MATERIAL OBJECTS AND EVERYDAY
NATIONALISM IN DESIGN:
THE ELECTRIC TURKISH COFFEE MAKER,
ITS DESIGN AND CONSUMPTION

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Abstract

This thesis provides an account of material objects which are related to the nation in their design and consumption. Addressing a major gap both in design literature and in theories of everyday nationalism, the study focuses on the processes of design and consumption in which material objects are nationalised, rather than on objects as representative of nations. For this purpose, a material-semiotic theoretical framework is developed, contributing to current debates on the use of STS-based approaches in design research. Accordingly, design and consumption are viewed as two sociotechnical settings where a variety of actors—engineers, designers, users, other objects as well as nations—are brought together. In application of this framework, design and consumption of a nationally charged kitchen appliance, the electric Turkish coffee maker, was investigated for the ways in which Turkish nation is evoked in discourse and practice by the actors involved. To this end, interviews were conducted with the managers, designers and engineers involved in the development of electric Turkish coffee makers. Together with the documents collected, the data is used to piece together the processes of product development and design. These were complemented and contrasted with interviews, focus groups and participant observation sessions, organised with users of the product. The analysis shows that electric Turkish coffee makers are conceived as a national project, which translates Turkish coffee to national tradition, and global commercial success via its mechanisation to national responsibility and pride. Accordingly, design practice attempts to produce and maintain the products as objectifications of national cultural authenticity. In the analysed consumption setting, however, users appropriate the products not as authentic replacements of, but as convenient supplements to the 'authentic', which they instead utilise to improve sociability. The study suggests and illustrates that a comprehensive understanding of everyday nationalism in particular, and politics in general, requires taking seriously the material agency of objects— conceptualised as symbolic and material assemblages with politically substantial meanings and affordances. It thus emphasises the significance of designed objects as nodes in and around which relations of power are shaped and stored, and the political role of design practices in assembling these objects by mediating such relations.

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Author's declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed

Dated

Chapter 1. Introduction

The last decade of the 'high design' scene in Turkey was characterised, among other things, with an interest in 'Turkish' concepts and forms. In addition to design exhibitions, panel discussions, and magazine articles and interviews that focused on the subject, the interest produced numerous objects: both limited-production design objects by small design studios (furniture, carpets, lighting, ceramic ornaments, etc.) and mass-produced products by sizeable manufacturers (table ware, glass ware, electric Turkish coffee makers, electric hookahs, sanitary ware, ceramic tiles, etc.).[1] Particularly after the influential '"İlk" in Milano: Turkish Touch in Design' exhibition at the Salone Internazionale del Mobile 2007 in Milan, the trend instigated some academic interest, too, in the form of papers, articles and master's theses.[2] Among these were my own early attempts to make sense of the phenomenon, when in my master's thesis I analysed the discourse on the nation in *Art+Decor*, a popular design magazine in Turkey, and later, made visual analyses of the iconographies used in such products.[3]

This project was induced by such developments, popular and academic, and responds to one core question among many that these products evoke: How does a material object in its design and consumption relate to the political concept of nation?

That this question has not so far been engaged in literature is due to a significant lacuna at the intersection of two different literatures. In design literature, there is

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1   See for instance, Ahmet Buğdaycı, Aziz Sarıyer, Sezgin Aksu, Güran Gökyay, İnci Mutlu and Koray Malhan, 'Turkish Delight—Turkish Design', panel discussion at the ADesign Fair 2004, 8 October 2004; for an example from a popular design magazine, see Kart's article on the designer, İdil Tarzı: Umut Kart, 'Kendine İyi Davrananlara: Hamam!', *Art+Decor*, February 2004, p. 47. Product examples include 'Eastmeetswest' tea glass by Maybedesign, 2003; 'Hamamlamp' by Pinocchiodesign, 2006; 'İznik' tiles by Defne Koz, 2006; 'Water Jewels' by Matteo Thun, 2007; and 'Nar' hookah and 'Dervish' coffee cup by Kilittaşı Tasarım, 2004 and 2011, respectively.

2   Some of these are as follows: Gökhan Karakuş, *Turkish Touch in Design: Contemporary Product Design by Turkish Designers Worldwide* (Istanbul: Tasarım Yayın Grubu, 2007); Tevfik Balcıoğlu, 'Milano Tasarım Haftası ve Duruşumuz', *XXI*, May 2007, pp. 62–63; Tevfik Balcıoğlu, 'Milano Tasarım Haftası'nın Ardından Tuhaf Düşünceler', *XXI*, June 2007, pp. 52–53; H. Alpay Er, 'İlk'in Düşündürdükleri', *XXI*, April 2007, p. 30; H. Alpay Er, 'Tasarıma Türk Dokunuşu: Geometrik Soyutlama ve Göçebelik', *Icon*, June 2007, pp. 106–109; Aren Kurtgözü, 'Turkish Touch in Design: Contemporary Product Designers Worldwide by Gökhan Karakuş', *The Design Journal*, 12.3 (2009), 395–398 (book review); Seçil Şatır, 'Türk Tasarım Kimliği Üzerine Düşünceler', *Türkiye'de Tasarım Tarihi ve Söylemi Konferans Bildirileri*, Izmir University of Economics, 12 May 2006; Esra Arslan, 'The Indigenous Product Concept in Relation to International Design Industry: the Instruments Used in Preparing and Drinking Tea and Coffee in Turkish Culture' (unpublished master's thesis, Izmir Institute of Technology, 2006); Bahar Emgin, 'Identity in Question: Turkish Touch in Design in "İlk" in Milano' (unpublished master's thesis, Izmir University of Economics, 2008). See Section 7.2 for a discussion.

3   'Evaluation of Products through the Concept of National Design: a Case Study on Art Decor Magazine' (unpublished master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2006); 'Nationality Inscribed: an Iconological Analysis of Turkish Design', *Proceedings of the 7th European Academy of Design Conference: Dancing with Disorder*, Izmir University of Economics, 11–13 April 2007 [on CD].

much design historical work on the emergence of national design styles since the Great Exhibition of 1851, as well as on the relationship between industrial design practice and national design institutions.[4] In studies of contemporary design, however, scant attention has been paid to the political implications of such material objects that are associated with the nation in their design and consumption—what I shall tentatively call 'nationally charged' material objects. Rather, the focus has been on their economic implications for national economies or design scenes, often coupled with an acknowledgement or critique of the exclusive and reductive manner in which certain products, and not others, are associated with the nation.[5] The practices of design, as well as consumption, within which these objects are 'nationalised' remain understudied.

The literature on nationalism, on the other hand, has engaged with national material cultures since Anderson's and Hobsbawm and Ranger's seminal works on the topic. This has intensified as part of the recent surge in studies of nationalism at the everyday level.[6] Of particular interest are studies of banknotes, stamps and national cuisines.[7] Still a significant gap exists in so far as mass-produced material objects are concerned, and research into design processes has been largely absent.

By identifying and responding to this double gap, the thesis contributes to both literatures. To the design literature on nations and national styles, it brings a consideration for the politics of the nation in everyday life. It describes the specific ways in which design practice and objects partake in such politics, and offers a framework for their analysis. To theories of nationalism in general, and to the literature on everyday nationalism in particular, it contributes by drawing attention to the design practices which give shape to the nation as it is experienced in everyday

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4   See for instance, Jeremy Aynsley, *Nationalism and Internationalism: Design in the 20th Century* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1993).

5   See for instance, Simon Jackson, 'Sacred Objects: Australian Design and National Celebrations', *Journal of Design History*, 19.3 (2006), 249–255; Hugh Aldersley-Williams, *World Design: Nationalism and Globalism in Design* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992). Most notable exceptions include Viviana Narotzky, 'Selling the Nation: Identity and Design in 1980s Catalonia', *Design Issues*, 25.3 (2009), 62–75; Lise Skov, 'Fashion Trends, *Japonisme* and Postmodernism: or "What is so Japanese about *Comme des Garçons*?"', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 13.3 (1996) 129–151; Artemis Yagou, 'Metamorphoses of Formalism: National Identity as a Recurrent Theme of Design in Greece', *Journal of Design History*, 20.2 (2007), 145–159. See Section 5.5 for a review.

6   Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006); Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–14; regarding 'everyday nationalism', see *Forging the Nation: Performance and Ritual in the (Re)production of Nations: The 21st Annual ASEN Conference*, ed. by Anthony D. Smith, Jon E. Fox, Jeffrey Alexander, Carol Duncan and Timothy Edensor, London School of Economics, 5–7 April 2011. See Section 5.3 for a review.

7   See for instance, David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Consuming Geographies: We are Where We Eat* (London: Routledge, 1997); Michaela DeSoucey, 'Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union', *American Sociological Review*, 75.3 (2010), 432–455; Jan Penrose, 'Designing the Nation: Banknotes, Banal Nationalism and Alternative Conceptions of the State', *Political Geography*, 30.8 (2011), 429–440. See Section 5.4 for a review.

life.

In approaching the question I stated above and the related gap, the thesis aligns itself with the design cultural perspective. Design culture, an emergent discipline, is the study of cultures of design, from the level of design studios, to that of city-branding projects where design is employed as symbolic capital. It places the designed object (or space or image) at the centre of its investigations, albeit aims from the outset to move beyond representational analyses that favour visual readings, and instead endorses interdisciplinary research into the multifarious networks in which the object is produced, designed and consumed.[8] Accordingly, the thesis focuses on design practices that deal with the nation, and their counterparts in settings of consumption to which their products are aimed. With the purpose to outreach representational analyses, it underlines the significance of material objects for nationalist projects beyond representing—acting as mere symbols of—nations.

Therefore, the second main research question of the thesis is this: How do we move beyond politics of representation, where certain objects are taken to symbolise the nation, and give due attention to their materiality in our investigations of the relationship between material objects and nations?

As the multifarious nature of the question demands, I locate the necessary theoretical tools in an array of literatures, from cultural studies to anthropology and to actor-network theory, where the politics of material objects are problematised, and occasional research has even turned to the topic of nationally charged objects. In this regard, the thesis relates to the recent interest in design literature on actor-network theory and its conceptualisations of materiality.[9] It provides a detailed explication of the methodology and a politically conscious interpretation of it for use in the study of design. Furthermore, it presents a comprehensive empirical study to this emerging field of interest, which has so far been confined to theoretical elaboration and illustration.

For this, the thesis looks into electric Turkish coffee makers—kitchen appliances used to cook Turkish coffee, which is a popular hot drink in Turkey. Whilst electric appliances have been used to this end for at least a couple of decades in Turkey, I study the more recent examples, designed and presented to the market between 2002

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8   Guy Julier, *The Culture of Design*, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 2008), Ch. 1; Guy Julier, 'Urban Designscapes and the Production of Aesthetic Consent', *Urban Studies*, 42.5-6 (2005), 869–887.

