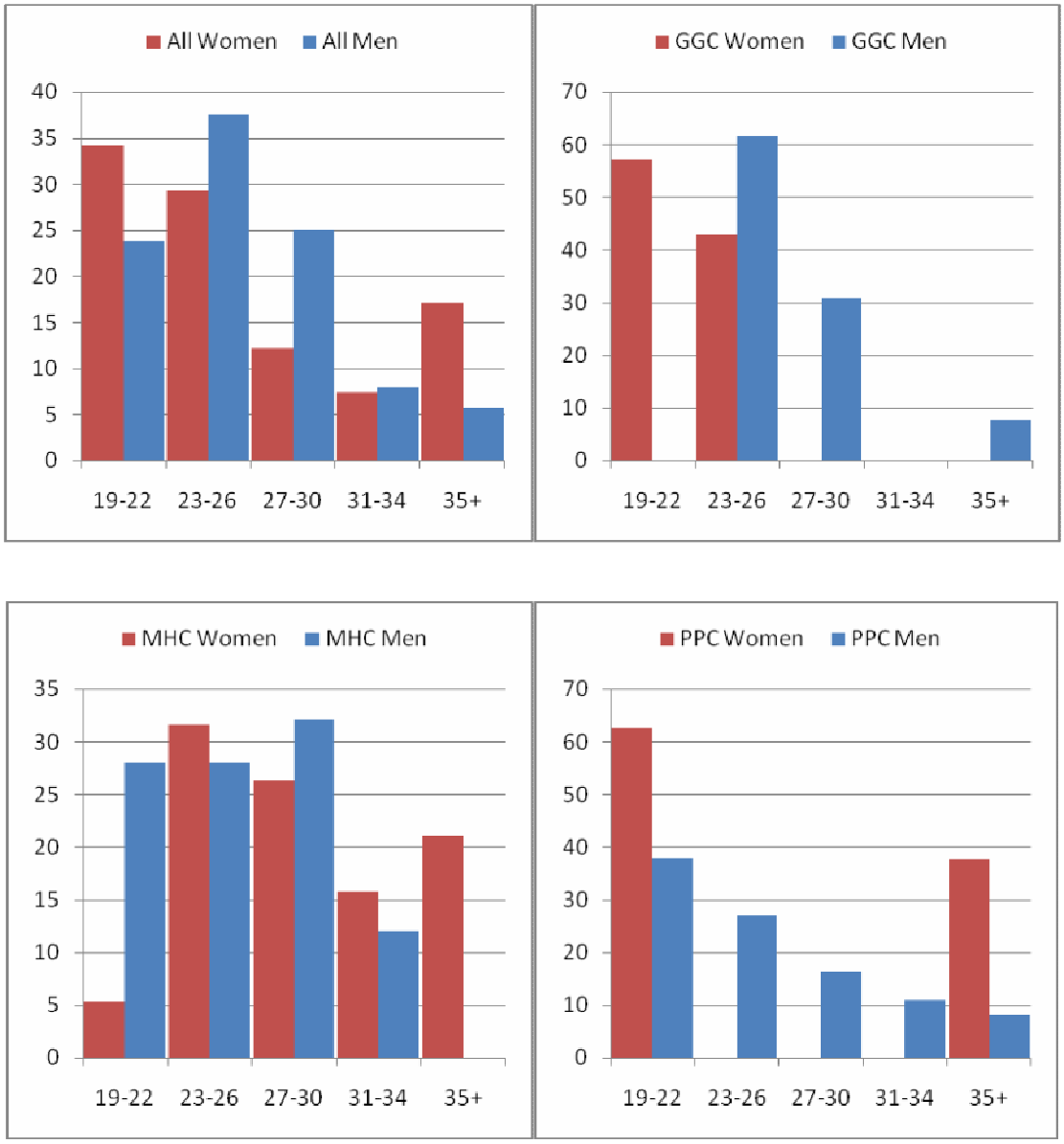
In addition to being more urbanized, women working at coffee shops are also more educated than their male colleagues. Despite the fact that MHC and PPC hire a number of low-skilled women for their on-site production of desserts and as dedicated dishwashers, as will be discussed at length below, women are less likely to have left school before earning a high school diploma, and are 2.5 more likely to have some education beyond high school (38.1% versus 14.9%).[217] This includes a number of students, who struggle through internet-based correspondence courses (*açık öğretim*) in addition to their long hours at the workplace. Women's education seems to have been an especially important credential for hiring at Global Gaze Coffee, where 15.4% of men had not earned a high school degree, while all the women had.

Aside from the gender-differentiated features that were more-or-less typical of the Turkish labor market as a whole, there were a number of demographic characteristics that played distinctive roles in structuring the servicescape that differed per café chain. The average age of employees in the survey is 26.6 years and aggregated across all three field sites, there was

[216] See Table A.3 in Appendix A.
[217] See Table A.4 in Appendix A.

virtually no difference in ages for men and women (26.4 and 27 years, respectively), with nearly identical statistical range (36 and 37 years). However, clear gendered patterns tellingly emerge comparatively among the three sites. Graph 4.1 shows the proportion of all employees by gender and place of employment in different age groups:

Graph 4.1: Age Distribution of Employees by Gender (% of employees by age)



As can be seen, on the aggregate level there are slight differences in the age distribution of men and women at coffee shops. Among the five age groups, men exhibit a peaked curve at 23-26 years of age (37.5%) before steadily dropping off in later years. This pattern of single drop-off of participation among women is mirrored fairly faithfully by the employment profiles of the three different companies, with only a minor (4%) variation among men working at MHC.

Women, on the other hand, show a constant drop-off in participation from their highest rate (34.2%) in the 19-22 age group until an increase in the proportion of women employees among the 35 and over age group (17.1%). This pattern of employment by age is not expressed similarly among the three companies, as can be observed in the graph.

At Global Gaze Coffee, the oldest woman respondent to the survey was 25 years of age—less than the average age for all men (27.2). In fact, the youngest 11 workers at this company (of 41) were all women, and the majority belonged to an age group in which men had no representation at all. Modern Home Coffee, by contrast, eschewed the hiring of women in the youngest age bracket, though a reasonably high percentage of men (28%) were between the ages of 19 and 22. Whereas Global Gaze did not employ any women over the age of 25, over three-fifths of MHC women were in this age category. Paterfamilias Pastry Café splits the difference between the hiring approaches of GGC and MHC, hiring women only on the marginal age groups. The reasons for this will be made clear through an investigation of the different manifestations of gendered divisions of labor instituted by each company in its branches.

Of course, the relationship between age and employment is more fraught for women than for men. This is because of the tendency of women in Turkey to leave the labor market upon

marriage or the birth of a child.[218] Indeed, the constant availability demanded by the nature of scheduling at each of these companies would seem to cut disproportionately against married women expected to take primary responsibility for domestic work and child-minding at home. Despite this anticipated underprivileging of married women, marriage rates among the sample are not remarkably dissimilar, though statistics in two populations are noteworthy. In the case of women working at Global Gaze Coffee, the disparity between their marriage rates and those oftheir male colleagues is unsurprising, given the gendered age structure at that coffee shop, and it seems reasonable to assume that the GGC brand is more drawn to the image of youthful women than women employees at GGC quit their jobs upon marriage. While this is to be expected from a service industry that relies on the "aestheticization of labor"[219], GGC's creation of an atmosphere encouraging the male gaze of younger, unmarried women is apparent. What is of additional interest is thehigh level of divorcees at Modern Home Coffee (see Table 4.3). Women MHC workers represent all of the divorced or separated women employed at any of the sites in the sample, which suggests an affinity between older independent women and the atmospherics projected by the MHC's servicescape.

Such trends are mirrored through statistics on fertility. Though incidence of parenthood are remarkably low for both women and men, women were slightly more likely to be parents than their male colleagues, even considering that none of the young, unmarried women at GlobalGaze were mothers at all. This is attributable primarily to the high rate of motherhood (42.1%) among women working at Modern Home. The number of women juggling work and family life at MHC is of special interest considering that MHC men have the lowest rate of

[218] For a discussion of fertility and labor market participation in Turkey, see Toksöz, G. 2007, *Women's Employment Situation in Turkey*. International Labor Organization. Pages 19-25.
[219] Witz, et al. 2003.

parentage among any of the male populations (see Table 4.4). As will be discussed shortly, the image of matriarch is cultivated among the image and division of labor of the Modern Home brand.

Table 4.3: Marital Status of Men and Women Employees by Company

Company Name, Men/Women	Never Married	Married	Divorced, Sprtd Widowed	Never Married%	Married %	Divorced, Sprtd Widowed%
GGC						
- Men	17	8	1	65.4	30.7	3.8
- Women	***15***	***0***	***0***	***100***	***0***	***0***
MHC						
- Men	18	6	1	72	24	4
- Women	10	5	***4***	52.6	26.3	***21.1***
PPC						
- Men	25	11	2	65.8	28.9	5.3
- Women	6	3	0	66.7	33.3	0

Table 4.4: Incidence of Parentage among Employees by Company and Gender

Company Name, Men/Women	No Children	Children	No Children %	Children %
GGC				
- Men	21	5	80.8	19.2
- Women	15	0	100	0
MHC				
- Men	***22***	***3***	***88***	***12***
- Women	***11***	***8***	***57.9***	***42.1***
PPC				
- Men	30	8	78.9	21.1
- Women	7	2	77.8	22.2
Total				
- Men	73	16	***82***	***18***
- Women	33	10	***76.7***	***23.3***

Preliminary Observations on the Findings: Constructing Gender-Differentiated Servicescapes

Before turning to the qualitative statements made in interviews by the men and women employees themselves, to get a bird's-eye view of the different structural characteristics of the three café chains' servicescapes, it would be worthwhile to sketch a general gender-differentiated profile of the workers that represent the brand of each of the examined café chains. Women at Global Gaze Coffee are considerably younger than their male colleagues, with the oldest women worker over two full years younger than the average man. That relative youth carries with it no incidence of marriage or childbirth, while GGC men match the patterns of their male counterparts at other the coffee shops. Women have deeper roots in the city, both for their parents' generation and their own

Modern Home Coffee, on the other hand, eschews the employment of younger women almost outright, and instead features a large number of young, unmarried men. Of particular note is the high percentage of women over the age of 35, including a number of divorced women, and a rate of parentage over three times that of MHC men. They are also represent a more stable workforce, with considerably lower turnover (nearly half of men in the sample had been employed for fewer than six months, while only 22% of women had), though they are also more likely to view their employment as temporary.

Women at Paterfamilias Pastry Café are very few in number relative to their male colleagues. They are also disproportionately represented on the margins of age distribution, hinting at a gendered division of labor that will be discussed in PPC's company profile below. The relationship between gender and turnover is the opposite of that at MHC, with the women

participating in the survey being considerable newer to the company than men. Consistent with this distinction, of all the population in the survey, women at PPC are the most likely to view their employment as temporary. In all manners and among all populations, they are the most loosely attached to the labor market.