9   See for instance, *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society*, University College Falmouth, 3–6 September 2008, ed. by Jonathan Glynne, Fiona Hackney, and Viv Minton (Boca Raton: Universal Publishers, 2009); Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Oxford: Berg, 2010); Peter-Paul Verbeek, *What Things Do* (Pennsylvania State: Pennsylvania University Press, 2005); Albena Yaneva, 'Making the Social Hold: Towards an Actor-Network Theory of Design', *Design and Culture*, 1.3 (2009), 273–288.

and 2010. The period has been particularly important in the emergence of the electric Turkish coffee maker as a specialised category of kitchen appliance, instigated by successful products by major manufacturers. More than twenty products were launched in the period as the product category was well-received by the consumer.[10]

The empirical research focuses on the settings in which the product category was designed and consumed with an eye to understanding how the Turkish nation was relevant to interactions around the products in each setting. Research into design was conducted in the form of interviews with the designers, engineers, managers and marketers of 14 different electric Turkish coffee makers by 9 different brands. These were supported by various documents produced during and after the design processes. Research into consumption was directed to a single, major consumption setting, that is, everyday coffee meetings by middle-aged middle-class housewives in three major cities in Turkey. It was undertaken as 6 focus group and participant observation sessions; and complemented by interviews with 8 users and a focus group, with the aim to broaden the sampling and to gather more in-depth data.

The thesis is made up of two parts. Part 1 of the thesis constructs an analytical framework for understanding the politics of the nation in relation to the material object. Part 2 puts the framework to use via an analysis of electric Turkish coffee makers, testing its premises and furthering its findings.

In the first three chapters of Part 1, I make the necessary detour through a variety of literatures in which the materiality and politics of material objects have been commented upon. In Chapter 2, I start with the semiologies of Barthes and the early Baudrillard as attempts to identify and expose the political 'connotations' of material objects behind their perceived normality. I then turn to cultural studies to ground semiology in the larger context of ideological struggle. One key term here is hegemony, which contributes to the understanding of cultural production as an active and political process of making alliances and gathering consent from various parties—which will later be related to the material-semiotic method. My next step thereon is to discuss the possibility of differentiating the moments of production, design and consumption as distinct yet articulated processes within this general theory of cultural production. I conclude with a close reading of Dick Hebdige's study of the scooter.

Chapter 3 looks at material culture studies for a non-representational analysis of material objects and their consumption. The concept of recontextualisation is particularly useful to describe the creativity in consumption, especially when extended with a consideration for the multiple 'regimes of value' objects are exchanged between. In this context I introduce a series of concepts to enable an in-depth

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10   For an illustrative magazine article on the success of the product, see Fadime Çoban Bazzal, 'En Başarılı 20 Yenilikçi Ürün', *Capital*, March 2007, pp. 124–127.

theorisation of materiality: promiscuity, material agency, affordance and embodiment.

In Chapter 4 I turn to actor-network theory and locate specific theoretical tools for the general framework I construct throughout Part 1. The concepts of translation, obligatory passage points and black-boxing are significant in this regard. The second part of the chapter focuses on the place of design in the framework, defining design practice by using John Law's term, 'long-distance control'. I argue that this involves the extensive use of 'scripts' to anticipate and control future recontextualisations of material objects. The core methodological conclusion is that the analysis of material objects needs to proceed in a manner that brings together their insides (components, physical properties, etc.) and the outside (the larger networks of relationships and various settings objects enter, including the setting of design where a designer is also one actor among others).

Chapter 5, the last chapter in Part 1, brings the framework into the context of nationalisms. The aim is to restate the double gap I mentioned above, as well as to extract key themes. I start with a review of the three paradigms—primordialism, modernism and ethno-symbolism—into which theories of nationalism have been organised. I am particularly concerned with the ways in and extent to which they take everyday material culture as relevant to the construction and maintenance of the nations. Next I focus on the more recent literature on everyday nationalism, where I indicate both the limitations of and significant points in existing approaches. Then I further narrow my focus to studies of nationally charged everyday material objects, namely, banknotes, stamps, national cuisines and branding. In the second part of the chapter I turn to design literature, mainly design history, to discuss the historical organisation of design practice into national styles. Part 1 ends with a short summary and explication of my proposed theoretical approach to nationally charged material objects.

Part 2 starts with Chapter 6, where I describe the research design and explain its rationale.

Chapter 7 presents the research context. Here, the historical development of various definitions of the Turkish nation are narrated. The emphasis is on the period after the 1980 coup d'etat, as a period in which different Turkish nationalisms were popularised and commercialised, thus made highly visible in everyday life. Before concluding, the chapter offers a complementary narrative of the history of design profession in Turkey, with the aim to put the designers' and manufacturers' recent interest in vernacular elements in context.

The following two chapters present the empirical research on electric Turkish coffee makers, with analyses of the design and consumption settings, respectively. I begin Chapter 8 with a description of the design setting and how the designers, producers,

engineers etc. were brought together for the project, which was, I argue, produced in the process as a national project. Then I follow the designers and engineers to document the different ways in which they related themselves, others and their designs to the Turkish nation in design practices. My suggestion is that their final aim was to 'black-box' their designs as authentic, national traditional objects.

Chapter 9 is based on my research into the consumption of electric Turkish coffee makers and reflects, in the way it is written, the pecularities of the analysed setting. The chapter starts with a general description of the setting as a 'regime of value', and identifies which practices and objects the products' users invest with national meaning and value. I find that certain cooking practices and associated material objects are repeatedly constructed as the authentic ways to cook Turkish coffee whereas the electric coffee makers are considered inauthentic from the outset, instead being recontextualised as quick-and-dirty methods that enable higher efficiency and sociability.

Lastly, in Chapter 10, I make a brief summary of the study, and discuss my findings to provide a concise answer to my core questions by identifying the principal ways in which material objects are related to nations in design and consumption. The thesis ends with a restatement of my contributions and suggestions for future research.

Part 1. Design and politics of the nation: a framework

Chapter 2. Cultural production and ideological struggle

The question is one of writing. How do you write about a material object and open its politics to debate? Georges Perec asks exactly this when he speaks of the banal, the habitual, the 'infra-ordinary', which one does not come across in newspapers alongside the overtly significant:

> How are we to speak of these 'common things', how to track them down rather, flush them out, wrest them from the dross in which they remain mired, how to give them a meaning, a tongue, to let them, finally, speak of what is, of what we are?
>
> [...]
>
> Question your tea spoons.[1]

It was during one of my interviews with drinkers of Turkish coffee that the urgency of Perec's project was made manifest to me. At one point I ask Güler, a middle-aged housewife from Ankara, how she measures the coffee. She responds,

> G: Now, that depends on the measure of the cup I offer the coffee in. Normally, say, in one cup of water, two tea spoons—but our very own, authentic tea spoons (*bizim kendi öz çay kaşıklarımız*)—you know, foreigners have a different naming of it, [they call a 'tea spoon'] the one we eat dessert with, since they are used to drinking Nescafé or using tea bags. I put two spoonfuls with our very own tea spoons.[2]
>
> H: Is there any one particular spoon you use?
>
> G: Our normal tea spoons! [...] Our own, *Turkish-style* tea spoons!
>
> H: No, I mean, you know, some people keep one glass as a measuring cup—
>
> G: Oh, I see, no. It is the tea spoon for me to measure both the sugar and the coffee. For example for a coffee with little sugar,[3] I add one tea spoonful of sugar and two tea spoonfuls of coffee. To this day no one has told me that my coffee has too little or too much sugar. I have been cooking and drinking myself for thirty-five years now, so, how shall I put it, I *know* how to cook.

In Güler's account, tea spoon appears—unexpectedly for me, but I suspect, for Güler, too—as the locus of diverse concerns. It is at once a material object embedded in the practice of measuring, among and in relation to other objects; a mass-produced and mass-marketed product; a site of personal investment, of pride and pleasure; and

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1 'Approaches to What?', in *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces*, ed. and trans. by John Sturrock (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997), pp. 209–211 (p. 210).
2 In Turkish, 'çay kaşığı' (literally, 'tea spoon') is the name given to the coffee spoon, a smaller version of what is in English called a 'tea spoon', which is, in turn, called '*tatlı kaşığı*' (literally, 'dessert spoon') in Turkish.
3 Customarily, one can have Turkish coffee black [*sade*], with little sugar [*az şekerli*], medium sugar [*orta şekerli*] or plenty of sugar [*çok şekerli*].

most importantly for this project, an object of national ownership, forceful in its redundancy. Entangled with all these multiple and often contradictory ideas, identifications, practices, memories, investments and so on, is the tea spoon, a complex nationally charged object.

From the design cultural perspective, there is also the question regarding design: Where do its designers stand with regard to the tea spoon? Or, what is the role and place of design practice in a narrative on the material object and its multifaceted politics, and specifically the politics of the nation?

In this Part 1, I will look into a number of different approaches to the analysis of material objects. The purpose is not to make a comprehensive review of methodologies (which one can find in textbooks and readers),[4] but to build a framework that enables me to discuss a number of points already anticipated by Güler's thoughts on her tea spoon. These are

• different modalities of the object, i.e. symbolic and material;

• different contexts in which it can be found, e.g. production and consumption, and particularly design;

• and its politics—'politics' being defined as the struggle to shape the material world[5] —especially with regard to the politics of the nation and tradition where it is possible to do so.

2.1. The mythical object: Barthes and Baudrillard

One of the most important examples of critical writing on objects and their politics is Roland Barthes' *Mythologies*. In a series of short essays he wrote in mid-1950s, Barthes studied various contemporary myths from French popular culture. The objects of his investigations varied from photographic conventions to iconic individuals like Garbo and Einstein, also including products such as washing powders, toys, plastic objects and, most famously, the Citroën DS.[6]

All these, according to Barthes, seem normal and universal in their meaning and significance, wholly transparent to common sense, yet are products of a typically bourgeois language. Beyond their normality, apparent givenness, these everyday myths are historically and culturally specific constructions that are marked by the petit-bourgeois ideology. Toys create a miniature copy of adult life, offering themselves as 'the alibi of a Nature which has at all times created soldiers, postmen

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4   For example in the context of design, Prasad Boradkar, *Designing Things: A Critical Introduction to the Culture of Objects* (New York: Berg, 2010).
5   Annemarie Mol, 'Ontological Politics: a Word and Some Questions', in *Actor Network Theory and After*, ed. by John Law and John Hassard (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 74–89.
6   *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (New York: Noonday Press, 1972); *Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, trans. by Richard Howard (New York: Hill & Wang, 1979).

and Vespas'. In this manner they reproduce myths of bourgeois life and nurture the child as a consumer rather than a creator.[7] Similarly, food photography in women's magazines presents dishes to the visual rather than actual consumption of its readers, invoking connotations of wealth and connoisseurship. In that sense they are presented less as recipes than objects of desire for the working-class audience, who lacks the purchasing power.[8]

As productive it is to expose the ideological premises of popular myths, for Barthes it is equally, if not more, important to lay bare in detail the mechanics of ideological mystification. Accordingly, myth is a semiological construct, and more specifically, a second-order signifying system, i.e. a system that attaches itself to another, richer, more polysemous sign. Following a most-cited example, the cover of *Paris-Match* that Barthes encounters in the barber's is already a sign, a photograph of a black soldier in military uniform. Yet it communicates something more: 'that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag'.[9] This blend of French nationalism, militarism and colonialism that the picture connotes is somehow parasitically attached to the first-order, denotative system of photographic signification, thus forming the myth.

The double structure is essential to understanding the way collective representations work. As the first-order sign is appropriated by the myth, its meaning is not extinguished, but impoverished by the latter. It persists as a rich repository of meaning, which the myth can either refer back to in order to appear more vivid, more elaborate, or else hide in and become transparent and taken for granted. The ideological premises of cultural products can in this manner be naturalised.[10]

2.1.1. The question of function

The material object is not free of mythical speech, too, as Barthes aptly demonstrates in the mythology of the DS and that of toys. And just as the cover of *Paris-Match* hints at politics of photography, the mythical dimension of material objects implicate product design practice. Forty provides one illustrative example:

> Although advertisements for office jobs, magazine stories and television serials have been responsible for implanting in people's minds the myth that office work is fun, sociable and exciting, it is given daily sustenance and credibility by modern equipment in bright colours and slightly humorous shapes, designs that help make the office match up to the myth.[11]

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7   Barthes, 'Toys', in *Mythologies*, pp. 53–55 (p. 53).
8   Barthes, 'Ornamental Cookery', in *Mythologies*, pp. 78–80. See also Kaja Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 27.
9   Barthes, *Mythologies*, p. 115.
10 Ibid., p. 117.
11 Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), p. 9.

In fact, with the object, function itself is mythical. More often than not, the object presents itself as pure instrument, consummated in use, thus concealing, naturalising, the meanings it conveys. This is most clear, for instance, in advertisements for 'ideal shoes for walking', whereby fitness for purpose becomes a myth that normalises the logic of fashion.[12]

> We believe we are in a practical world of uses, of functions, of total domestication of the object, and in reality we are also, by objects, in a world of meanings, of reasons, of alibis: function gives birth to the sign, but this sign is reconverted into the spectacle of a function. I believe it is precisely this conversion of culture into pseudo-nature which can define the ideology of our society.[13]

It was Baudrillard who took this hint at the connotative dimension of function further and went ahead with a full-fledged the analysis of functionality.[14] According to Baudrillard, technical structures of objects (as that of an engine) do not by themselves constitute an objective *denotative* level of functionality and efficiency upon which cultural connotations are placed.[15] Technology cannot be analysed as separate from culture, since the latter constantly seeps into and transforms technical-rational systems.[16] Baudrillard finds the organising principle of this cultural-technological assemblage in the concept of function. Derived from the rhetoric of interior decoration, 'function' is defined no more in relation to a practical goal, a technical solution or an individual need, but as the object's adaptation to a system. Modular furniture is considered 'functional' as it replaces symbolic (e.g. aristocratic and patriarchal) values of traditional furniture with organisational criteria such as mobility and flexibility. Likewise, the door handle is 'functional' in so far as it signifies fitness to human hand by the organicity of its form. In neither case is it a mechanistic response to purpose that defines function. In car styling, for instance, aerodynamism can be 'functional' only to the extent that it *connotes* power, since heavy 'functional' accessories such as fins actually slow down the car, working against its very purpose. In that sense, 'an object's functionality is the very thing that enables it to transcend its main "function" in the direction of a secondary one, to play a part […] within a universal system of signs'.[17]

One major implication of this is that, in the domain of consumption, objects take part mainly as signs, as elements of a system of differences that is autonomous from both

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12 Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 217.

13 Roland Barthes, 'Semantics of the Object', in *The Semiotic Challenge*, trans. by Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1988), pp. 179–190 (p. 190).

14 Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. by James Benedict (London: Verso, 1996).

15 It is also possible to read this as part of the critique of the base-superstructure model: see Section 2.2.1.

16 Baudrillard's critique here can be said to anticipate later arguments of STS scholars regarding the mutual construction of technology and society: see Section 4.1.1.

17 Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, p. 63.

mere utility or technical purpose and any discrete order of needs. Yet this does not mean that there is no material reality that underlies consumption. Instead, it means that a system of needs, and functions, is produced by the system of production that produces the objects themselves.[18]

2.1.2. Limitations of semiological analysis

The Barthesian theory of connotation has been extensively criticised, not only for its peculiar faults, but also as part of a general critique of structuralist and particularly semiological analysis. These include:

- that denotation implies a pure, pre-political multiplicity of meaning in contrast to the artificiality and the resulting poorness of connotation—a typically post-structuralist criticism that Barthes too tried to tackle in his later writing,[19]

- a lack of interest in the ways in and the extent to which readers submit themselves to ideology,[20] and

- that the approach displays a lack of engagement with material reality.[21]

Before proceeding, I would like to deal briefly with these.

Starting with the first critique, as I have already noted, in his later writings Barthes himself turned the denotation-connotation duality on its head. In *S/Z*, he argues that

> denotation is not the first meaning, but pretends to be so; under this illusion, it is ultimately no more than the *last* of the connotations (the one which seems both to establish and to close the reading), the superior myth by which the text pretends to return to the nature of language, to language as nature.[22]

Others have underlined that denotation is an analytic concept which functions so as to indicate the naturalising power of the sign.[23] Silverman, however, takes *S/Z* in the light of Peirce and Derrida to argue that 'the signified is endlessly commutable […], one signified always gives away to another, functions in its turn as a signifier'.[24] In that sense, the disruption of the dividing line that separates the two terms, denotation and connotation, can be considered the starting point of a rupture between a strictly Saussurean, strictly structuralist semiology and a later one that is informed by post-

18 Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, trans. by Chris Turner (London: Sage, 1998).
19 Silverman, p. 28.
20 Ian Chambers, 'Roland Barthes: Structuralism / Semiotics', in *CCCS Selected Working Papers*, 2 vols, ed. by Ann Gray, Jan Campbell, Mark Erickson, Stuart Hanson and Helen Wood (London: Routledge, 2007), 1, pp. 229–242.
21 Webb Keane, 'Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things', *Language & Communication*, 23 (2003), 409–425.
22 Trans. by Richard Miller (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 9 (original emphasis).
23 Marina Camargo Heck, 'The Ideological Dimension of Media Messages', in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*, ed. by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis (London: Routledge, 1980), pp. 110–116; Stuart Hall, 'Encoding/Decoding', in *Culture, Media, Language*, pp. 128–138 (p. 133).
24 Silverman, p. 38.

structuralism.

The second critique will be dealt with in the section on moments and circuits, where I will discuss the distinctiveness of production and consumption (of signs) as separate moments:[25] Since consumption is a separate process, a signifying practice itself, the way readers interpret signs can vary greatly.

As for the third, if one reads closely, it can be seen that especially in the mythologies—which precede Barthes' retrospective attempts to theoretically ground them—it is constantly implied that signification takes place in a material world and as part of practices. For instance, the piece on dining cars is about the material organisation of service and dining experience. Eating in the dining car assumes a luxurious, almost spectacular quality, involving multiple table covers, large flatware, as well as fancy titles on the menu, which help reproduce the experience of a luxury restaurant. Yet the lack of space and facilities this spectacle attempts to cover up demands in turn that the service be functionalised, divided into thirteen separate 'waves' of drinks, courses and payment, which eventually undermines that very spectacle.[26] Similarly, the discussion of wooden toys involves consideration of the physical properties of the material—its 'firmness', 'softness' and 'warmth'—as well as its conditions of production in crafts. Plastics, contrarily, are 'chemical in substance and colour' and transient in use.[27] Even Baudrillard, who in his own discussion of wood and plastics insists that wood can only be a signifier of warmth since the distinction between warm and cold, natural and artificial is semiological rather than actual, makes way for 'the vast horizons opened up on the practical level by these new substances'.[28]

A Barthesian semiological analysis of objects, therefore, does not necessarily dispense with materiality. The problem is less a matter of disregard than that of methodological specificity. Semiological analysis as such cannot account for materialities, and tends to reduce material as well as practical multiplicities down to a single Signified—petit-bourgeois ideology in Barthes and consumer society in Baudrillard. In Barthes's words, semiology is 'necessary but not sufficient' as a science.[29]

2.2. Cultural studies and the Marxist politics of cultural practice

To investigate further the question of materiality and its relation to the politics of culture, it is necessary to look at the field of cultural studies, which has provided variously structural and Marxist analyses of the material world. Raymond Williams' project of cultural materialism is particularly relevant at this point, defined by him as

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25   See Section 2.3 below.
26   Barthes, *Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, pp. 141–144.
27   Barthes, *Mythologies*, pp. 53–54., pp. 80–82.
28   Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, p. 38.
29   Barthes, *Mythologies*, p. 133.

'a theory of the specificities of material cultural and literary production within historical materialism'.[30] Its significance for this project, as we will see below, stems from its emphasis on politics of culture and the role of culture in politics,[31] as well as its insistence on the material quality of cultural production.[32]

2.2.1. The base-superstructure model and its shortcomings

The cultural materialist approach, as advocated by Williams, starts off from a critique of the orthodox Marxist interpretation of the base-superstructure model and an objection to its applications in Marxist cultural theory. The model, in its vulgar Marxist version, ascribes primacy to labour relations over 'superstructural' elements of society, such as art, design and politics, in the course of historical development. In a much-cited passage, Marx suggests that

> the economic structure of society [is] the real foundation on which arises a legal and political superstructure, and to which correspond definite forms of consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political, and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.[33]

Orthodox Marxist interpretations of this passage have been accused of 'economism', that is, crude determinism of economic relations over the cultural.[34] In *Marxism and Literature*, Williams' main argument is therefore against such determinism, and for the autonomy and importance of cultural forces in the political struggle to shape the material world. This requires, first of all, redefining the relationship of the superstructure to the base by rejecting theories of culture, including those of Frankfurt School and Walter Benjamin, which suggested that cultural production is 'reflective' of the base, i.e. productive forces and their economic relations.[35] Reflection presupposes priority of economic life over cultural life, while what we need is a theoretical position suggesting that political struggle is sustained equally on both fronts.

To tackle this problem, Williams, together with the cultural studies of the time, turned to Althusser and Gramsci.[36]

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30 Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 5.
31 John Higgins, *Raymond Williams: Literature, Marxism and Cultural Materialism* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 6.
32 Simon During, *Cultural Studies: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 23.
33 Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. by S.W. Ryazanskaya (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1970), pp. 20–21.
34 See for instance Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), pp. 158–167 (Notebook 13, Paragraph 18) (repr. in *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916–1935*, ed. by David Forgacs (New York: NYU Press, 2000), pp. 210–217); Louis Althusser, *For Marx*, trans. by Ben Brewster (London: Penguin Press, 1969), p. 113.
35 Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 95–100.
36 Ann Gray, 'Formations of Cultural Studies', in *CCCS Selected Working Papers*, ed. by Gray et al., 1, pp. 1–14 (p. 6).