Qualitative Findings: Voices of Service Workers in the Consumerist Economy

Global Gaze Coffee: Globalizing the Domestic

Global Gaze Coffee presents itself in all ways as a place of difference. The unfamiliarity of its product and the multiculturalism of its ambience invite the Turkish consumer to experience an imaginary cosmopolitan lifestyle within the otherwise dreary city. With strict standardization and control over the stylistic minutia, stepping within the servicescape of a Global Gaze Coffee shop transports the Istanbul resident to an atmosphere indistinguishable from coffee shops New York or London. This association of cosmopolitan place-based tropes in a local context extends to the employees, as well. In speaking with management about the orientation of the Global Gaze brand, it became clear that the style of its service is also meant to be unique in the context of Istanbul.

It should be mentioned that these managers, too, wished to distinguish themselves as worldly, speaking with me of their experiences in international travel (it was recommended that I visit Sri Lanka) or their distant relatives who had graduated from Boğaziçi, and in general were very helpful in providing useful information regarding their companies. Unlike the management at PPC, all of whom had been in contact with the central office about participation and who looked upon the interviews as a public relations exercise, GGC managers spoke with alarming

candor. They associate with their brand as a point of pride, frequently using the standards at GGC as a basis for favorable comparison with the less-sophisticated consumer habits and status norms of their home country.

Nazan[220] proudly admits to having worked for Global Gaze Coffee since "before the coffee sector exploded" in Turkey. She has risen steadily up the employment ladder over the years, as was the case with the other two GGC management class with whom I spoke, and now claims to have been recognized as the global manager of the year by GGC corporate in its country of ownership. In the course of her tenure, she has visited that country and other international branches several times for training seminars, and she fiercely defends the global outlook of GGC's mission, which she sees as her job to try and emulate in Turkey. A foremost proponent of the norms of imaginary cosmopolitan "coffee culture," Nazan views the norms of her own country as vestiges of backwardness with which GGC must contend.

This reeducation mission of the Global Gaze brand extends to employees and customers alike, and Nazan openly admits to preferring young workers she can mold in the company image. In interviews with prospective employees, Nazan looks for cues of social status—"proper speech, diction, manners and body posture"[221]—more than individual skills. Speech is a particularly contentious signifier of status in Turkey, as it implicitly privileges the speakers of "proper" Turkish in the West of the country and by extension indicts the "improper" Turkish spoken by Kurds and others not associated with Istanbul's elite. Similarly, manners and posture

[220] As with the names of their employers, the names of all managers and employees are fictional. Participants selected names from a list or assigned names by the author. They appear here without the customary Turkish honorifics of "Hanım" and "Bey" for women and men, respectively, for ease of readership.

[221] "Açık konuşma, diksiyon, oturması-kalkması."

are textbook examples of what Bourdieu called "bodily dispositions"[222], which, according to Witz et al, are instrumental to communicating the "proper" upbringing of the services worker that is crucial to conveying the aesthetic of the GGC brand to the customer.[223]

To the extent to which such "cultured" bodily dispositions cannot be expected to precede hiring, given that GGC hires mostly young people with high school educations, they must be developed on site through proper training. To this end, Nazan emphasized how the prior work experience of the service worker is actually viewed negatively, as experienced employees "think they know how to hold a tray, but they don't."

Nazan gives a wealth of evidence as to the perceived lack of sophistication of her employees. "These people (*bunlar*[224]) don't read books. They don't go to the cinema. Theater is not enjoyable for them…[The human resources department] send[s] personnel booklets on personal development. I don't think they read even those." Employees are sloppy with their personal habits, sometimes carrying their work uniforms in plastic bags. By contrast, one enterprising employee arrived with his uniform neatly folded into a wheeled suitcase; "He was soon promoted to manager."

While Global Gaze servers are meant to mimic a cultured elite, Nazan also repeatedly emphasized the responsibility of employees to be deferential to class interests, even though the customers may be ignorant about "high class" consumption habits. "The shopping mall"—the main GGC branch Nazan oversees is located in one of Istanbul's fancy new complexes—"is a place where people expect to be catered to." Such an admission recalls Sherman's analysis of

[222] Bourdieu, 1990. Page 66.
[223] Witz, et al. 2003.
[224] Literally "these" in Turkish, which as can be imagined connotes a dehumanizing disdain for the subject.

the self-effacing necessity of service work in luxury settings, where the "interactive product is more than 'service with a smile'; it is, rather,recognition of the customer's limitless entitlement to the worker's individualizingattention and effort."[225]

The class dynamics in Turkey are especially fraught by the rapid restructuring of wealth in the neoliberal era, as was discussed in Chapter Three. In a comment by Öncüthat anticipates Nazan's instructions to her service staff, this "novel breed of 'new rich'…couldn't care less about matters of taste. They just luxuriate in their newly-found wealth and look on their own hybridity with delight, so to speak, totally devoid of status anxieties commonly associated with the term *nouveau riche* in French."[226]

The service workers at GGC, both the fawning supplicants to their customers as well as ambassadors to the cosmopolitan imaginary, must delicately usher the uninitiated into the normatively preferred behaviors associated with "coffee culture." Nazan describes this role of the service worker lodged in what Korczynsky called the "customer-oriented bureaucracy" of service work in the consumerist economy[227]: "The customer wants [the instant coffee brand] Nescafe. They come in here with 500 lira in their pocket. They don't know about filter coffee so the server has to bring them latte."

While Nazan is notably valorous of the imaginary cosmopolitan cachet of GGC's products, she is equally adamant that her service employees recognize the class authority of consumers who come to indulge their fantasies. In response to the contradictory demands of the

[225] Sherman. Pages 5-6.
[226] Öncü, 1999. Page 110.
[227] Korczynsky, 2009. Page 80

customer, employees "mustn't get upset or raise their voices…[In interviews]I try to make them angry on purpose to check if they're impulsive (*fevri)* in dealing with customers."

This docility of employees is incredibly important across the branches of GGC. In the views of Derin, a branch manager, this servility is advantageous for women so long as they agree to be subjected by it:

> Women are better for this job. At home, women attend to the guests. Women are more sincere, open and clear. It's the same in this job. Women are more patient as compared to men. Men have this "male pride"; they get angry very quickly. But I think women can keep it inside and then burst it all at another time. For men everything is about pride: "You don't buy me! You buy my labor!" Of course it is like that, but "the customer is always right" is the first rule and the second rule is that "the first rule always prevails."

This clearly gendered observation about the proper qualities for service work at GGC illustrates the highly sex-differentiated aspect of what Hochschild called "emotional labor."[228] Men at GGC are here perceived as less able to "suppress" their anger and "induce" the attitude to "produce the proper state of mind" of the customer. Tellingly, Derin acknowledges that the male willingness not to surrender their bodies to their employers is "of course" correct; however such a sale is indeed the fundamental requirement of the job as a matter of first (and second) principle. Women, who are presumably more disposed to submit their subjectivities to the objectifying nature of this kind of emotional labor, are thus at a gendered advantage in producing the proper affect in the GGC customer.

A less explicitly mentioned, but equally apparent aspect of the employee profile of women at Global Gaze Coffee is sexuality. As mentioned in the previous section, women employed at GGC are young (their median age, 22, is four years younger than that of their male

[228] Hochschild, 1983. Pages 5-8.

colleagues), and all are unmarried and childless. The tenuous border between sexuality and docility is best described by Kaan, a 26-year-old man working at GGC for two and a half years and who had recently been promoted to supervisor: "As a customer, I would much rather a woman serve me than a man, with the sweet way they talk (*tatlı dille konuşma*). I think this is how it is in this culture."

When Kaan says "culture", he is presumably referring to Turkish culture as a whole, but this particular aestheticization of labor is most clearly observed in the imaginary cosmopolitan surroundings of the GGC servicescape. This contrast is potentially problematic among service workers because, while the aesthetic labor of young servile women might be an indispensible tenet of the global gaze, their sexualization also leads to profound ambivalence at the Turkish workplace. The unmarried and youthful women workers at GGC tempt their customers with the illusion of their availability, but their sexuality simultaneously contributes to tension among their colleagues. Assuming a male standard of employment, Nazan claimed that "Personnel might start liking each other if there are women. If I interview a woman, the male employees ask if I am going to hire her. They choose which one will get her beforehand. If I don't hire her there is great disappointment."

The issue of socializing—or worse, dating—at the workplace was a constant concern for the manager Nazan, who insists "I always tell them you have to leave your private problems at the door. This is work; all friendship ends here. You can't be friends at work." Even so "they choose their friends from here. They choose their lovers from here." Significantly, women bear the exclusive blame for the predatory impulses exercised by the men working at GGC: "Well, it is perhaps an inappropriate to say, but women who do this job are usually a bit loose and relaxed (*geniş, rahat*)." Juvenilizing her women employees, Nazan said the men "share the girl amongst

themselves…and when they break up there are all kinds of problems…I look at this as an unnecessary personnel problem. It steals from my time. For a while, I didn't hire any women." The alternate allure of the young women in the global gaze and the expectations of modesty and chastity in the male-dominated workforce in Turkey is one obvious tension in the differently-placed gender identities of women in the labor market of the consumerist economy.

Even so, the professional and imaginary cosmopolitan environment cultivated by Global Gaze Coffee image protects the sexuality of its women employees even as it exploits it. Pelin, a 21-year-old employee with a red streak in her hair, says that while she graduated from a professional school (*yüksek okul*) with a degree in tourism, she was drawn to working at GGC because she "wanted to work at a nice place":

> I did not want to work in the hotels or anywhere like that. I figured out that they are not good places to work last summer when I was doing my internship there. The [work] environment is not good for women. For instance, I worked in the health club which was situated near the swimming pool. There is a high degree ofharassment (*rahatsızlık*) caused by men towards women. Because I do not find that pleasant (*hoş*), I preferred to work at a place like this.

The health club where Pelin had worked before was at a resort hotel, another growing cathedral of consumption that objectifies the front line service workers it employees. In contrast to the sexualized atmospherics by the resort pool, the sophisticated decorum of the imaginary cosmopolitan coffee shop is rather tame. Pelin sees GGC as a place of the "upper class," and the barriers of entry erected between the gendered behaviors of the "global" and local population are more restrictive at her place of employment. Other women employees voiced similar concerns about safety from overt sexual threats or other gender-based dangers. For Ece, 22, her employment conditions, even among coffee shop, was highly determined by

> the life conditions we live in... The biggest reason why I didnt work anywhere else is because it is more difficult for a women to work at a place where there are only men... There is no such thing [at GGC]—there are all kinds of people working here. You can work with any kind of person. Because I saw that here, I preferred to work here.

Tellingly, GGC's openness to women employees is seen as a signifier of tolerance towards "all kinds of people,"though what kinds of people besides women were welcomed at work was not specified. This vague tolerance was cited frequently as a distinctive feature of GGC. As with Nazan, the branch manager Derin, too, sees the gendered ethic of her company as a "modernizing force": "People do not see this [job] as fit for their children. Most of this happens because of family pressure. 'You are going to serve men, this does not look good in my family.' [This is] narrow-mindedness. They are not far-sighted, nothing else."

GGC's self-perceived openness in the face of conservative prejudices outside of the global gaze, shows how tolerance was implemented to prove the difference and sophistication of the company brand. When asked about conditions at other cafés, Derin mentioned Paterfamilias Pastry Café unfavorably by name: "Well, let me put it this way, PPC is completely local. The differences in opinions are very important. Being open to changes and new things..."