Williams makes use of the former for the concept of overdetermination. Althusser uses the term to denote the way in which multiple and heterogeneous factors—such as an alliance of the exploited, strife among upper classes, non-existence of foreign support —need to converge to initiate a revolutionary situation, as in the Bolshevik Revolution.[37] His 'overdetermination' is mainly to contrast with the Hegelian formulation of the dialectic movement, whereby consciousness is the singular determinant of its own movement—just as orthodox Marxism has taken the contradiction between capital and labour to be singularly determining. So, the determinants of a historical situation are multiple and conflictual in nature, 'relatively autonomous yet of course interactive'. With 'overdetermination', Williams can argue that the sphere of cultural production includes practices that are irreducible to some economic development. However, the relative autonomy of these practices does not amount to a complete independence or isolation. Socio-economic formations do determine cultural production, albeit in a complex manner that involves 'setting of limits' and 'exertion of pressures' rather than simple determination. As Hall puts, it is 'determination by the economic in the first instance', rather than the last, that defines Marxist analysis and its insistence on taking into consideration in analysis the 'setting of limits, the establishment of parameters, the space of operations, the concrete conditions of existence, the "givenness" of social practices'. So, there are multiple paths via which politics operates, and these different strands of practices are interconnected and mutually determining. Various modes of cultural production, from music to literature, and in our case, design of material objects, represent such strands on which political struggle takes place.[38]

2.2.2. Hegemony and ideological struggle

The second influence on Williams and cultural studies regarding the base-superstructure distinction is Gramsci, who also objects to economist readings of Marx which exclude cultural aspects of class conflict. Historical materialism needs to account for 'the "accrediting" of the cultural fact, of cultural activity, of a cultural front necessary alongside the merely economic and political ones' for the persistence of existing relations of production.[39] As a matter of fact, social transformation involves a battle of ideologies as one of its phases. The battle is fought strictly on the superstructural level until one or more of the ideologies triumph and

> propagate itself over the whole social area—bringing about not only a unison

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37   Louis Althusser, 'Contradiction and Overdetermination', in *For Marx*, pp. 87–128.
38   Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 87–88; Stuart Hall, 'The Problem of Ideology: Marxism without Guarantees', in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. by David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 24–45 (p. 44).
39   Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, ed. by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. by William Boelhower (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985), pp. 104–107 (Notebook 10, i, Paragraph 7) (repr. in *The Gramsci Reader*, p. 194).

of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity, posing all the questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a 'universal' plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups. It is true that the state is seen as the organ of one particular group, destined to create favourable conditions for the latter's maximum expansion. But the development and expansion of the particular group are conceived of, and presented, as being the motor force of a universal expansion, of a development of all the 'national' energies.[40]

Three points call for further clarification.

First, in Gramsci, 'hegemony' is different from—though often accompanied by—the use of coercion toward domination. It involves the construction of a common ground that crosses over class boundaries, and is established and maintained through making compromises to and gathering consent from the subordinate classes by the dominant class. Hegemony requires the institution of a nationwide 'moral and intellectual unity', as by nationalist politics, in addition to an economic one.

Here as in Barthes, popular cultural forms, disseminated by institutions such as the press, the school or the family—or, indeed, design and marketing in the case of commodities—play an active role in creating and sustaining this unity by rendering the dominant ideology natural and universal. Barthes, the 'mythologist', partakes in this battle of ideologies for his writing is an attempt for the demystification of myths.[41] Gramscian 'hegemony' enables us to account for this struggle that goes on at the level of meanings and values, which would not have been possible, at least to the same effect, with an understanding of superstructure (the ideological) as simply reflective of the base (the economic).

Second, the word, ideology, requires qualification here for it does not retain the negative sense it takes on in classical Marxism, namely, ideology as 'false consciousness'. For Gramsci, ideology is more than mere ideas and beliefs that offer distorted representations of the world in the interest of the bourgeois. Instead, it represents a level of class struggle, whereby both systematic ideologies and common-sense, everyday consciousness work in complex—hegemonic as well as counter-hegemonic—ways.[42] This shifts the focus away from the mystifying aspect of ideologies (and the demystifying role of Marxist science) toward the question of how to replace the existing hegemony with alternative one, e.g. a proletarian hegemony.

Third, the efforts, i.e. sacrifices and compromises, that the dominant class makes to win the subordinate to its side can be ideological as well as economic—though as long as they do not affect the fundamental relationships.[43] In that sense hegemony is not

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40   Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, pp. 181–182 (Notebook 13, Paragraph 17) (repr. in *The Gramsci* Reader, p. 205).
41   Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979), pp. 10, 16. See also Silverman, p. 30.
42   Hall, 'The Problem of Ideology: Marxism without Guarantees', p. 27.
43   Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, p. 161 (Notebook 13, Paragraph 18) (repr.

purely superstructural, but signifies the overall relationship between the dominant and subordinate classes.[44]

The implications of this are paramount. First of all, since hegemony is based on the consent of the subordinate, it needs to be constantly modified and maintained. For the same reason, it can never be total; resistance always exists in alternative or counter-hegemonic forms. Secondly, hegemony brings together material and ideological elements of class struggle. It opens up the possibility of practices that crosscut the distinction between base and superstructure: Cultural practice is as material as it is ideological[45]—I will elaborate upon this further in the section below.

2.2.3. Materiality of cultural practice

In his take of the Marxist model, Williams does not only reconfigure the relationship of superstructural forms to the base, but also attempts to redefine the two terms, especially the latter. His argument is that the concept of superstructure implies immateriality, 'mere ideas', as opposed to the materiality of the productive forces that define the base. For Williams, this demonstrates a limited understanding of productive forces as 'industry', i.e. the capitalist mode of industrial production, dismissing cultural production as reflective rather than productive. Ultimately, it fails to acknowledge the materiality (and thus any significance) of the various processes via which the social and political order is produced and maintained.[46] The base should instead be taken as a more general term that covers all productive human activity and defined as 'the material production and reproduction of real life',[47] which would then include spheres of social life such as education, media, law, arts and literature—and most importantly for us, design of material objects. Cultural practices are as material as labour relations, partaking in the production of life.[48]

In contrast to the above discussion of determination and overdetermination, such a critique of the base-superstructure model is from the outset an ontological critique. It is one thing to say that ideas can have an impact on material conditions (or as Gramsci puts, 'that "popular beliefs" and similar ideas are themselves material forces'),[49] but it is another thing when you argue that the production of hegemonic ideas involves material practices, such as building a prison or a nationalist monument. It is therefore important to keep in mind that the ontological distinction between

in *The Gramsci* Reader, pp. 211–212).

44   Stuart Hall, Robert Lumley and Gregor McLennan, 'Politics and Ideology: Gramsci', in *CCCS Selected Working Papers*, ed. by Gray et al., 1, pp. 278–305 (p. 281).

45   Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 111–113.

46   Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 93.

47   Raymond Williams, 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory', in *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London: New Left Books, 1980), pp. 31–49 (p. 35).

48   During, p. 21.

49   Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, p. 165 (Notebook 13, Paragraph 23) (repr. in *The Gramsci* Reader, p. 215).

materiality and immateriality ill-fits the base-superstructure distinction.[50]

Still, in his effort to supersede the base-superstructure distinction, Williams sets out to demonstrate that the cultural production of signs comprises a material process in addition to the ideational. For this, he turns to Vološinov's Marxist linguistics. We can summarise this in two parts.

First, according to Vološinov, whenever a physical body, e.g. a material object, is involved in social communication and interaction, it is combined with a sign, thus gathering an ideological dimension. And this is also true the other way around: Every sign has a material aspect; a shape, a colour, a sound, a gesture etc. (unlike Barthes, who makes the first move but not the second: Matter is sign, but not vice versa).[51] The object is not consumed in signification; both tools and consumer goods belong to their own worlds—of production and consumption, respectively—in addition to their existence in the world of signs[52] (unlike Baudrillard, who argued that consumption is about sign value, not use value).[53]

Second, the sign does not only represent social life—being determined by and, in turn, reflecting the base, the 'actual existence'—but also 'refracts' it. What Vološinov calls the 'multiaccentuality' of the sign indicates that, for different social groups that share the same set of signs, there are different 'accents' that determine the refraction. This is how 'sign becomes the arena of the class struggle'.[54]

For Vološinov, multiaccentuality represents the failure of Saussurean linguistics. It is by virtue of its different accents that the sign remains a dynamic element and a material force in political struggle. Different social groups can employ signs in different and, more importantly, creative ways, actively engaging in the historical and social development of language. By prioritising *langue* over *parole*, structure over process, and synchronic over diachronic in analysis, Saussurean linguistics fails to account for the sign's changing meaning in changing contexts, which 'are in a state of constant tension, or incessant interaction and conflict'.[55]

At this point it is necessary to sum up my conclusions. Political struggle is overdetermined, i.e. it happens via multiple paths. One of these paths is cultural

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50 On this point, Terry Eagleton argued that Williams was incorrect to take historical materialism as an ontological argument. According to Eagleton, the original model of Marx is based less on an ontological argument on the materiality or immateriality per se of certain human activities than a strictly historical observation regarding the precedence of material conditions, namely, the economic exploitation of the many by the few. Terry Eagleton, 'Base and Superstructure in Raymond Williams, in *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*, ed. by Terry Eagleton (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 165–175 (p. 169).
51 Barthes, 'Semantics of the Object', pp. 182–183.
52 V. N. Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, trans. by Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik (London: Seminar Press, 1973), pp. 9–10.
53 Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. by Charles Levin (St Louis: Telos, 1981).
54 Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, p. 22.
55 Ibid., p. 81.

practice, which involves generation and constant reproduction of dominant ideas and understandings. Yet cultural practice is not isolated. The base, defined as the existing relations of production and the ensuing socio-economic formations, provides the conditions of cultural practice. Semiological thinking is relevant here, since, as in Barthes, popular cultural forms do play a part, however not as straightforward mystification and manipulation of masses, but as part of the struggle for hegemony.

Vološinov's insistence on the material aspect of the sign as it engages in social interaction, and the following emphasis on *parole*, the speech act, theoretically extends signification into the material and practical world. It follows from his arguments and beyond Williams' conclusions that the production of signs in cultural practice, as in design or advertising, is to be analysed as material *and* ideological labour.

This is how, for instance, design practice partakes in political struggle (for or against the existing hegemony): devising alliances, making compromises and gathering consent, but on both the material and the ideological levels. How exactly this takes place will be the subject of the following chapters. In the below section, I will make use of this primary insight and elaborate on the processes of design, production and consumption through which a material object typically travels.

2.3. Moments and circuits

I have so far discussed cultural production as an abstraction. It is from this point on necessary to bring in the specificities of different moments: mainly production and consumption, and also design.

2.3.1. Stuart Hall: encoding and decoding moments

One of the canonical texts on this topic is 'Encoding/Decoding' by Stuart Hall. The paper focuses on television messages as they are produced by media organisations, circulated on television and consumed by an audience. A circuit is thus formed, made up of production (encoding) and consumption (decoding), with the message itself in between.[56]

One point to derive from the argument regards the complexity of the interrelationship of these two different 'moments'. Each is distinct from, yet, at the same time, linked with the other. According to Hall's reading of Marx, firstly, the moments implicate one another, since each is the other's objective, its finality. Second, each moment represents a distinct process, for it 'has its determinate conditions [and is] subject to

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56   In *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*, ed. by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis (London: Routledge, 1980), pp. 110–116

its own social laws'. This creates a critical gap between the two moments (which, as I will discuss below, needs to be bridged, or 'mediated', by design and advertising), for 'there is no guarantee to the producer—the capitalist—that what he produces will return again to him'.[57]

This is true also in mass media, for the encoding of certain meanings into the product does not ensure their 'accurate' decoding in consumption. The message is polysemous by its nature. Yet this does not mean that the act of reading is completely unrestrained. On the contrary, there are certain 'preferred meanings' that are dominant in the existing social order, as well as alternative and oppositional readings.[58] It is in this sense that both encoding and decoding are active and creative processes, and again in this sense that interpretation is political action, hinting at what Eco has termed 'semiological guerilla warfare'.[59]

A second point of interest in the article is about the material conditions of each moment. According to Hall, the first moment, the moment of 'encoding' of meaning into the TV programme, consists in both material and discursive levels. The former, material, aspect corresponds to what Hall calls 'the "labour process" in the discursive mode', where production happens as part of technical and organisational structures. The latter, discursive, aspect involves not only the 'professional ideologies, institutional knowledge, definitions and assumptions' and so on that frames TV production, but also discursive borrowings from the larger socio-economic context.[60] The second moment, consumption, too, has two aspects: the process of interpretation of the messages by the consumer, and the process of incorporation of those into social life. The intermediary moment of the message is, however, strictly 'discursive' in its form. Since Hall is interested in communications and not material objects, it seems reasonable that the object of the circuit does not have a significant material aspect (however, see Vološinov). Yet, in the analysis of material objects, the distinct form that the object takes on the material level would need to be submitted to analysis as well—that is, in addition to the discursive level.

2.3.2. Richard Johnson: the dual circuit

One such circuit that takes a material object as its object is presented by Johnson, who, however, meant it as a heuristic tool rather than an analytical framework.[61] His

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57 Stuart Hall, 'Marx's Notes on Method: a Reading of the "1857 Introduction"', *Cultural Studies*, 17.2 (2003), 113–149 (p. 125). Hall's reference is to Karl Marx, *The Grundrisse*, ed. and trans. by Davis McLellan (London: Harper & Row, 1972).
58 Hall, 'Encoding/Decoding', p. 134.
59 Umberto Eco, 'Towards a Semiological Guerilla Warfare', in *Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyperreality*, trans. by William Weaver (London: Vintage, 1998), pp. 135–144 (p. 144).
60 Hall, 'Encoding/Decoding', p. 129.
61 Richard Johnson, 'What is Cultural Studies Anyway?', in *What is Cultural Studies: A Reader*, ed. by John Storey (London: Arnold, 1996), pp. 75–114 (first publ. in *Social Text*, 16 (1986–1987), 38–80).

goal is to bring together, classify and contrast different approaches to cultural processes, and not to offer a combined method. On that note, he still makes an illustrative application on the Mini-Metro car as it travels through the circuit, and this I will use as an excuse to take Johnson's proposition, experimentally, beyond what he intended and discuss it as a model for understanding cultural practice.

Johnson's 'circuit of the production, circulation and consumption of cultural products'[62] is made of four 'moments': production, text, reading and lived cultures. Each moment not only represents a cultural process, but also corresponds to a particular approach to cultural objects. This implies that different approaches to cultural practices are based on different aspects of one object (see Table 1).

Moment	Typical approach	Analysis	Example
Production	Orthodox Marxist	The Mini-Metro idea and the car itself prior to its launch	It is produced in Britain by British Leyland to compete with foreign car industry.
Text	Semiological (early)	The product form, ads, showroom displays etc. of the Mini-Metro	It is presented as a national hero in TV ads, which bring up questions of nationalism.
Reading	Semiological (late)	Different readings of the car	It is interpreted differently by Leyland workers and middle-class consumers.
Lived cultures	Ethnographic	Appropriation of the car by its consumers	It is used for picking children up from school or to commute.

Table 1. The four moments in Johnson's circuit, together with the typical methodological perspectives that prioritise them, and Johnson's related observations regarding the Mini-Metro.

Johnson also states that, in so far as the cultural object is a commodity, as with the Mini-Metro, the circuit is a dual circuit, at once a circuit of capital and of cultural forms. What he suggests here, rather implicitly, is that this duality corresponds to the base-superstructure distinction. The production and consumption of cultural objects occur on both the level of base and that of superstructure. (In that sense, economism is an undue focus on the base, i.e. the material relations of production and consumption, and a neglect of cultural production and consumption; whereas productivism is an undue focus on production, i.e. of both the material and the cultural, and a neglect of consumption.)

Once again, Johnson is careful not to present his circuit as a complete analytical model. Yet the practice of taking it as such is beneficial in that it points us towards a missing aspect of his approach, namely a consideration for the ontological distinction between materiality and discourse. We can briefly recall the circuit explicated in 'Encoding/Decoding' to make this clear. Despite its main interest in media communication, Hall's paper is more elaborate in this respect, arguing for the material

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62   Ibid., p. 83.

and cultural conditioning of both production *and* consumption, which are linked by the intermediary discursive form. Following Hall's example, then, Johnson's circuit requires a rethinking of the duality of the circuit. The production and consumption of discursive forms (the symbolic level of the circuit) differs, but relates to, determines and is determined by, the production and consumption at the material level (the material level of the circuit). Thinking in terms of our example, then, the Mini-Metro is designed and produced both as a material object *and* a text, together with its representations in advertising and presentations in showrooms. It is then consumed as such, i.e. read as a text *and* appropriated as a material object into its consumers' lived cultures.

2.3.3. Design practice in the circuit of culture

Such a model rather neatly follows my above conclusions regarding the double existence of the material object and the ensuing double role, and politics, of design practice. In fact, similar approaches to analysing design have been suggested. One notable example from design history is Walker, who outlined the field of research for design history with reference to Marx's original production-consumption model in *Grundrisse*. His model consists of a complex, one-page diagram and accompanying notes, where he describes four moments: design (or 'production-1'), manufacturing (or 'production-2'), distribution and consumption. Being part of this circuit, design, according to Walker, traverses the base-superstructure division, for it involves the utilisation of material, financial and 'aesthetic-ideological' resources.[63]

However, such models are perhaps too neat, too linear, to be comprehensive. As Julier and Narotzky pointed out, 'consumption is never static on the vertical axis of systems of provision, [but] takes place at different points, often at different levels, in the life of products'.[64] There is no reason why the same would not be true for every moment, including design and production. For instance, as Walker admits, design process may be integrated to manufacturing in the case of in-house design departments. Also, there is much design activity that takes place during the distribution phase, which is not captured by the models in question: 'Advertisements have to be designed, as do transportation vehicles and systems, exhibitions, shops, stores, supermarkets and mail order catalogues.'[65]

We can find one circuit that is less prescriptive—especially for the study of design—in

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63 John A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), pp. 68–73. See also Grace Lees-Maffei, 'The Production-Consumption Paradigm', *Journal of Design History*, 22.4 (2009), 351–376.
64 Guy Julier and Viviana Narotzky, 'The Redundancy of Design History', *'Practically Speaking' Conference*, Wolverhampton University, 14–15 December 1998, <http://www.lmu.ac.uk/as/artdesresearch/Projects/design_observatory/the_redundancy_of_design_history.htm> [accessed 29 August 2011]. For the concept of 'systems of provision', see Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold, *The World of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1993).
65 Walker, p. 72.

du Gay et al.'s study of Sony Walkman.[66] The authors define a 'circuit of culture', which is made of five 'cultural processes' that do not necessarily follow one another but are interconnected—'articulated' in Stuart Hall's terms.[67] These are production, consumption, regulation, representation and identity. This circuit differs from the former by that it does not assign primacy to production. Whereas both in *Grundrisse* and in Hall's circuit of media communication production retains its determining status as the point where the movement begins,[68] in du Gay et al.'s study it is permissible to start from any point on the circuit. What matters is rather that all the processes are taken for consideration in order to discover all the meanings and values assigned to the object.[69] Furthermore, the circuit is more flexible in that it does not take the design process as a moment by itself, but as a practice that brings together, 'articulates', other processes, especially production and consumption. The primary function of design in this respect is to 'encode' material objects with meaning and identity—alongside advertising, which plays a similar role via representations of the finished product or of the company.[70] As such, design practice is associated with what Bourdieu has termed 'new cultural intermediaries', that is, producers of a middle-brow, popular taste, whose principal function is to mediate symbolic meanings and thus to promote consumption.[71]

A number of qualifications are necessary at this point. First, design's function of articulation does not necessarily bring production and consumption closer together, but often helps maintain the gap between them. In this regard, Keith Negus argues directly against du Gay et al.'s suggestion that designers search for a 'fit' between the two moments by transmitting information and lifestyles both ways as cultural intermediaries. Significant gaps in knowledge as well as economic asymmetries persist not despite, but with the aid of cultural intermediation.[72] In fact, design can and, more often than not, does work towards obscuring the conditions of production in favour of the symbolic dimension of the object. Guy Julier's observation is illustrative:

> On the back of my iPod I am told that it was 'Designed by Apple in California' (just as my cycle panniers that often carry it around tell me that they were 'Designed in Norway' but not where they were manufactured), but I am not told how it got from the designer's drawing-board to my desk. Meanwhile, the

66 Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus, *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman* (London: Sage, 1997).

67 For an explication of articulations as 'non-necessary links', see Lawrence Grossberg, 'On Postmodernism and Articulation: an Interview with Stuart Hall', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 10.2 (1986), 45–60 (pp. 53–55).

68 Hall, 'Marx's Notes on Method: a Reading of the "1857 Introduction"', pp. 124–125.

69 Du Gay et al., p. 66.

70 Ibid., p. 69.

71 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 325.

72 Keith Negus, 'The Work of Cultural Intermediaries and the Enduring Distance Between Production and Consumption', *Cultural Studies*, 16.4 (2002), 501–515 (pp. 507–508); see du Gay et al., p. 62.

actual conditions of manufacture and distribution remain obscured.[73]

Secondly, articulating production and consumption is only one of design's functions on the circuit. In addition to the roles it plays in manufacturing, advertising and distribution as noted above, it also functions by articulating other cultural processes. Du Gay et al. give the example of how design mediated the processes of production and social regulation when headphones were redesigned in response to the negative connotations of listening to music in public spaces, which was prompted by the high visibility and high noise output of the earlier designs.[74] More generally, it has been argued that via such articulations design practices act as 'a laxative', facilitating the movement of the material object throughout the circuit.[75]

This view of design as a practice that is diffuse on the circuit of culture rather than a relatively limited moment is congruous with a design cultural perspective, which conceives of design as 'an expanded field of activity that orchestrates and coordinates material and non-material processes results', and problematises its practising on a range of levels from the limited sense of studio practice, through design as an organisational attitude, to a much wider 'designerly ambience'.[76] In this theoretical context, to study any design activity as a specific moment, a delimited practice, on the circuit of culture is possible only in so far as its case-specific boundaries are followed yet taken together with its own articulations to surrounding discourses and practices. I will return to the question of how design is to be conceptualised later on in Chapter 4.[77]

Thirdly, du Gay et al.'s definition of design as an effector of articulations is restricted because it defines design's main role in symbolic terms: imbuing engineered objects with symbolic meaning.[78] In my above review of circuits of culture I have already indicated the necessity to take the material level of the circuit into consideration, especially when it involves material objects. In the context of design culture, Julier further noted that design practices cannot be considered to merely produce objects for use and lifestyling, but that they also give shape to 'systems of encounter within the visual and material world'.[79] How this can be achieved will be the subject of following chapters. Below, in conclusion to this chapter, I will begin discussing an understanding of materiality that can enable research to account for such construction.