Aside from the sexual aestheticization of its women employees and the condescension of its managers towards them, their customers, and their competitors, there are some seemingly positive aspects for women working in the global gaze. Pointedly, there was no discernible difference in the division of labor, and all of the management I contacted (two human resource managers, one regional manager, and two branch managers) were women. At branch level, both men and women listed roughly the same proportion of time committed to performing a list of coffee shop-related tasks, such as order preparation, cashier work, greeting, table service, bussing, cleaning and so on. Part of this may be explained by the fact that Global Gaze Coffees

operates on a smaller scale than its rival companies (according to corporate data, the 10.3 employees per branch in Istanbul is less than half that of Modern Home Coffee outlets), providing less favorable conditions for the apportionment of tasks. Nazan says that this approach is promoted to make the staff more flexible in case of absence or illness of employees. It has the added effect of eliminating a common form of discrimination against women—occupational crowding—as well as eliminating any kind of remunerative difference between men and women, crucially allowing them equal access to the tipping customer.

The egalitarian apportionment of tasks was not lost on the employees, and was seen as another typical expression of GGC's difference. According to Ece, "some places think women cannot do this job, but on the contrary here...In fact, the quality of a firm can be seen here, because of the differences in opinions. Here they think everybody can do every job." Pelin goes a step further, claiming that she and her women colleagues are actually privileged for their gender: "Women get more tips so being a woman is more advantageous."

Global Gaze Coffee employees, and certainly their managers, form a self-identified elite, posing themselves in contradistinction to their unsophisticated compatriots and the other coffee shops they frequent. The public identity of the liberated, global woman is frequently cited as an example of GGC's imaginary cosmopolitan ethos, though this is somewhat undermined behind the scenes by the disapproving attitudes of managers towards women's sexuality. As a place defined primarily by difference, it is overtly confrontational against the established gender norms that are presumed to occupy the local, while simultaneously expressive of class privilege. Hence, of the three café chains in this survey, emotional and aesthetic inducement required of

women's labor is most demanding. Potentially, it is also perhaps the most rewarding. In denying a gendered division of labor and rewarding women in its managerial hierarchy, Global Gaze Coffees really does draw a distinction from its peers. However, these features only position the company second among women's labor market participation rate. The differential orientation and organization of the Modern Home Coffee servicescape will help explain this disparity.

Modern Home Coffee: Domesticating the Global

In the late-1990s, Çağlar Keyder observed how "a deep sense of malaise [had] gripped Turkish society."[229] The reason for this, Keyder said, was the post-globalization collapse of the state's legitimacy in leading the charge towards modernization. Alongside the changing of the political guard came a division within the citizenry between reaction against and reinterpretation of the imported norms associated with modernization. Those in the latter group, disillusioned with the overt turn to modernity, though still "identif[ying] with the normative importation of Enlightenment ideals…celebrate[d] the possibility of a local (and, some would argue, therefore authentic) appropriation of the modern."[230]

Modern Home Coffee would seem to be a caffeinated iteration of Turkey's response to this malaise. Its first branch opened in the middle of the 2000s and has since expanded incredibly rapidly throughout Istanbul and beyond, emulating the foreign concept of chain restaurants in a Turkish context. Both managers and employees were conscious of the imaginary

[229]Keyder, Çağlar 1997. "Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s" in Bozdoğan, S. and Kasaba, R. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. The University of Washington Press. Page 37.
[230] Ibid. Page 38.

cosmopolitan source of their trend (the hegemonic brandscape discussed above and in chapter one) and made ready comparisons to Global Gaze Coffee, Starbucks, and other international brands without being prompted to do so. However, each was equally quick to emphasize MHC's authenticity and congruence with national character. Sevgi, a 56-year-old former flight attendant for Turkish Airlines and recent management hiree at MHC, claims that this has been the critical difference allowing for Modern Home Coffee's incredible expansion in such short time. "The customers all say that it's very nice that there's a place like this in Turkey. Before, we were going to Starbucks and American companies. Now, there's this place that makes Turkish coffee."

As stated previously, Turkish coffee is the signature brand at MHC, but even here the cultivated façade of authenticity begins to show through. In addition to the classic brew of Turkish coffee, more recent additions like milk and gum drop (*damla sakızı*) flavors are on offer, and Turkish coffee can even be ordered cold, whipped with cream, and topped with shaved chocolate. These modern concoctions, heavily influenced by the sugary coffee confections popularized internationally by Global Gaze Coffee and others, have been successfully euphemized as authentic in the Modern Home Coffee imaginary. This seeming contradiction is captured by Gözde, a 25-year-old cashier, who when asked to describe the uniqueness of her employer's brand, said:

> The first is that Modern Home Coffee is Turkish. This place is directly preferred [by customers]. They say, "Ah, don't let [money] go to the foreigners (*aa yabancıya gitmesin*). It should be Turkish." They cannot get used to those places; they cannot know them. Here, they think of as ours. "I can ask and find out, it's ours, it's ingenuous (*candan*)." The coffee names at Starbucks are foreign names: cappuccino frappe... Here it is Modern Home frappe, they can understand that it is a frappe of Modern Home Coffee. Some kind of mocha-whatever-*züttürü-züttürü* confuses people because of the names. They are American products, [people] do not know what these products are; they do not

> know what is inside them. Here they know it is a Turkish product, a Turkish cake. In that sense, I think those American things confuse them.

This domestication of the foreign exemplifies the successful hybridity at Modern Home Coffee between the cosmopolitan imaginary and local "authenticity. This is reinforced through the brand imaging, where in addition to the newly-minted "authenticity" of the Modern Home frappe, a whole cornucopia of espresso, filter, and instant coffee options can be ordered or purchased on-site in retail packages stamped with the Modern Home Coffee logo.

The company has worked equally hard to cultivate an atmosphere of comfort and authenticity commensurate with its brand. In contrast with the strained informality of Global Gaze Coffee, MHC has removed many of the lavish decorative flourishes of its competitor in favor of a more stripped-down feel. Gone are the large plush couches for conspicuous leisure at GGC, with MHC opting instead for casually-upholstered semi-reclined chairs circled around shared coffee tables. The personalized lighting of individual table areas common to international coffee chains is also largely foregone, replaced with well-lit floor space that provides a more spacious and convivial experience.

The effect is to produce the conspicuous consumption of comfort. "People can come for 6 hours and just order a cup of coffee. They feel like they're at home," says Sevgi. She tells a story of how a customer who felt a bit chilly reached up on his own initiative and switched on a wall-mounted space heater—a move of informality and ownership atypical for Turkish establishments.

In addition to the voluminous list of coffee choices, customers are also confronted with numerous retail options, and counters displaying a variety of saleable goods line the perimeter

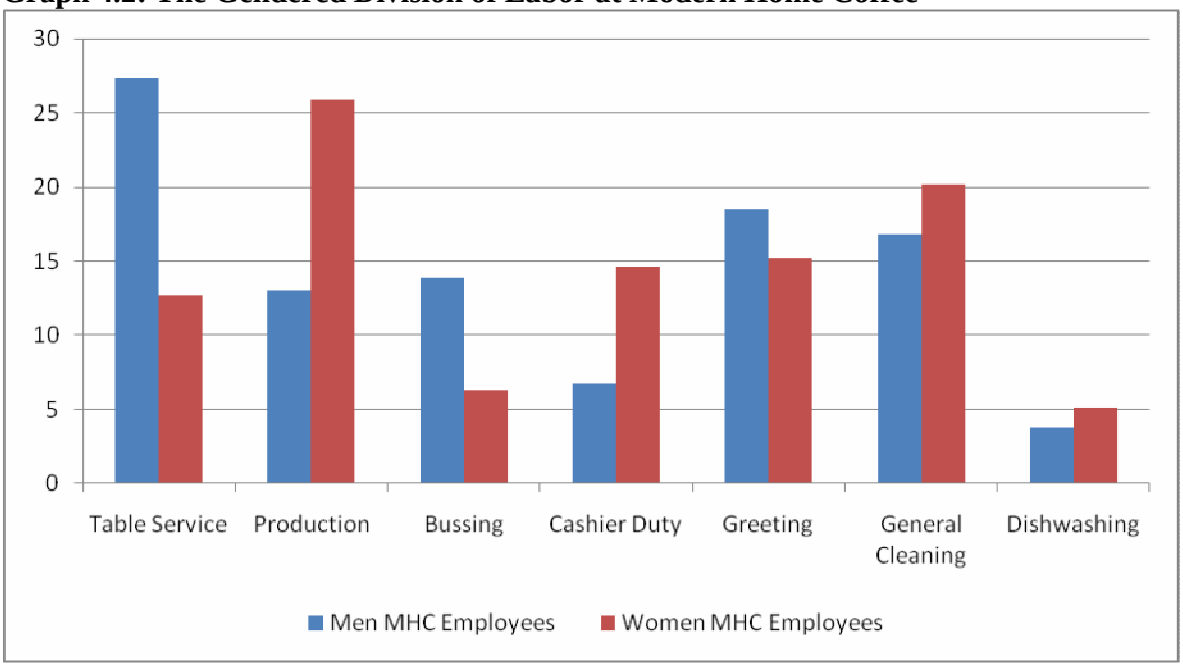
walls. It is this feature of Modern Home Coffee as a vendor of high-quality "authentic" goods that causes its branches to employ so many people (nearly 22 employees per location). A majority of the desserts on the menu, assiduously marked as "home-made" (*ev yapımı*), are produced on-site, and a surprisingly diverse array of chocolate goods are sold under its partner company name Modern Home Chocolate. The production and retail facets of MHC create a number of jobs ancillary to the provision of table service, demarcating a distinct division of labor along lines of age and gender.

It bears repeating that the age structure at Modern Home Coffee differs from that of its rival companies in that there is an uptick in women's participation after the age of 35. In fact, the oldest man at MHC (32) is less than a year older than the average woman (31.3). These younger men disproportionately represent the coveted (and highly remunerative) table service jobs, and can be constantly seen roaming among the customers' tables. Women, on the other hand, are relegated to production and retail. Using a ranking function, where employees are asked to allocate values according to the tasks that occupy most of their work hours, a clear division of labor by gender is visible (Graph 4.2). As is obvious from the graph, a number of opposite relationships are statistically apparent. Roughly twice the percentage of men as women spend their time in the visible spaces among the café tables, while women spend twice as much time in the production of goods.[231] Likewise, men are twice as likely to spend their time collecting dishes (and tips) from tables, while women commandeer the cashiers. The gendered divisions among greeting, cleaning and dishwashing are less pronounced, but in all three cases,

[231] The questionnaire unfortunately did not differentiate between the preparation of orders (visible) and the kitchen-oriented production of desserts. Doing so would have almost certainly revealed a subdivision of labor here as well.

they cut against women's interactivity with the customer and marginalize her position as representative of kitchen production.