73   *The Culture of Design*, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 2008), p. 120.
74   Du Gay et al., p. 120.
75   Gordon Reavley, 'Inconspicuous Consumption', *'Design Innovation: Conception to Consumption', 21st Annual Conference of the Design History Society Conference*, University of Huddersfield, 11–13 September 1998, cited in Julier, *The Culture of Design*, p. 68.
76   Julier, *The Culture of Design*, pp. 14, 5.
77   See Section 4.2 below.
78   See Du Gay et al., p. 62.
79   Julier, *The Culture of Design*, p. 9; see also Guy Julier, 'From Visual Culture to Design Culture', *Design Issues*, 22.1 (2006), 64–76.

2.4. Concluding discussion: The Italian scooter

I would like to dedicate a whole section here to a close reading of Dick Hebdige's seminal study of the Italian scooter[80] to demonstrate and discuss the capabilities and limitations of the approach outlined in this chapter in general, particularly with respect to the issue of the materiality of cultural processes. Hebdige's study thoroughly analyses and documents the 'cultural significance' of the scooter as it is placed in different moments and contexts. It starts from the phases of design and production, moves on to its mediation by advertising, and finally discusses its consumption by different groups of users. These constitute the 'three moments' through which the object travels, and all three require consideration in order for the analysis to be complete.

Hebdige is interested in the scooter not only as a general cultural object, but also and specifically as a material object, a mass-produced, designed product. From the very outset, a special status is assigned to 'materiality'. The article itself starts as follows:

> Nowhere do we encounter 'networks of relationships' more familiar and 'material' yet more elusive and contradictory than those in which material objects themselves are placed and have meaning(s). […] And one of the central paradoxes facing those who write about product design must be that the more 'material' the object—the more finite its historical and visual appearance—the more prodigious the things that can be said about it, the more varied the analyses, descriptions and histories that can be brought to bear upon it. (125)

Here 'materiality' signals an ontological status, but one which is gained by being embedded in 'networks of relationships'. It is strictly processual, as opposed to essential. This is in direct contrast to Barthes, who, according to Hebdige, thinks of the object as 'silent' until and unless articulated by the writer. Silence of the object implies an empty container, thus an essence, while for Hebdige,

> far from being silent, the number of voices that speak through and for 'dumb things' are legion. The enigma of the object resides for us less in its 'silence', its imagined essence than in the babble that surrounds it. (127)

This 'babble', this multiplicity of voices—the meanings and values associated with the product as it takes part in social relationships, in 'networks of relations'—is what gives the object its material dimension. It is in this sense that 'materiality' as formulated by Hebdige is a strictly 'historical' materiality; it is produced by historical social relations. This reminds of Vološinov's formulation of multiaccentuality, discussed above, which indicated that a single code, shared by different groups, yields different accents, different meanings, yet retaining its social and material basis. As a matter of fact, Hebdige indicates elsewhere that one of the purposes of the scooter essay was to

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80 Dick Hebdige, 'Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle', in *The Consumer Society Reader*, ed. by Martyn J. Lee (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 125–159 (first publ. in *Block*, 5 (1981), 44–64). Throughout this section (2.4), further references to this article are given after quotations in the text.

make the multiaccentuality of the scooter visible.[81]

Then the major problem is that such a variable conception of materiality proves difficult to submit to a linear narrative: How are we going to account for and depict the multiple objects concerned, as they go through different moments and are interpreted from different viewpoints? Hebdige's solution is

> to turn from the object to the text in order to find a more fragmentary mode of representation in which the object can be brought back 'into touch' with that larger, less tangible and less coherent 'network of relationships' which alone can give it order and significance. (130)

In this 'return to the text', to the 'babble that surrounds' the object, it is clear that Hebdige privileges representations of the object, and thus, the discursive level. This is symptomatic of the methodological point of view I have outlined in this chapter, which tends to downplay the non-representational ways in which materialities take part in the production of that cultural significance. Nevertheless, it would be more than unfair to reduce Hebdige's analysis of the scooter to an analysis of the discourse on scooters. On the contrary, as his objection to Barthes shows, Hebdige is more than aware of materiality, understood as social relations and practices that involve the object. Not only that, but his study opens up the possibility of an even more thorough appreciation of the materiality of the object.

To demonstrate my point, we first need to look closer into the cultural significance the study reveals of the scooter.

One of the main points of Hebdige's study regards the gendering of the scooter: Scooters are differentiated from motorcycles by their being stylish (not naked, machine-like), easy to use (not hard work), convenient (not powerful), and thus feminine. The association is reproduced, though not unequivocally and in varying degrees, at every moment, i.e. in the object's production, mediation and consumption. What differs is the ways in which this association is deployed by different parties—or its 'accents', after Vološinov. At the moment of production and mediation, this is determined by the competition between the British traditional motorcycle industry and Italian scooter manufacturers. Whereas the former scorned scooters as 'effete', the latter celebrated their 'visually attractive' design. Whereas for the former Italianness connoted 'foreignness' and emphasised the scooter's femininity with reference to 'Italy: the home of "male narcissism"', for the latter Italianness signified 'good taste' (151). In its consumption, too, the association was interpreted in various ways, even contested to some degree by the competitiveness of scooter races. However, it was the mods who most completely challenged the feminine connotations of the scooter. When the mods appropriated the object into their male-dominated subculture, they

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81 Dick Hebdige, 'Travelling Light: One Route into Material Culture', *RAIN*, 59 (1983), 11–13 (p. 12).

turned it into 'a menacing symbol of group solidarity'.[82]

Hebdige uses the term, *bricolage*, to describe the way in which the mods challenged the meanings of the objects (pills, scooters, suits) and symbols (the Union Jack) they appropriated, 'by placing them in a symbolic ensemble which served to erase or subvert their original straight meanings'.[83] This of course approximates, as Hebdige too remarks, Umberto Eco's concept of 'semiological guerilla warfare' we mentioned above. Being anti-hegemonic in the Gramscian sense, subcultural *bricolage* becomes part of the politics of signification.

We are of course still in the domain of semiology in so far as these associations are connotations of function—as in Baudrillard above. What matters for both the advertiser and the mod is not the 'actual' function of the objects so much as their imaginary functions. It is not what the object enables you to do that matters, but what it signifies.

Yet as I noted above, Hebdige's analysis offers us the opportunity to supersede its very methodology and to rethink the concept of materiality as something more than a basis for signification—however important that basis might be. This alternative conception of materiality can be found in between the lines where Hebdige talks about 'the sheathing of the machine parts [which] placed the user in a new relation to the object' (142, my emphasis). Since the stylish metal covers practically separated the user from the object's insides, for Hebdige, this 'new relation' amounts to the 'dematerialisation' of the object, its subordination to 'lifestyle'. In that sense, this new relation is an immaterial relation, a non-relation in material terms. However, we should see that in another sense it is a materialisation, too. The scooter embodies ideas of cleanliness and convenience, giving birth to a new mode of transportation. And this starts from the design of the technical parts. Softer suspensions, smaller wheels and the non-aerodynamic posture, all compromise speed, power and reliability for a short-distance yet trouble-free ride, which made the scooter accessible to more people (136). Having deskilled the user, repair and maintenance are, instead, delegated to dedicated service stations, which are, in fact, 'extensions of the original design project' (142). This 'new' set of relations between machine parts, metal panels, service stations and users is no less material than the 'old' relations that made up the traditional motorcycle.

The following two chapters will deal with this alternative understanding of materiality.

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82   Hebdige, *Subculture*, p. 104.
83   Ibid.

Chapter 3. Material cultures and materialities

In this chapter I will review the broad field of interest called 'material culture studies'[1] and so continue the investigation that I started in the previous chapter into the dual existence of material objects in symbolic and material registers.

Though interdisciplinary by definition, the field of material culture is replete with ethnographic studies that occasionally focus on highly specific cultural contexts. I would like to make clear in advance that, in turning to such ethnographic work, my aim is not to develop a cross-cultural theory of the material object. Rather, it is to review and comment on the various methodological tools and to extract a number of key methodological points, particularly on the subject of materiality, that could be translatable to my own research problem.

3.1. Daniel Miller: Material culture as objectification

One of the cornerstones for the study of material culture is Daniel Miller's book, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Miller's point of departure is a critique directed at linguistic approaches to material objects, as well as the condemnation of consumption that follows. It is not that objects do not have expressive and communicative properties; rather, the problem with the 'communicative paradigm'[2] is that it 'subordinate[s] the object qualities of things to their word-like properties'.[3] In that, it reduces artefacts' social role to a function of signification, whereby they 'reflect back to some social division or model from which they derive their source and significance' (96) and merely reproduce differences between social groups (as by gender, class or ethnicity). Such a reduction produces an inflexible 'mapping of differences between goods on to differences between social groups', which ignores domains of material culture that either simply cut across social divisions or resist or subvert them (158).

It must be noted that Miller's critique confronts more than semiological approaches such as those of Barthes or Baudrillard, which I have discussed in the above chapter.[4] Miller observes a similar attribution of mere reflectivity to material objects in much of social theorisation, including, for example, Veblen or Bourdieu of *Distinction*. This echoes Raymond Williams' earlier critique of theories that attribute reflectivity to

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1   Daniel Miller and Christopher Tilley, 'Editorial', *Journal of Material Culture*, 1.1 (1996), 5–14.
2   Colin Campbell, 'The Sociology of Consumption', in *Acknowledging Consumption: a Review of New Studies*, ed. by Daniel Miller (London: Routledge 1995), pp. 95–124.
3   Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 96. Through out this section (3.1), further references to this article are given after quotations in the text.
4   See Section 2.1.

cultural practice.[5]

3.1.1. Objectification and habitus

To overcome the limitations of reflective thinking, Miller resorts to the Hegelian term, objectification. Through the process of objectification, human beings (the subject) come to 'externalise' themselves, or their relationships with one another, in the form of the object, become aware of their creation and confront it in its alien character, only to reincorporate it into their being through 'sublation' (*Aufhebung*), thus transforming themselves for the better. In that sense, 'objectification describes the inevitable process by which *all expression*, conscious or unconscious, social or individual, takes specific form' (81, my emphasis). And through the incorporation of that form, that is, through sublation, the very subject of the process is constituted anew. 'The action of externalisation and sublation is always constitutive, never merely reflective, and is therefore not a process of signification' (33).

For instance, in Trinidad, the 'red sweet drink' appears as the Indian ethnic group's objectification in a commodity; Australian Aboriginal paintings, as objectifications of the Aboriginal people's relation to the land; and customised car upholstery, as an objectification of the unique contradictions of the modern Trinidadian culture.[6] In all these cases, it is argued that the meanings, values, etc. that are inherent to the subject are externalised—or 'expressed', as in the definition above—in the object form. But what do these meanings and values comprise? And how do we account for their inherence—to both the subject and the object?

To answer these, Miller makes use of the concept of habitus. Habitus, as defined by Bourdieu, is a structured set of cognitive and bodily dispositions taken on by the subject through everyday interaction as well as formal education. It functions as

> the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations [that] produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle.[7]

In that sense, habitus does not bring about a mechanistic reproduction of societal norms, but can only be effected via context-dependent improvisations. It regulates everyday practice in a dialectical relationship with an objective situation which exerts restraints on and offers potentials to the subject.

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5   Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Random House, 1934; first publ. 1899); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press ,1984); see also Section 2.2.1.

6   Daniel Miller, *Capitalism: an Ethnographic Approach* (Oxford: Berg, 1997); Fred Myers, 'Introduction', in *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001), pp. 3–64; Daniel Miller, *Modernity: an Ethnographic Approach: Dualism and Mass-Consumption in Trinidad* (Oxford: Berg, 1994).

7   Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 78.

This is the basis on which Miller argues for the significance of material culture for social reproduction and change. In their encounter with some domain of material culture, subjects incorporate its constituting principles, absorb these into their habiti, and then impose these principles upon a newly encountered domain, albeit creatively. As with Bourdieu's example of the Kabyle house, a material object (house and its internal organisation) and the practices that surround it (cooking, weaving, tending the sick) are produced by and, in turn, play a part in the reproduction of certain taxonomies (gender).[8] Similarly, Miller notes the objectification of certain values and ideals in the decoration of living rooms in Trinidad. It is, namely, a desire to transcend the present (by preserving memories from the past for the future) that is objectified in the living room as throws on sofas, lace covers on furniture and dolls kept in their boxes. Miller observes that this sense of order invested in the living room in the form of the principles of preservation and covering is carried on to other activities, for instance on to the practice of cake decoration, which had become popular in Trinidad relatively recently at the time of Miller's research. Indeed, 'it is this tendency to form homologies which makes practices which might have been dismissed as trivial,' such as cake decoration, 'in effect, ideal locations for the objectification of fundamental moral principles'.[9]

3.1.2. Consumption as recontextualisation

As the above review already implies, Miller regards consumption as creative and expressive a process as production. Indeed, were the practice of objectification restricted to the moment of production, material culture would be limited to an objectification of the interests of the ruling classes, who monopolise the means of production. This would correspond to the orthodox Marxist definition of alienation, whereby subjects qua consumers fail to recognise themselves in their externalisations as subjects qua workers, and which makes sublation, thus social transformation for the better, impossible.

Neither does Miller's perspective propose an individualistic counterpoint to Marxism, as in theories of consumer society which maintain consumption as a hedonistic exercise.[10] The progressive potential that Miller locates in consumption is not realised by individual consumers, but by small-scale communities that are in subordinate position in society. Through consumption as 'recontextualisation', these groups can transform their alienated relations with material objects into 'inalienable' relations. From the

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8   Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, pp. 40–42.
9   Miller, *Modernity*, p. 217.
10   Particularly, Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (London: Sage, 1991); Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), Ch. 1.

moment of purchase and by way of 'a long and complex process [of] consumption work' (160), the commodity is transformed into a singular item, specific to that community.[11]

Miller's later study of council estate tenants in London illustrates this. While the tenants start off in an alienating situation, where the household they occupy is the product of a centralist bureaucracy that is indifferent to their expectations, they soon start to appropriate the flats which involve extensive alterations to the interiors. In this manner, Miller argues, consumers can overcome their alienated relationship to the material object and thus transcend the oppressive conditions of their working class experience.[12]

In the study of Trinidad mentioned above, Miller offers a similar interpretation for the Trinidadian Christmas. Even though importation of Christmas to Trinidad implies cultural colonialism and reminds of the homogenising power of globalism,[13] it is still

> the single most important institution in creating a specific sense of the land of Trinidad itself, a Creole 'Spanish' identity rooted in local traditions, subsuming all differences in an intensive celebration of the land that culminates in the feeling that 'Trini Christmas is the best'.[14]

Trinidadian consumers thus recontextualise imported images and goods to forge a Trinidadian Christmas for themselves. This new Christmas is then experienced as completely authentic, even though the material out of which it is fashioned was the product of an alienating regime of production, namely, cultural colonialism.

Before proceeding any further, I would like to make use of this example to restate, in the form of a short list, the major qualifications to the concept of objectification as defined here. First, objectification is constitutive of the subject that objectifies. Therefore, the subject-object (Trinidad-Christmas) relationship is not reflective or representational, but mutually constitutive. Secondly, as the concept of habitus demands, objectification is a context-dependent, creative improvisation, and not a straightforward expression of an inner national essence—as, for instance, a Romantic definition of nation would suggest.[15] Thirdly, and following this, construction of a Trinidadian Christmas—and simultaneously, that of Trinidad—is not an effortless, instant reflection, but a laborious process of recontextualisation of foreign goods. Lastly, the process of objectification is necessarily asymmetrical. There is, for

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11   Celia Lury, *Consumer Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), pp. 46–48.
12   Miller, 'Appropriating the State on the Council Estate', *Man: New Series*, 23.2 (1988), 353–372.
13   For an argument for homogenisation via globalisation, see for instance George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society: an Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life* (London: Pine Forge Press, 1993).
14   Miller, *Modernity*, p. 319.
15   Wendy Kaplan, 'Traditions Transformed: Romantic Nationalism in Design, 1890–1920', in *Designing Modernity: the Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885–1945*, ed. by Wendy Kaplan (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995), pp. 19–47.

example, disparity in available economic resources between global corporations and local communities, and such asymmetries are inevitably influential in the process of recontextualisation. Due to differences in access to media of objectification, certain subaltern groups (by ethnicity, class, gender, religion and so on) cannot partake in equal proportions as the dominant group, in our case, in the fashioning of Christmas as a national tradition.

The very last point needs further emphasis, particularly in the face of Miller's celebration of the specificity (inalienability) of Trinidadian Christmas.[16] The search for inalienability in the form of a corresponding relationship between the subject and the object, which is implied by the way Miller interprets objectification, gives rise to a methodological focus on self-fashioning and identity-making projects.[17] In this case, this means that through the appropriation of Christmas, national identity is reconstituted as the cultural expression of the nation against cultural colonialism. Such an approach may prove problematic, specifically in terms of the last point mentioned above, unless it is acknowledged that such local consumption practices—even when they involve a subversion of colonial goods' dominant meaning—may very well result in the reification of identity claims that in effect oppress other subordinate groups by imposing a totalising definition of some national tradition.[18] For that matter, Miller and, incidentally, Hebdige have been criticised on the grounds that they 'romanticise' their research subjects and tend to overstate the emancipatory potential of their practices of consumption.[19]

A more cautious way to conceptualise the creative and subversive consumption practices of small-scale social groups can be reached by reassessing what recontextualisation produces. Taking up the theme of the previous chapter—but going against, to some degree, the grain of Miller's more holistic comprehension of material culture—I argue that the outcome of recontextualisation can be divided into two aspects. We have on the symbolic level such expressive projects as in the Christmas example above: objectification as 'the making explicit through externalisation of a self-understanding of individual and society in history' (194–195). On the other hand, there are what Miller calls 'possibilities of sociability' that the consumption of material objects provides by facilitating social networks and relationships around them. We can associate this latter aspect with the example Miller takes from Gullestad's study of young working-class housewives in Norway, who use house furnishing as a context to

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16   Miller, *Modernity*, pp. 318–321.
17   Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 25–26.
18   For a critique of the concept of national identity, see Section 5.1.
19   Jeffrey L. Meikle, 'Material Virtues: on the Ideal and the Real in Design History', *Journal of Design History*, 11.3 (1998), 191–199; Dick Hebdige, 'Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle', in *The Consumer Society Reader*, ed. by Martyn J. Lee (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 125–159 (first publ. in *Block*, 5 (1981), 44–64).

come together with friends.[20] This is how, according to Miller, 'mass consumption goods are used to create the context for close social networks of which they are an integral part' (199).

Another example can be found in Alison J. Clarke's account of the consumption of Tupperware in the United States of the 1950s. According to Clarke, 'Tupperware did not act merely as an empty vessel, a neutral commodity upon which social relations were brought to bear', but was appropriated by suburban housewives to constitute 'a pragmatic, if compromised, alternative to domestic subordination'. Particularly Tupperware parties provided housewives with opportunities to socialise outside of their families, which made economic, social and even political alternatives accessible for them.[21]

The following quotation by Miller can be considered in terms of such a differentiation of consumption into two functions, symbolism and sociability, crossed with oppression and resistance:

> There are abundance of oppressive ideologies established through the dominance of certain groups over material production, enormous inequalities or taste as classism. Yet at the same time, and in the same society, examples may be found of goods used to recontextualise and thus transform the images produced by the industry, or goods used to create small-scale social peer groups by reworking materials from alienated and abstract forms to re-emerge as the specificity of the inalienable. (208)

Yet, there is an overall tendency in Miller's work to highlight the symbolic aspect at the expense of the social—despite his later, explicit statement against defining consumption only in terms of identity.[22] As I have already noted above, under such an emphasis on self-fashioning and identity-building lies his prioritisation of the subject-object relationship in theorising material culture, or more exactly, his definition of objectification, where externalisation is an expression of the subject, and sublation, an affirmation of that expression. The most important consequence of this is that, in Miller, 'possibilities of sociability' remain underspecified as a theoretical concept.

In this respect, the author's work, as well as that of Gullestad, have an affinity with Hebdige's work on scooters.[23] Their findings indicate a symbolic struggle on the level of meanings and values through which subordinate groups resist class (as in London council estate tenants), gender (as in Norwegian housewives) or colonial hegemonies (as in Trinidadian Christmas). The struggle takes place to some degree on the material

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20 Marianne Gullestad, *Kitchen-Table Society* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984; repr. 2001); see also Marianne Gullestad, 'Home Decoration as Popular Culture: Constructing Homes, Genders and Classes in Norway', in *Gendered Anthropology*, ed. by Teresa del Valle (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 128–161.
21 Alison J. Clarke, *Tupperware: the Promise of Plastic in 1950s America* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1999), p. 127.
22 Daniel Miller, 'Consumption as the Vanguard of History', in *Acknowledging Consumption: a Review of New Studies* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1–57 (p. 32).
23 Hebdige, 'Object as Image'; see Section 2.4 above.

level as well when material objects are used to construct certain empowering forms of sociability. Yet most of the time, effects of such material configurations are confined to the level of meanings and values, just as in Hebdige the new social networks that appear around the scooter are considered primarily in terms of the meanings associated with scooters.

Despite the drawbacks, Miller's use of the term, recontextualisation, provides the basis for further elaboration. In the next section, I will look at the biographical approach to material culture and the concept of 'regimes of value' as a framework that complements and extends the application of term.