Graph 4.2: The Gendered Division of Labor at Modern Home Coffee



Workers of both genders at MHC seem to have internalized their gendered roles to a high degree. Can, a 21-year-old server, when asked about the domination of men in his position, shrugged: "There are women-oriented jobs here…Like in the kitchen, and by kitchen I do not only mean washing the dishes but also preparing the product, and cleaning." Tuba, who spends the bulk of her time producing "home-made" cakes away from sight in MHC's industrial kitchen, is similarly undisturbed by the division, and takes ownership of her role. "I think women have the right hands for this. Men's hands are coarser, they cannot do it. We have colleagues[232] who can do it though. But a woman's hand is better." Erdem, a 30-year-old (male)

[232] Presumably men are meant.

server, frets about the uncontrolled fraternization of women on the service floor, complaining that when women are around "you have to bite your tongue…your way of talking changes…you can't curse."

The only minor challenge to this gendered order came from Gözde, and was issued from a perspective that was less confrontational to the hierarchy than evincing of a practical, and highly gendered, concern for order at the workplace: "Waiters should not all be men. There has to be a flower among them, a woman's touch. When a woman comes, everywhere is cleaner and more organized." Ultimately, she sees this gendered division as a logical outcome, as well, observing that "the women who make the cakes are all housewives (*ev hanımları*), you know housewives with children. They decide to work after so many years and think 'Where can I work?' and they say, 'I can make cakes.'"

That she refers to her women colleagues as housewives even after they have joined the labor market shows the rigidities of gender roles that have negotiated spaces for expression at Modern Home Coffee. Gözde's, from her position working as a cashier, is fully aware of the aestheticization and emotional labor required of her job that separates her from the women serving as conspicuous housewives, producing the "home-made" goods. When asked about the qualities necessary for her job, Gözde said:

> Having a smiling face [is important]: you need to be clean, because I am behind the counter all day. You need to be *bakımlı* (approximately "well put-together", though I am not very *bakımlı* today. I have to put on make-up every day because you are talking to the customers, when you offer something [to them], you need to be nice-looking as well so that you are convincing…It is the same at clothing shops. If the person who says it looks nice on you is fat and slovenly, you say "*She* said this to me?" But if she is a beautiful woman, [you say] "Oh, she thinks I look good, she recommended this to me."

Just as Pelin had remarked how women could use the aestheticized aspect of service work in the consumerist economy, Gözde found that the aesthetic preparations she found necessary to perform her job were well-received by the customers:

> Customers like women more, they tip them more. They do not really like men sometimes. Girls are prettier, they like girls more, they chat with them more. Men usually just do their job and say "there you go!" (*eyvallah*), but girls are not like that. "Oh how sweet, how nice", "Oh sweetie(*canım cicim*)" that is how customers are [with girls].

However, the customers' perceived receptivity to the sexualization of service workers is noticeably less welcome in the more family-oriented servicescape of Modern Home Coffee than it had been at Global Gaze Coffee. While GGC had actively flaunted the aesthetic labor of their employees, hiring young and unmarried women and putting them directly within the customer gaze as they roamed around the service floor, MHC placed women behind counters, preparing and displaying "home-made" pastries and chocolates.

Sevgi, the matronly manager, reinforces this perception by claiming the wholesome, homelike atmosphere has made it socially appropriate for women to participate. "Having women in the service sector is a new thing but this place, since there's no alcohol here, is a place where women can comfortably work." The presence of a high number of middle-aged women, mothers and divorcees, as described above, no doubt also contributes to the safety and acceptability for women to work at MHC.

The servicescapes described in the two coffee shops considered so far reveal some of the key gendered differentials mobilized for commodification in the consumerist economy. In contrast to the Global Gaze Coffee, which had banked its brand image on its association with

imaginary cosmopolitan norms and presented gendered bodies as representative of this aesthetic, the well-defined and accepted gender roles at MHC add to the feeling of comfort and collegiality among the staff that is meant to be projected in the Modern Home Coffee image. Though an identifiable division of labor obtains, this is taken as natural by its workers of both genders. Rather than feel divided by gendered jealousies, workers are instead motivated by their pride for the perceived authenticity of their foreign-inspired brand. They are proud of their hybridity even if they don't directly perceive it, as when Gözde attempted to deploy an English word that has become a Turkish neologism in the service industry, saying that workers should be "'presentable' or whatever they say, I can't pronounce it."

This comfort and confidence in the company image, and the harmonious balance of gender roles that enables it, creates a cooperative atmosphere that feels natural enough to successfully domesticate the foreign. The implementation of familiar gender and class sensibilities in the servicescape encourages service workers to "invest in" rather than "detach from" the clientele, leading to a potentially less straining service relationship that what was experienced in the more aestheticized servicescape of Global Gaze Coffee.[233] This model has created avenues for women in Turkey to participate in a service sector that has eluded them in the past, though (unsurprisingly) in such a way as not to radically challenge the gendered forms of organization in Turkish society. Modern Home Coffee integrated women into its servicescape to the highest degree among the three café chains considered in this survey, while Paterfamilias Pastry Café had the lowest number of employees. PPC shows yet another way how gendered subjectivities are utilized within the aestheticized logic of service work in the consumerist economy and an analysis of the similarities and differences between the two Turkish employers

[233]Erikson, 2009. Page 60.

in this survey will help clarify the implications of the experience-inducing turn of the consumerist economy in service work.

Paterfamilias Pastry Café: The Rules of Limited Engagement

If Global Gaze Coffee can best be understood as a place of intentional difference, and Modern Home Coffee has distinguished itself as having successfully domesticated the foreign, Paterfamilias Pastry Café's brand is most evidently ambivalent about its imaginary cosmopolitan orientation. Like GGC, it has established a prominent presence in Istanbul's most consumerist places. Whereas other Turkish pastry cafés usually occupy separate buildings in busy business districts, PPC is a fixture of the global city's most elite shopping centers, and even has branches at airports. Like MHC it is Turkish-owned and operated, with a Turkish name and several signature Turkish desserts on its menu. It openly appeals to a traditionalist ideal in its promotional materials, and with its locations in nearly all of the country's district, it has credible claim to be the most authentically Turkish of the three café chains.

However, it too adopts the value-creating formula of the contemporary consumerist economy in that production of experience and affect are the key component of its image and service worker roles, and its structural differences from the other café chains in this survey help account for its uniquely gendered outcome. For one things, its utilization of the franchise system provided for a less centrally-controlled management of the company image. Similar patterns of women's (non)-participation did emerge across the different branches at Paterfamilias Pastry Café. However, whereas management at GGC and MHC each evinced a clear-eyed purpose towards mobilizing gender in the promotion of the company image, management at PPC

expressed their gender-differentiated service employment with less conviction and clarity, betraying no indication that women had a intentionally-conceived role to play in PPC's brand. This is not to say that PPC management exerted less control over how its image was to be presented in this research. On the contrary, and in contrast with the more spontaneous nature of management interviews at GGC and MHC, the managers I spoke to at the various PPC branches had all been in contact with the central office about how to approach the interviews, and responded to questions mostly with public relations platitudes. Unlike at other cafes, the selection of interview subjects was performed in an overtly top-down manner by the respective branch managers, who seemingly chose employees of greater longevity and personal loyalty, effectively (and perhaps intentionally) sampling men disproportionately from an already-dominant pool of men laborers. Even so, the relative inattention to gender dynamics in the company image indicates the extent to which the PPC servicescape promotes a traditionalist model of Turkish service work, in which women are largely absent.

PPC managers were not nearly as openly disdainful of their employees à la Nazan of Global Gaze Coffee, but they were certainly less trusting of them. At Paterfamilias Pastry Café's flagship Istanbul branch, the only one formally-owned by the corporate headquarters, the manager Yılmaz hovered nearby the interview site, ostensibly occupied with his laptop, though suspiciously supervisory.[234] At another branch, several completed questionnaires had to be discarded, as it became clear that they had been filled out by a message-keeping manager.

In this sense, Paterfamilias Pastry Café was highly disciplined and top-down about its company vision, but it was less successful in integrating an employee profile into its brand

[234] In this case, the interviewer lingered on the less-personal aspects of the service experience before Yılmaz left to monitor activities on a lower floor.

image. For GGC, the conspicuous presence of sexualized young women was critical to showing the company's imaginary cosmopolitan modernity in the global gaze. MHC integrated women into its servicescape as surrogate mothers in the modern home, at once creating space for women's participation while delimiting their threat to a traditionally gendered division of labor. As will be seen in the case of Paterfamilias Pastry Café, women are marginalized almost completely, in terms of both narrative and participation, and have no clear role in the company's self-image.

Not coincidentally, PPC is less outward-looking in terms of its orientation with the imaginary cosmopolitan ideals of Starbucks' hegemonic brandscape. Like Modern Home Coffee, PPC promotes its Turkish roots throughout its menu, and Yılmaz was explicit in PPC's hearkening back to "Ottoman cuisine." Unlike MHC, it has greater credibility in rooting its identity in past traditions. PPC was first established in a large Anatolian city in the interbellum years and maintained that single branch for over half a century without any expansion. However, PPC in its contemporary iteration has lost the quaintness of those localized origins and become a full-fledged café chain consistent with the other coffee shops in the consumerist economy. Under new ownership, its expansion coincided with the rise of neoliberal market integration and the mass importation of "coffee culture." Between 1996 and 2002, as the rise of shopping malls introduced the Turkish public to a new consumerist aesthetic and GGC quickly began asserting position as claimant to imaginary cosmopolitanist ideals, the number of PPC branches increased from six to 50. In the subsequent five years, that number again tripled. The strain of rapid growth refashioned the purportedly traditional ethos of the PPC brand into something closer to the universalizable consumerist norm, but it also strengthened its ties to the past as a point of orientation. Rather than euphemizing the unfamiliar as familiar as MHC had

done, even "modernizing" Turkish coffee through the addition of whipped cream and chocolate shavings, PPC was more reactionary in its posturing against the foreign. Yılmaz, the manager of PPC's flagship branch, claimed that "we never change the recipe of our *aşure* or *kazandibi*[235]" Despite menu changes since corporatizing, Yılmaz assured "we always have *aşure*, and *kazandibi* is what makes PPC PPC. That's what makes us traditional."

Sarp, 26, one of Yılmaz's hand-picked interview subjects, stressed the uniqueness of his employer, as well as its rootedness in Turkey.

> It is a long-standing (*köklü*—"rooted") firm. As a brand, it has an old history. Plus, it has products that define it. When you walk into an ordinary pastry shop, you see products in the counter that are taken from other places. They take products from here and there and put together a menu. But Paterfamilias Pastry Café, has products that are authentic, it has its own designs…There are more than 50 branches in all of Turkey.[236] I mean, when you go to Diyarbakır[237] you can still find the same product. That is our difference.

This expansion in geography has been accompanied by an attempt to modernize the brand as well as maintain its traditionalism. This has been less successful at PPC than at Modern Home Coffee. Both Sevgi and Gözde of MHC spoke of their customers' appreciation for their company's authenticity, even as it traded in consumer goods heavily inspired by global "coffee culture." Despite the dilution of its traditional orientation through the introduction of a number of foreign menu items, PPC has less successfully integrated global products into its popular image. As Sarp, confounding his own assessment of PPC's traditional identity, says:

> Our people [i.e. citizens of Turkey] are more susceptible to foreign brands... "It's Starbucks—let's go there!" Paterfamilias Pastry Café also makes coffee. There is really

[235] Both forms of pudding.
[236] Here Sarp underestimates PPC's scope. The company website lists 145 branches, all in Turkey.
[237] Turkey's largest Kurdish-majority city is here commonly referenced as some far-flung place. Admittedly, while its population is said to be over two million, there is neither a branch of Global Gaze Coffee or Modern Home Coffee.

> good coffee here for instance, aromatic blends, filter coffee—as many kinds as Starbucks has... But people have known PPC as a pudding shop (*muhallebici*). Even as a coffee shop brand, they prefer foreign ones to PPC.

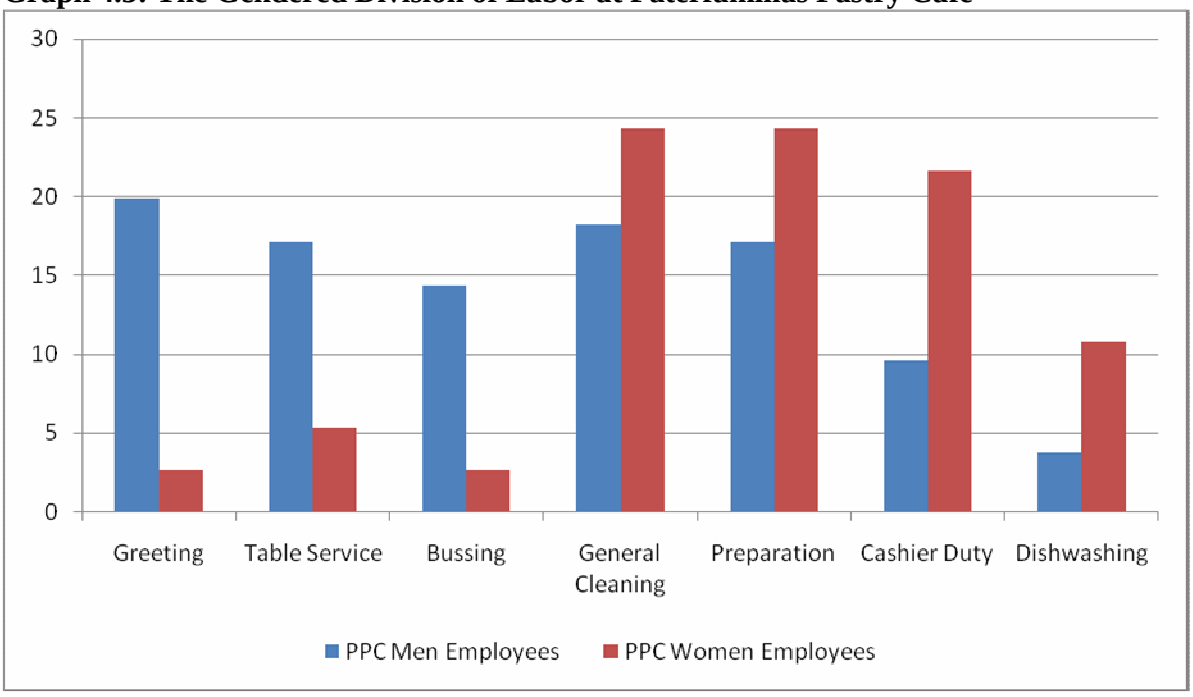
However, it is not just the domestification of foreign goods that has yet to codify in the newly re-purposed cosmopolitan traditionalism of Paterfamilias Pastry Café. The role of women's affective and aesthetic labor as an integral value-creating component of the service sector in consumerist economies has also failed to find a clearly-stated expression at PPC. As was found in the survey, just 19.1% of PPC workers were women, compared to 36.4% of workers at Global Gaze Coffee and 43.2% at Modern Home Coffee. This difference has more to do with the successful mobilization of gendered associations in the company servicescapes than it does with anything related to the nature of the products themselves. GGC and MHC were both able to draw out different social linkages between the imaginary cosmopolitan ideals of "coffee culture" and the gendered expectations for women in Turkey and successfully promote these aesthetics in the creation of customer experience. These associations, as has been discussed, led to different objectifying circumstances on the subjectivities of women working at these café chains, posit different images of gender integration in a front line service sector that is still highly male-dominated. PPC's ambivalence toward, rather than co-optation and appropriation of, the unfamiliar aspects of the imaginary cosmopolitan "coffee culture" is reflected in its reliance on a male-oriented servicescape.

Indeed, far more traditional attitudes towards the place of women in the workplace can be found among both the managers and the service employees at PPC. Unlike Kaan at Global Gaze Coffee or Can at Modern Home Coffee, men employees who saw a positive, if gender-laden, role for women at the workplace, the men of Paterfamilias Pastry Café viewed the nature of the work

as inappropriately difficult for women.As Abbas, a branch manager, put it, “Generally, we prefer men [job applicants]. Women can’t tolerate the work. We have many floors. They can’t endure the up-and-down, up-and-down.”Additionally, women “can’t do the heavy work and cleaning toilets.”

Even more than at MHC, the labor that is performed by women at PPC is marginalized at the workplace. Using the same ranking function as in Graph 4.2 above, Graph 4.3 shows how women again dominate kitchen duty, even though (unlike at MHC) PPC produces all of their desserts off-site.

Graph 4.3: The Gendered Division of Labor at Paterfamilias Pastry Café



If the first three tasks listed can be understood as customer-interactive, while the latter four are functionally-seclusive, it is clear that Paterfamilias Pastry Café has segregated its workforce by visibility. Women employees, few as they are, are hidden from sight, while men

represent the company's branded image to the customer. Men spend just over half of their working time out in the service area, while women are present there just 10% of the time. Yılmaz, the manager of the one PPC branch still operated by central management at the time of research, maintains that the low amount of total employment of women and their effective marginalization in job tasks are both a natural consequence of the nature of PPC's work. "It's not our preference; it's a heavy job." Just as the perceived aesthetic value of women's labor was recognized at MHC but discouraged by its domestic brand image, Erdem, a 23-year-old male employee thinks the costs of productivity loss outweigh the benefits of a woman's pleasing "bodily dispositions":

> Women cannot do the job that men do here. By no means. You hire a women worker here, to work at the entrance... You take [hire] her with the intention to have her show a smiling face. But she quits. After all, the work we do here is tough. Sometimes we work for 10 hours. I do not think a woman can handle this. You are always on foot—it is difficult for a woman to endure it.

Of course from the perspective of male service workers at PPC it can only be the physically laborious demands of the job, and not the heavily gendered atmosphere projected through PPC's servicescape, that leads to women's (allegedly) high levels of turnover. As Sarp described women's fitness for the rigors of his café job, he revealed his anecdotal prejudice in quickly moving from the general to the particular:

> As far as I observed, women have a hard time when there are [orders] coming from all over the place. They get stressed. They have a hard time working under pressure. Because that's what I observed, I mean, she felt like she was under too much pressure. You can see her get really nervous, she was crying.

However, such attitudes are not held exclusively by men, as the gendered aesthetic of PPC's servicescape informs all values considered within it. Even Hicran, the only woman PPC operating manager in the survey, has seemed to internalize the fraternal order of employment

there. Hicran does submit that there are aesthetic values to the presence of gendered bodies in the servicescape, especially "in the evening hours, when there's a woman around here it's more chic. When everyone else is a man, it's nice to see a woman around. It's different when there's a touch of woman at the workplace." However, this creates a number of problems, as "one wrong hiree can ruin all the order at work." As a clear counterpoint to Derin, one of the women GGC branch managers interviewed above, who said the strength of the Global Gaze Coffee brand had navigated around perceived familial prejudices towards working women, Hicran claimed that

> In a way it's easier to work with men. It's not important what time they go back home. But with women, you know... In the end, you work with people who are older than 18. Their families become problems, saying they can only work until such-and-such an hour. When women work together there can be jealousy and gossip... Men can be more understanding.

Furthermore, she said, "We try not to hire married women. Well, I'm also married, but... A married woman has more responsibility. She has to work at home as well. She may have children." Hicran, who had already become a manager at 26 years of age, seemed to think that hers was an example that was inimitable by other women. While she could balance the supposedly unendurable physical labor of work within the PPC servicescape with the equally demanding responsibilities of married life, it was inappropriate for women to join the service staff of Paterfamilias Pastry Café.

Interestingly, however, is how the (gendered) characteristics of front line service work with customers identified by Hochschild as "emotional labor" also extended to Hicran's self-perceived burden as a manager of employees: "There are difficulties in being a woman manager.

I have to make everybody happy at the same time. The most important is the staff. They have to be efficient. That's why you have to make the personnel happy."

All three of the managers interviewed operated from the assumption that women were simply unfit and unwilling to work for their company, and that for these reasons were quick to quit the job. In the words of Yılmaz, "Women who leave here usually work as a counterchef (*tezgi ahtar*) or confection worker where they won't have to work this much." Even granting that PPC women would be predisposed to choose such jobs, that similar opportunities are available at his own café seems not to have registered with him. As shown in Table A.1 in Appendix A, the limited responses in the questionnaire did suggest the women employed at PPC to be in a more tenuous position than men, in terms of both turnover and labor market attachment. However, their demographic information in terms of education attainment, rootedness in the city, mother's education, and other factors positively correlative to women's participation in the labor market, was broadly similar to that of the women at the other coffee shops. A far more plausible explanation for their early resignation from PPC (55.6% of the women respondents to the survey had been employed at PPC for fewer than six months, compared to 28.6% for men) is that PPC does not promote a servicescape that integrates women into the creation of experience, affect, and aesthetics. Rather, the servicescape at Paterfamilias Pastry Café, despite its expansion into the realm of consumerist economy, elicits an experience of traditionalism, a sensation that apparently extends into the gendered expectations of service provision.

Abbas said about his company that PPC "is both traditional and modern. We have every different kind of *customer*."[238] However, this proof of the café's modernity and cosmopolitanism clearly does not extend to the employee profile modeled by Paterfamilias Pastry Café. In not staking a more convincing claim to the imaginary cosmopolitan service model, PPC has not created a sense of place for women within its servicescape. This is reflected in all aspects of PPC's work organization, from the overall low participation of women, to their comparative fragility in labor market attachment, to their occupation of physical space within the café itself. Of the three café chains analyzed in this survey, Paterfamilias Pastry Café is unique in the active gender-exclusivity of its servicescape.

Postscript: Comparative Remarks

The three café chains in this survey are all securely ensconced in the consumerist economy, and operate according the logic of what Yiannis Gabriel calls "latte capitalism"—where "charging a hefty mark-up for a cup of frothy milk with a shot of acqua sporca may seem to epitomize the rationale of value."[239] The atmospherics promoted by their servicescapes encourage a communal experience predicated on the conspicuous consumption of leisure[240] and imaginary cosmopolitan lifestyles. All three are popular and successful cafés, offering their customers an array of different concoctions of coffee, milk, and sugar, but much more than the cost of its simple ingredients, the coffee shops charge according to this sensation on behalf of the customer, for which the role of the service worker is critical. The different strategies employed

[238] My emphasis.
[239] Gabriel, 2009. Page 175.
[240] See Veblen, 1953 (1899), pages 41-59, for a fuller explication of this concept, or my discussion in Chapter Two above.

by the café chains show how the aesthetics of gendered bodily dispositions—their "smiling faces", "touch of woman", and "ability to keep emotions inside"—are mobilized for the production of affect in a consumerist economy where the line dividing product and service is increasingly blurred.

The growth of the cathedrals of consumption in Istanbul over recent years offers up new sites for the exercise of the imagination in Turkey, and the coffee shop is an important social laboratory fostering experimentation with new imagined lifestyles. However, it is not the customers alone who stake out social positions within these places. Service workers occupy a unique position as subjects within the objectifying structure of the coffee shop, negotiating the experiential standards promoted by their companies' servicescapes and the gendered expectations of broader social norms. This process unfolds differently across the many sites of possibility within the consumerist economy, as is visible from the gendered outcomes in this survey. The performances on display in the "service theater" of the contemporary consumerist economy will not be uniform, rather each is differentially staged according to the affect desired of the audience.

Global Gaze Coffee, with the embrace of difference as its defining identity, has both created a new social space in which new norms of consumption—of gender as well as products—prevail and is proved through the successful adoption of the foreign. Its cosmopolitan imaginary of "coffee culture" as a modern experience heavily promotes the conspicuous presence of young, unmarried women serviceworkers, and its absence of a labor economy of scale demands the egalitarian apportionment of occupational tasks by gender. While these employees project an sexualized image to the male gaze, they also exhibit agency by taking pride in their equal position within a successful international company. The servicescape may have

exploited their “aesthetic labor” but they have also stolen some of GGC’s creation of difference in forming their own identities.

Modern Home Coffee has euphemized the foreign as local, putting a new “authentic” trademark on the self-assuredly cosmopolitan “coffee culture.” By courting the new unfamiliar within the national “home”, MHC has created a servicescape that inoculates some of the threatening elements of sexual objectification while promoting a more traditionally-integrated staff of service workers. This has not only caused a sense of national pride among service workers taking ownership of their brand, it has created an atmosphere where gender norms are expressed in more socially-recognized ways.

While the servicescape at MHC clearly reinforces some gendered norms through its reenactment of domestic divisions of labor, it has introduced a worksite where men and women service workers interact in front of the public eye. This marks a contrast with Paterfamilias Pastry Café, which in the promotion of a “traditional” and “authentic” take on the consumerist café chain, continues to project a servicescape more consistent with the gendered service norms in the economy at large.

The roles of service workers, different in their outcomes but similar in their dynamics, have important implications in an era of consumerist economy in which all aspects of Turkish society appear to be undergoing rapid change. As the number of cathedrals of consumption continue to crop up all over Istanbul, and as they continue to staff legions of experience-creating service workers, it is increasingly worth considering the unique forms of labor exploitation in the service workforce, as well as the impact of service worker subjectivities in presenting and renegotiating social identities. It is hoped that this field study will contribute to this broader understanding.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The "cathedrals of consumption" are designed to promote spectacle. Strolling through the atrium of an early Parisian shopping mall, Baudrillard stated that "consumption is governed by a form of *magical thinking.*"[241] Consumption increasingly involves the constant exercise of the imagination, formulating new wishes for ephemeral experiences. It is tempting to, as Durakbaşa and Cindoğlu do, see these as fundamentally anti-social places where "there is intense energy dispersed into objects of desire rather than interpersonal contact and interaction."[242]

This, however, would be a mistake. Not merely a consumer society, this thesis has argued for an understanding of a consumerist economy. It has attempted to show that the cathedrals of consumption—the shopping malls, tourist resorts, and especially coffee shops—are not only sites filled with desirable objects, but with actual people performing valuable (and value-creating) service work. These service workers should not be obscured by the spectacle, or hidden by the objects of desire, but be recognized as instrumental in projecting the aesthetics and affect that determine the consumer experience. Objectified by the corporate brand, yet acting as the personal liaison between it and the consumer, contemporary front line service workers

[241] Baudrillard, 1998. Page 31. Emphasis in the original.
[242] Durakbaşa and Cindoğlu. Page 82.

perform vitally different productive tasks while facing fundamentally different forms of labor constraints.

This is arguably even more the case in Turkey, as so many of the new norms of consumerism are loaded with an imaginary cosmopolitan content, where objects and experiences intimate the possibilities of other lives. The desire for new lifestyles and social identities finds expression in the interaction with the presentations at any number of shops within the consumerist economy. Service workers help communicate these new possibilities through their brand representation while at the same time interpreting them on their own behalf.

However, this also places the service worker in a precarious position. Contrary to the development of consumerism in North America and Western Europe, Turkey's consumerist economy has grown as a part of the same neoliberal process that has led to drastic wealth polarization. Rather than the democratization of consumption remarked upon by Galbraith and feared by Bell, consumerism in Turkey has mobilized class practices determining new "invidious distinctions"[243] that "implied not simply a refashioning of tastes but also a hierarchy of worth."[244]

Furthermore, the emphasis on spectacle and aesthetics in the cathedrals of consumption has invited the gaze into more aspects of public life. This has had direct implications on gender norms in a labor market where women occupy less than 15% of front line service jobs[245] and conditions the ways in which gender is presented in the various servicescapes of the consumerist economy.

[243] Veblen, 1953 (1899). Page 36.
[244] Kandiyoti, 1997. Page 119.
[245] 14.3% of workers in the wholesale and retail trade, hotels, and restaurants sector are women, according to the Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006.

Through measuring the participation of women in various chains of coffee shops embedded within Istanbul's most consumerist places, and through soliciting their subjective understandings of their position within them, this thesis has aimed to illustrate the labor dynamics that operate within the consumerist economy. Their ambivalent inclusion in these places designed to exclude provides an interesting vantagepoint from which to witness the changing societal effects of Turkey's new consumer practices. Their status as the fastest-growing sector of the labor market makes the unique aspects of their working conditions necessary to examine. If this thesis has been able to advance these goals, it will have been worth the effort.

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC TABLES CITED IN CHAPTER FOUR

Table A.1: Employees' Views on their Occupational Attachment

Company Name, Men/Women	Career %	Temporary %
GGC		
- Men	76	24
- Women	80	20
MHC		
- Men	78.3	21.7
- Women	68.4	31.7
PPC		
- Men	77.8	22.2
- Women	57.1	42.9
Total		
- Men	77.3	22.7
- Women	70.7	29.3

Table A.2: Number and Percentage of Employees by Place of Birth

Company Name, Men/Women	Istanbul-Born	Other Province	Istanbul-Born %	Other Province %
GGC				
- Men	13	13	50	50
- Women	***12***	***3***	***80***	***20***
MHC				
- Men	12	13	48	52
- Women	8	9	47.1	52.9
PPC				
- Men	17	19	47.2	52.8
- Women	4	4	50	50

Total				
- Men	42	45	48.3	51.7
- Women	24	16	60	40

Table A.3: Number and Percentage of Employees by Parents' Place of Birth

Company Name, Men/Women	Istanbul-Born*	Other Province	Istanbul-Born* %	Other Province %
GGC				
- Men	5	20	20	80
- Women	7	8	46.7	53.3
MHC				
- Men	5	19	20.8	79.2
- Women	7	10	41.2	58.8
PPC				
- Men	7	28	20	80
- Women	2	6	25	75
Total				
- Men	17	67	***20.2***	***79.8***
- Women	16	24	***40***	***60***

*Includes households with one parent from Istanbul. These mixed houses followed the same pattern as households where both parents were from the city.

Table A.4: Education Status of Men and Women Employees, All Branches

EDUCATION STATUS	*Men*	*Women*	*Men %*	*Women%*
No High School Diploma	17	6	19.5	14.3
HS or Vocational School	57	20	65.5	47.6
Higher Education/Students	13	16	14.9	38.1

Total	87	42	100	100

Table A.5: Employees' Parents' Education

Employees	Fathers HS or Better (%)	Mothers HS or Better (%)
Men	23	12
Women	24	***23***

Table A.6: Employees' Mother's Labor Market Participation*

Employees	Mothers in LM/Retired (%)	Mothers Not in LM (%)
Men	26	74
Women	38.6	61.4

*Includes those actively searching for work

Table A.7: Marital Status of Men and Women Employees by Company

Company Name, Men/Women	Never Married	Married	Divorced, Sprtd Widowed	Never Married%	Married %	Divorced, Sprtd Widowed%
GGC						
- Men	17	8	1	65.4	30.7	3.8
- Women	***15***	***0***	***0***	***100***	***0***	***0***
MHC						
- Men	18	6	1	72	24	4
- Women	10	5	***4***	52.6	26.3	***21.1***

PPC						
- Men	25	11	2	65.8	28.9	5.3
- Women	6	3	0	66.7	33.3	0

Table A.8: Incidence of Parentage among Employees by Company and Gender

Company Name, Men/Women	No Children	Children	No Children %	Children %
GGC				
- Men	21	5	80.8	19.2
- Women	15	0	100	0
MHC				
- Men	***22***	***3***	***88***	***12***
- Women	***11***	***8***	***57.9***	***42.1***
PPC				
- Men	30	8	78.9	21.1
- Women	7	2	77.8	22.2
Total				
- Men	73	16	***82***	***18***
- Women	33	10	***76.7***	***23.3***

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire Distributed to Coffee Shop Employees

Bu anket sizin kişisel geçmişiniz ve iş durumunuz hakkında bazı sorular içeriyor. Anket içerisindeki hiç bir soru size isminizi sormuyor ve cevaplar yönetim ile paylaşılmayacaktır, bu nedenle **isminizi belirtmeniz gerekmemektedir.** Tüm soruları cevaplama zorunluluğu yoktur, bu nedenle istediğiniz soruyu boş bırakabilirsiniz, fakat eksiksiz katılımınız bu araştırmanın başarısı ve en doğru sonuçlara ulaşabilmemiz açısından önemlidir. Katılımınız için teşekkür ederiz.

1. Bölüm (15 soru)

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

   □ Erkek □ Kadın

2. Yaşınız: _____

3. Medeni durumunuz:

   □ Hiç evlenmedi □ Boşanmış □ Ayrı

   □Evli □ Diğer; Lütfen belirtiniz: _____

4. Eğitim durumu:

   □ İlkokul mezunu □ Lise mezunu □ Yüksek lisans mezunu

   □ Ortaokul mezunu □ Yüksekokul mezunu □ Öğrenci

   □Meslek Lisesi Mezunu □ Üniversite mezunu □ Diğer

5. Yabancı Dil:

İngilizce	□Az	□ Orta	□ İyi	□ Çok iyi
Fransızca	□Az	□ Orta	□ İyi	□ Çok iyi
Almanca	□Az	□ Orta	□ İyi	□ Çok iyi
Diğer: _____	□Az	□ Orta	□ İyi	□ Çok iyi

6. Çocuğunuz var mı?

□ Hayır □ Evet; Kaç tane? _____

7. Kiminle yaşıyorsunuz?

□ Eşim ve çocuklarımla □ Eşimin ailesiyle □Sadece eşimle

□ Ev arkadaşımla □ Sadece çocuklarımla □ Arkadaş(lar)ımla

□ Ebeveynlerimle □ Bir akrabamla □ Yalnız

□Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____

8. Doğduğunuz şehir: _____

9. Anne-babanızın doğduğu şehir:

Annenizin: _____ Babanızın: _____

10. Anne-babanızın medeni durumu:

□ Evli □ Ayrı □ Boşandı

□ Hiç evlenmedi □ Diğer

11. Babanızın eğitim durumu:

□ Okuma-yazma bilmiyor □ Meslek Lisesi Mezunu □ Üniversite mezunu

□İlkokul mezunu □Lise mezunu □Yüksek lisans mezunu

□Ortaokul mezunu □Yüksekokul mezunu □ Diğer

12. Annenizin eğitim durumu:

□ Okuma-yazma bilmiyor □ Meslek Lisesi Mezunu □ Üniversite mezunu

□İlkokul mezunu □Lise mezunu □Yüksek lisans mezunu

□Ortaokul mezunu □Yüksekokul mezunu □ Diğer

13. Babanızın çalışma durumu:

□ Çalışıyor □ Çalışmıyor (iş aramıyor) □ Emekli

□ Çalışmıyor (iş arıyor) □ Diğer Mesleği: _____

14. Annenizin çalışma durumu:

□ Çalışıyor □ Çalışmıyor (iş aramıyor) □ Emekli

□ Çalışmıyor (iş arıyor) □ Diğer Mesleği: _____

15. Evliyseniz, eşinizin çalışma durumu:

□ Çalışıyor □ Çalışmıyor (iş aramıyor) □ Emekli

□ Çalışmıyor (iş arıyor) □ Eşim yok Mesleği: _____

2. Bölüm (7 soru)

1. Daha önce başka bir işte çalışıyor muydunuz?

□ Evet □ Hayır

2. Evet ise nerede, (lütfen uygun olan tüm seçenekleri işaretleyiniz)?

□ Restoran/cafe □ Sanayi □ Turizm

□ Parakende satış mağazası □ İnşaat □ İmalat

□ Ev işleri □ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____

□ Organizasyon □ Kurum/şirket: _____

3. Eski işinizden neden ayrıldınız (lütfen uygun olan tüm seçenekleri işaretleyiniz)?

□ Maaş yeterli değildi □ Evime çok uzaktı

□ İş saatleri uygun değildi □ İşten çıkarıldım

□ Yönetimden memnun değildim □ Eşim/ailem uygun görmedi

□ Sigortam yoktu □ Diğer: _____

4. Şu anki işinizi ararken başka yerlere de başvurdunuz mu?

□ Evet □ Hayır

5. Evet ise nerelere (lütfen uygun olan tüm seçenekleri işaretleyiniz)?

□ Restoran/cafe □ Sanayi □ Turizm

□ Parakende satış mağazası □ İnşaat □ İmalat

□ Ev işleri □ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____

□ Organizasyon □ Kurum/şirket: _____

6. Şu anda başka bir işte daha çalışıyor musunuz?

□ Evet □ Hayır

7. Evet ise nerede (lütfen uygun olan tüm seçenekleri işaretleyiniz)?

□ Restoran/cafe □ Sanayi □ Turizm

□ Parakende satış mağazası □ İnşaat □ İmalat

□ Ev işleri □Organizasyon□ Kurum/şirket: _____

□ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____ □Pozisyon: _____

3. Bölüm (16 soru)

1. Şu anki işinizde ne kadar zamandır çalışıyorsunuz?

□ 6 ay veya daha az □ 1-2 yıl □ 5 yıl veya daha fazla

□ 6-12 ay □ 2-5 yıl

2. Haftada kaç saat çalışıyorsunuz?

□ 10 saat veya daha az □ 20-35 saat □45 saat veya daha fazla

□ 10-20 saat □ 35-45 saat □Kaç: _____

3. Çalışma saatlerinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız (lütfen uygun olan tüm seçenekleri işaretleyiniz)?

□ Belirli günlerde □ Belirli vardiyalarla □ Belirli olmayan günlerde

□ Düzensiz vardiyalarla □ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz:_____

4. Hangi saatlerde/günlerde çalışıyorsunuz (lütfen uygun olan tüm seçenekleri işaretleyiniz)?

□Haftasonları gündüz □Haftaiçi gündüz □ Haftaiçi akşam

□ Haftasonları akşam □Diğer, lütfen belirtiniz: _____

5. Çalışma saatlerinizin ne kadarında aşağıdaki işlerle meşgulsünüz?

Siparişleri hazırlama	□ Hiç	□ Az	□ Orta	□ Çok	□ Tüm vaktim
Kasa başında durma	□ Hiç	□ Az	□ Orta	□ Çok	□ Tüm vaktim
Sipariş alma ve getirme	□ Hiç	□ Az	□ Orta	□ Çok	□ Tüm vaktim
Masa temizleme	□ Hiç	□ Az	□ Orta	□ Çok	□ Tüm vaktim
Karşılama	□ Hiç	□ Az	□ Orta	□ Çok	□ Tüm vaktim
Bulaşık Yıkama	□ Hiç	□ Az	□ Orta	□ Çok	□ Tüm vaktim
Temizlik	□ Hiç	□ Az	□ Orta	□ Çok	□ Tüm vaktim
Diğer: _____	□ Hiç	□ Az	□ Orta	□ Çok	□ Tüm vaktim

6. Aşağıdaki işleri tercih sıranıza göre kıyaslayınız. (Hangi işi yapmayı tercih ederdiniz?)

(1 =En cok tercih ettiğim, 8 = En az tercih ettigim)

__ Siparişleri hazırlama __ Karşılama

__ Kasa başında durma __ Bulaşık Yıkama

__ Sipariş alma ve getirme __ Temizlik

__ Masa temizleme __ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____

7. Bu işi nasıl buldunuz?

□ Arkadaşım/akrabam tavsiye etti □ Kendim araştırdım

□ Gazete/internet reklamı □ İnsan kaynaklarından aradılar

□ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____

8. İşe gitmek ne kadar vaktinizi alıyor?

□ 15 dk. veya daha az □ 30-45 dk. □ 1 saat veya daha fazla

□ 15-30 dk. □ 45-60 dk.

9. İşe nasıl gidiyorsunuz?

□ Yürüyorum □ Taksi

□ Toplu taşıma □ Servis aracı

□ Özel ulaşım (araba/motor) □ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____

10. Evinize yaptığınız ekonomik katkıyı nasıl tanımlarsınız?

□ Birinci derece gelir kaynağı □ Kişisel harcamalarımı karşılıyorum, ek katkım yok

□ Ek gelir □ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____

□ Eşit katkı (giderleri eşit bölüşüyoruz) _____

11. Çalışma sebebinizi aşağıdakilerden hangisi en iyi tanımlar (bir tane seçiniz)?

□ Ailemi desteklemek için □ Kişisel harcamalarımı karşılamak için

□ Aileme ek gelir sağlamak için □ Sosyalleşmek/yeni insanlarla tanışmak için

□ İş deneyimi kazanmak için □ Boş durmamak için

□ Diğer: _____

12. Yaptığınız işi bir meslek olarak mı görüyorsunuz yoksa geçici bir iş mi?

□ Meslek □ Geçici

13. Eğer geçici bir iş olarak görüyorsanız, bu işi bırakmanıza ne sebep olabilirdi (lütfen uygun olan tüm seçenekleri işaretleyiniz)?

□Olumsuz çalışma şartları □ Erken emeklilik

□ Taşınma □Evde bakacak insan

□ Evlilik □ Diğer; lütfen belirtiniz: _____

□ Çocuğum olması _____

14. Aşağıdaki kelimelerden hangileri iş yerenizi en iyi tanımlar (birden fazla seçebilirsiniz)?

□ Rahat □ Yenilikçi □ Çağdaş

□ Geleneksel □ Samimi □ Evrensel

□ Tarihi □ Klasik □ Lüks

□ Aileye yönelik □ Özgün □ Gençlere yönelik

Diğer(ler): _____

15. Aşağıdakilerden hangileri İDEALİNİZDEKİ işin EN ÖNEMLİ özelliklerindendir (en fazla beş tane seçiniz)?

□ Dinamik iş tanımı □ Yüksek maaş □ Eve yakın

□ Sigorta ve yıllık izin □ İş güvenliği □ Rekabet ortamı

□ Yükselebilme imkanı □ Uluslararası şirket □ Esnek çalışma saatleri

□ Yerel şirket □ Mesai saatleri belli □ Aile Şirketi

□ Şehir merkezinde □ Servis aracı olması □ Sosyal ortam

□ İdareyle iyi ilişkiler □ Surumuluk verilmesi □ Az stresli ortam

□ Eve iş götürmemek □ Prestijli iş ünvanı □ Seyahat imkanı

□ Yeteneklerime uygun Diğer(ler): _____

16. A şağıdakilerden hangileri İDEALİNİZDEKİ iş tanımının EN AZ ÖNEM taşıyan özellikleridir (en fazla beş tane seçiniz)?

□ Dinamik iş tanımı	□ Yüksek maaş	□ Eve yakın
□ Sigorta ve yıllık izin	□ İş güvenliği	□ Rekabet ortamı
□ Yükselebilme imkanı	□ Uluslararası şirket	□ Esnek çalışma saatleri
□ Yerel şirket	□ Mesai saatleri belli	□ Aile Şirketi
□ Şehir merkezinde	□Servis aracı olması	□ Sosyal ortam
□ İdareyle iyi ilişkiler	□ Surumuluk verilmesi	□ Az stresli ortam
□ Eve iş götürmemek	□ Prestijli iş ünvanı	□ Seyahat imkanı
□ Yeteneklerimi uyumlu	Diğer(ler): _____	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adkins, L. 2002. "Sexual Servicing and the Labour Market" in Jackson, S. and Scott. S. (eds.) *Gender: A Sociological Reader*. Routledge. London. Pages 197-202.

Akcaoglu, A. 2008. "The Mallification of Urban Life in Ankara: The Case of ANKAmall." MA Thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the Social Sciences, Middle East Technical University. The Department of Sociology.

Akcaoglu, A. 2009. "The Shopping Mall: The Enchanted Part of a Disenchanted City – The Case of ANKAmall, Ankara" in Pink, J. (ed.) *Muslim Societies in the Age of Mass Consumption: Politics, Culture and Identity between the Local and the Global.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing. Newcastle upon Tyne. Pages 53-72.

Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.

Arslan, T.V.; Sezer, F.S.; and Isigicok, E. 2010. "Magnetism of Shopping Malls on Young Turkish Consumers." *Young Consumers. Vol 11, No. 3. Pages 178-188.*

Balkan, Neşecan and Savran, Sungur 2002 (eds.).*The Ravages of Neo-Liberalism: Economy, Society, and Gender and Turkey*. Nova Science Publishers, Inc. Hauppague, New York.

Baudrillard, J. 1998 (1970) (Eng. Translation by C. Turner). *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures.* SAGE Publications, Ltd. London.

Bauman, Z. 2000. *Liquid Modernity.* Polity Press. Cambridge.

Bauman, Z. 2007. *Consuming Life.* Polity Press. Cambridge.

Bell, D. 1976. *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. Basic Books. New York.

Bitner, M.J. 1992. "Servicescapes: The Impact of Physical Surroundings on Customers and Employees." *Journal of Marketing*. Vol. 56, No. 2. Pages 57-71.

Bozdoğan, S. and Kasaba, R. (eds.) 1997. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey.* The University of Washington Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1990 (1980). *The Logic of Practice.* Stanford University Press. Stanford, CA.

Certeau, Michel de. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. The University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.

Christensen, J. 2009. *Global Experience Industries: The Business of the Experience Economy*. Aarhus University Press. Langelongsgade, Denmark.

Corrigan, P. 1997. *The Sociology of Consumption: An Introduction.* Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Cresswell, Tim 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction.* Blackwell Publishing Ltd. New York.

Çalışkan, Şebnem 2008. "Overview of Family Business Relevant Issues: Country Fiche Turkey." Report Prepared for the European Commission. Page 1.

Çağatay, Nilüfer and Berik, Günseli 1990. "Transition to Export-Led Growth in Turkey: Is there a Feminization of Employment?" *Review of Radical Economics*. Vol. 22, No. 1. Pages 115-134.

Çınar, Alev 2005. *Modernity, Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places and Time*. The University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.

Debord, G. 1994 (1967) (Eng. Translation by D. Nicholson-Smith). *The Society of the Spectacle.* Zone Books. New York.

Durakbaşa, Ayşe and Cindoğlu, Dilek 2002. "Encounters at the Counter: Gender and the Shopping Experience" in Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Pages 73-89.

Elson, Diane 1999. "Labor Markets as Gendered Institutions: Equality, Efficiency, and Empowerment Issues". *World Development*. Vol. 27, No. 3. Pages 611-627.

Erder, Sema 1999. "Where Do You Hail From? Localism and Networks in Istanbul" in Keyder, Çağlar (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York. Pages 161-172.

Erikson, K. 2009. *The Hungry Cowboy: Service and Community in a Neighborhood Restaurant*. The University Press of Mississippi. Jackson, MS.

Erkip, F. 2005. "The Rise of the Shopping Mall in Turkey: The Use and Appeal of a Mall in Ankara." *Cities*. Vol. 22, No. 2. Pages 89-108.

Featherstone, M. 1987. "Life-style and Consumer Culture." *Theory, Culture, and Society*, Volume 4. Pages 55-70.

Fiske, J. 2000. "Shopping for Pleasure: Malls, Power, and Resistance" in Schor, J. and Holt, D. (eds.) *The Consumer Society Reader*. The New Press. New York. Pages 306-330.

Ferguson, H. 1992. "Watching the World Go Round: Atrium Culture and the Psychology of Shopping" in Shield, R. (ed.) *Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption*. Routledge. London.

Foucault, M. 1990 (1976). *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. Vintage Books. New York.

Gabriel, Y. 2009. "Conclusion—Latte Capitalism and Late Capitalism: Reflections on Fantasy and Care as Part of the Service Triangle" in Korczynsky, M and Macdonald, C.L. (eds.) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge. New York. Pages 175-190.

Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1998 (1958). *The Affluent Society: 40th Anniversary Edition*. Houghton-Mifflin Trade and Reference. Boston.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Anchor Books. New York.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A. 2000. *Empire*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA.

Harvey, David 1989. *The Condition of Post-Modernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Blackwell. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Harvey, David 2003. *Paris, Capital of Modernity*. Routledge. New York.

Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Hochschild, A. 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling.* The University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.

Houston, C. 2001. "The Brewing of Islamist Modernity: Tea Gardens and Public Space in Istanbul." *Theory, Culture, and Society.* Vol. 18, No. 6. Pages 77-97.

Işın, Ekrem 2003. *Everyday Life in Istanbul: Social Historical Essays on People, Culture, and Spatial Relations*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları. Istanbul.

Kandiyoti, Deniz 1997. "Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity" in Bozdoğan, S. and Kasaba, R. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. The University of Washington Press. Pages 113-132.

Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) 2002. *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Keyder, Çağlar and Öncü, Ayşe 1997. *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities*. Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Istanbul.

Keyder, Çağlar 1997. "Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s" in Bozdoğan, S. and Kasaba, R. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. The University of Washington Press. Pages 37-51.

Keyder, Çağlar 1999a. "The Setting" in Keyder, Çağlar (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York. Pages 3-28.

Keyder, Çağlar 1999b. "A Tale of Two Neighborhoods" in Keyder, Çağlar (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York. Pages 173-187.

Keyder, Çağlar 1999c. "The Housing Market from Informal to Global" in Keyder, Çağlar (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York. Pages 143-159.

Keyder, Çağlar 1999d (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York.

Keyder, Çağlar 2010. "Istanbul in a Global Context" in *Istanbul: City of Intersections.* Urban Age Program, London School of Economics and Political Science. London. Page 45.

Korczynsky, M. 2009. "Understanding the Contradictory Lived Experience of Service Work: The Consumer-Oriented Bureaucracy" in Korczynsky, M and Macdonald, C.L. (eds.) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge. New York. Pages 73-90.

Lipset, S.M. 1968. "Social Stratification, Social Class" in *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. Crowell Collier and Macmillan. New York. Pages 296-316.

Macdonald, C.L. and Merrill, D. 2009. "Intersectionality in the Emotional Proletariat: A New Lens on Employment Discrimination in Service Work" in Korczynsky, M and Macdonald, C.L. (eds.) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge. New York. Pages 113-134.

Mandel, E. 1975 (1972). *Late Capitalism*. Verso. New York.

Marcuse, H. 1964. *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrialized Society*. Online version at http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/marcuse/index.htm. Accessed on October 30, 2010.

Marx, K. 1867. *Capital: Volume 1*. Printed in Tucker, R.C. (ed. 1978) *The Marx-Engels Reader, Second Edition*. W.W. Norton and Company. New York.

Massey, Doreen 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. The University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.

Navaro-Yashin, Yael 2002. "The Market for Identities: Secularism, Islamism, Commodities" in Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Pages 221-253.

Ödemis, Erkin. 2009. *The Financialization of Consumption in Turkey: The Emergence of Consumer Credits (1988-2008)*. MA thesis submitted to the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History. Bogazici University.

Öncü, Ayşe 1981. "Turkish Women in the Professions: Why So Many?" in Abadan-Unat, Nermin (ed.) *Women in Turkish Society*. E.J. Brill. Leiden. Pages 181-193.

Öncü, Ayşe 1997. "The Myth of the 'Ideal Home'" in Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra (eds.) *Space, Culture, and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*. Zed Books. Pages 56-73.

Öncü, Ayşe 1999. "Istanbulites and Others: The Cultural Cosmology of Being Middle Class in the Era of Globalism" in Keyder, Çağlar (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York. Pages 95-119.

Öncü, Ayşe 2002. "Global Consumerism, Sexuality as Public Spectacle, and the Cultural Remapping of Istanbul in the 1990s" in Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Pages 171-190.

Öncü, Ayşe and Weyland, Petra (eds.) 1997. *Space, Culture, and Power: New Identities in Globalizing Cities*. Zed Books.

Öniş, Ziya 1998. "The State and Economic Development in Contemporary Turkey: Etatism to Neoliberalism and Beyond" in Öniş, Ziya (ed.) *The Political Economy of Turkey in Comparative Perspective*. Boğaziçi University Press. Pages 455-476.

Özar, Şemsa and Ercan, Fuat 2002. "Labor Markets in Turkey: Maladjustment or Integration?" in Balkan, Neşecan and Savran, Sungur (eds.) *The Ravages of Neo-Liberalism: Economy, Society, and Gender and Turkey*. Nova Science Publishers, Inc. Hauppague, New York. Pages 165-180.

Özbay, Ferhunde 1999. "Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernization." *Gender and History*. Vol. 11, No. 3. Pages 555-568.

Özyeğin, G. 2001. *Untidy Gender: Domestic Service in Turkey*. Temple University Press. Philadelphia.

Özyeğin, Gül, 2002. "The Doorkeeper, the Maid, and the Tenant: Troubling Encounters in the Turkish Urban Landscape" in Kandiyoti, Deniz and Saktanber, Ayşe (eds.) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Pages 43-72.

Parmaksızoğlu, Kübra 2010. *Bobos in Turkey: Manifestations of the Bourgeois Bohemian Lifestyle in Istanbul.* MA thesis submitted to the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History. Bogazici University.

Ritzer, G. 1997. *The McDonaldization Thesis: Explorations and Extensions*. Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Ritzer, G. 2001. *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption: Fast Food, Credit Cards and Casinos.* SAGE Publications, Ltd. London.

Ritzer, G. 2005. *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Continuity and Change in the Cathedrals of Consumption 2/e*. Pine Forge Press. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Ritzer, G. 2007. *The Globalization of Nothing 2.* Pine Forge Press. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Ritzer, G. 2011. *The McDonaldization of Society, 6th Edition.* Pine Forge Press. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Schor, J. and Holt, D. 2000 (eds.). *The Consumer Society Reader*. The New Press. New York.

Sherman, R. 2007. *Class Acts: Service and Inequality in Luxury Hotels*. The University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.

Sherry, J.F. 1998. *Servicescapes: The Concept of Place in Contemporary Markets.* NTC Business Books. Chicago.

Sklair, L. 2002. *Globalization: Capitalism and Its Alternatives*. Oxford University Press. New York.

Standing, G. 1989. "Global Feminization through Flexible Labor". *World Development.* Vol. 17, No. 7. Pages 1077-1095.

Standing, G. 1999. "Global Feminization through Flexible Labor: A Theme Revisited". *World Development*. Vol. 27, No. 3. Pages 583-602.

Thompson, Craig J. and Arsel, Zeynep 2004. "The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers' (Anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization." *The Journal of Consumer Research.* Vol. 31, No. 3. Pages 631-642.

Tokatli, N. and Boyaci, Y. 1998. "The Changing Retail Industry and Retail Landscapes: The Case of Post-1980 Turkey." *Cities. Vol. 15, No. 5. Pages 345-359.*

Toksöz, G. 2007, *Women's Employment Situation in Turkey*. International Labor Organization.

Tomlinson, J. 1999. *Globalization and Culture*. The University of Chicago Press.

Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI), *Statistical Indicators 1923-2006.*

TSI, *Turkey's Statistical Yearbook.* Various years.

Turner, B. 1988. *Status.* The University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.

Ukers, William H. 1922. *All About Coffee*. The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company. New York.

Veblen, T. 1953 (1899). *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Mentor Books. New York.

Warhurst, C.; Thompson, P. and Nickson, D. 2009. "Labor Process Theory: Putting the Materialism Back into the Meaning of Service Work" in Korczynsky, M and Macdonald, C.L. (eds.) *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*. Routledge. New York. Pages 91-112.

Weber, M. 2003 (1905). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Dover Publications, Inc. Minneola, NY.

Witz, A.; Warhurst, C.; and Nickson, D. 2003 "The Labor of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Organization." *Organization*. Vol. 10, No. 1. Pages 33-54.

Zeytinoğlu, Işık Urla 2000. "Constructed Images as Employment Restrictions: Determinants of Female Labor in Turkey" in Arat, Zehra (ed.) *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"*. Palgrave MacMillan. New York. Pages 183-198.

Zürcher, Erik Jan 2004. *Turkey: A Modern History*. I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd. New York.