3.2. Social life of things and regimes of value

In the influential collection of essays, *The Social Life of Things,* Appadurai, Kopytoff and others proposed a biographical approach to the analysis of material objects.[24] According to this, material objects are to be regarded as having a life of their own, travelling between various social and cultural contexts. Each context is a 'regime of value', where the object is interpreted and valued differently. In each context it is also defined whether and how the object can be exchanged.[25] Accordingly, the commodity form is not 'an all-or-none state of being', but one form among others that an object takes in its circulation. It is a phase in the object's biography, i.e. a 'commodity phase'.[26]

One illustrative study in this regard is by Myers on Indigenous Australian Art. As the paintings produced by Aboriginal artists travel from the context of craft production, to art galleries, and to Australian nationalist politics, they are, in fact, moving between distinct regimes of value connected by exchange. From one 'institutional context' to the other, the 'sociocultural significance' of these objects, that is, their value, changes dramatically.[27] For instance, whereas by the artists the artworks are valued as 'objectifications of ancestral subjectivity', the fine art system takes them as products of individual creativity. Accordingly they become, in the latter regime of value, 'intellectual properties' and 'commodities', which are only partly compatible with the terms of the former.[28]

Due to its stress on multiplicity and conflict as opposed to singularity and inalienability, thinking in terms of different regimes can be considered an improvement over Miller's

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24 *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986).

25 Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things*, pp. 3–63.

26 Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things*, pp. 64–94 (p. 73).

27 Myers, 'Introduction', in *The Empire of Things*.

28 Fred Myers, 'Ontologies of the Image and Economies of Exchange', *American Ethnologist*, 31.1 (2004), 5–20, p. 9.

approach. This is particularly important in the analysis of situations where a number of diverging commitments are made into the object in different contexts or by different actors. Particularly in such instances, and possibly in general, it is not sufficient to take a material object as the objectification of one collective subject or social relation, without considering the multiple and conflicting regimes of meaning and value it is involved in. Thomas argues in this respect that,

> Although certain influential theorists of material culture have stressed the objectivity of the artifact, I can only recognize the reverse: the mutability of things in recontextualisation. Axes, old cars, striped condoms—they are never things embodying pure or original templates or intentions … What we are confronted with is thus never more or less than a succession of uses and recontextualisations.[29]

Thinking of objects as a series of recontextualisations thus helps us drop the Hegelian framework that underlies Miller's argumentation. In this manner we can replace the emphasis on temporality (i.e. a subject that moves in time through a series of dialectic movements) with one on spatiality (i.e. the social actors, objects, etc. the object relates to within different regimes).

Though Thomas' statement might be read as an argument about the changing interpretations of an otherwise neutral material object,[30] I choose to read it otherwise. 'The succession of uses and recontextualisations' Thomas mentions is not merely a series of contexts in which material objects take on different meanings. In accordance with the insights derived from Miller's definition of the term on both symbolic and material levels, each recontextualisation is also a new set of social relationships in which the object is embedded.

To make myself clear, I need to return to the discussion of Aboriginal paintings. Aboriginal artworks are, indeed, taken to represent different things by the craftspeople and by the art audience. Yet the way different regimes of value interact with the artwork is more than mere attachment of meanings to it; it is also a matter of ontologies. For the artist, the artwork *is* ancestral knowledge brought forth into sensory existence, and the access to that knowledge needs to be regulated. Such an ontology organises people, material objects and knowledge in a certain manner that tries to protect the dissemination of ancestral knowledge in the face of, for instance, techniques of material and digital reproduction. This is quite different from the regime of intellectual property, which protects individual creativity and the right to commercialise and offers its own social and material configurations such as the copyright law to accomplish this. Therefore, as Myers explains,

> Aboriginal painting is not an idea. It is *a material and social practice* that

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29 Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, pp. 28–29.
30 Lorraine Daston, 'Introduction: Speechless', in *Things That Talk* (London: The MIT Press, 2004), pp. 9–24 (p. 17).

brings into realization not simply the creativity of an artist (the fundamental property protected in copyright) but also an image that has a distinctive history and is generative of social relationships.[31]

Furthermore, the relationship between the material object and the regime of value which it enters is necessarily a two-way relationship. Myers narrates several art scandals in Australia to show that Aboriginal ontologies can challenge, undermine and transform the structures of the fine art market itself. In other words, commodification of Aboriginal art does not merely replace the values formerly attached to the art object with a new set of values related to the marketplace, but leads to a reorganisation of the regime of value into which the object moves.[32]

The principal implication of such an approach is that it acknowledges and elaborates on the social and material relations that material objects (in this case, artworks) enter and help constitute, without either subordinating these relations to cultural values and meanings attached to the objects, or reducing them to economic reason. Accordingly, it is symmetrical in its consideration of representation and materiality of objects. Secondly, the emphasis on regimes helps us not 'los[e] sight of the larger networks of relationships'[33] in which the object is involved (in this case, Aboriginal ontologies, culture and politics of fine art, etc.), even when these are beyond the object's immediate vicinity. I will return to these points at the conclusion to this chapter.

3.3. Materiality of material culture

To recapitulate, I have so far shown that in studies on material culture, there exists a perspective that considers material objects as having a double existence. One modality of existence is used to explain 'material' aspects, such as how objects facilitate social relations between people; whilst the other, its 'symbolic' aspects, such as how an object comes to represent people, things, relationships etc., or how an object is imbued with meanings and values.

Attribution of such a double function to material objects, however, is not peculiar to the authors discussed above. Keane notes a general tendency in anthropological research—particularly those of the 1960s and 1970s—to take material objects either as constitutive of social relationships or symbolic, 'representative', of them.[34] Nigel Barley calls the first the 'social', and the second, the 'symbolic' aspect of material culture. If, as Barley suggests, the prime example for the former is the kula ring as

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31 Myers, 'Ontologies of the Image', p. 10 (my emphasis).
32 Myers, 'Introduction', in *The Empire of Things*, p. 57; see also Nicholas Thomas, 'The Case of the Misplaced Ponchos: Speculations Concerning the History of Cloth in Polynesia', in *Clothing the Pacific*, ed. by Chloë Colchester (Oxford: Berg, 2003), pp. 79–96.
33 Hebdige, 'Object as Image', p. 128; see also Section 2.4.
34 Webb Keane, *Signs of Recognition: Powers and Hazards of Representation in Indonesian Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 32.

described by Malinowski, Bourdieu's Kabyle house could represent the latter.[35] Or alternatively, in anthropology of art, the latter can be said to correspond to an aesthetic, or representationalist, theory of art, and the former, to Gell's theory in *Art and Agency*, which posits that material objects in general, and artworks in particular, are anthropologically meaningful only as part of social networks in which they play a part.[36]

This duality has been most painstakingly analysed by Marshall Sahlins in *Culture and Practical Reason*.[37] Acknowledging from the outset that there exists an inconsolable divide between the material and symbolic registers of human existence, Sahlins goes on to differentiate utilitarianist accounts, which foreground utility, from cultural accounts, which instead foreground meaning as the object of anthropological enquiry. Both orthodox Marxism, with its argument that superstructure (culture) is determined by the base (economy), and functionalist accounts of Malinowski are in this context contrasted to the structuralist anthropology of Levi-Strauss.[38] Sahlins himself opts for the latter camp, arguing that

> An 'economic basis' is a symbolic scheme of practical activity—not just the practical scheme in symbolic activity. It is the realization of a given meaningful order in the relations and finalities of production, in valuations of goods and determination of resources.[39]

The oscillation that Sahlins observes in anthropology, and in social thought in general, between these two poles[40] seems to continue in recent anthropological work. We can observe a move away from 'culturalist' positions such as that of Sahlins, and towards a new materialism, which is characterised by an effort to bring back 'material' considerations into the analysis of culture. Indeed, recent anthropological literature on material culture has involved more than a few attempts to rethink materiality. This includes critiques directed at various manifestations of the fundamental philosophical dichotomy of idea and matter: humans and things (Marilyn Strathern), words and things (Webb Keane), humans and animals (Tim Ingold), concepts and matter (Martin Holbraad).[41]

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35 Nigel Barley, 'The Warp and Woof of Culture', *RAIN*, 59 (1983), 7–8; Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: an Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: Routledge, 1922); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, pp. 40–42.
36 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: an Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
37 Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976.
38 Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966).
39 Sahlins, p. 37.
40 Ibid., pp. ix, 55.
41 Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); see also Alfred Gell, 'Strathernograms, or the Semiotics of Mixed Metaphors', in *The Art of Anthropology: Essays and Diagrams*, ed. by Eric Hirsch (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 29–75; Webb Keane, *Signs of Recognition*; Tim Ingold, 'Building, Dwelling, Living: How Animals and People Make Themselves at Home in the World', in *Shifting Contexts*, ed. by Marilyn Strathern (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 57–80; Martin Holbraad, 'The Power of Powder: Multiplicity and Motion in the Divinatory Cosmology of Cuban Ifá (or Mana, Again)', in *Thinking Through*

I will be commenting on the most relevant of these below. However, it is crucial to note that while all these dichotomies do overlap and consolidate one another, they are not coterminous.[42] Rather, one can observe in literature numerous ways in which they are positioned with respect to each other. In the previous chapter, I have already made such a distinction between political and ontological interpretations of base and superstructure.[43] Keeping this in mind, I do not mean to fashion a total theory of materiality of material culture by juxtaposing critiques to each and every dichotomy. My aim is rather to identify a number of methodological points that allow for a fuller consideration of materiality, which is anticipated in Hebdige and Miller, but not theorised thoroughly.

3.3.1. Promiscuity of material objects

Webb Keane is one such critic who suggests that we think of a 'practical and semiotic complex', rather than words and things that can be analysed separately. This is because representations only exist as embodied in the world, in the form of things or acts, yet are irreducible to their materiality. Therefore, we can only make sense of signs as they are used and interpreted in social interactions.[44]

While mirroring Vološinov's insights in this matter,[45] Keane instead makes use of Peircean linguistics to argue that the particular way in which a sign relates to material world matters. In this respect, Peircean semiotics contrasts with Saussurean semiology. Whereas for Saussure the relationship between signs and the conceptual objects they refer to is always 'arbitrary', that is, shaped by convention, for Peirce there exist three different possible relationships: Iconic signs (e.g. photos) resemble the objects they represent, indexical signs have an existential connection with their objects (e.g. fire and smoke), and symbols (e.g. linguistics signs, as in Saussure) depend purely on convention. What is more, these three are not exclusive, but complementary to each other. Complex signs (such as portraits) may include elements of iconism (of the person portrayed), indexicality (of brush strokes) and symbolism (of conventions of portraiture) to varying degrees.[46]

Considerations of iconism and indexicality brings a previously lacking dimension into

Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically, ed. by Amiria Henare, Martin Holbraad and Sari Wastell (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 167–189; see also Amiria Henare, Martin Holbraad and Sari Wastell, 'Introduction: Thinking Through Things', in *Thinking Through Things*, ed. by Henare, Holbraad and Wastell, pp. 1–31.

42 Webb Keane, 'Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things', *Language & Communication*, 23 (2003), 409–425, p. 410, note 1.

43 See Section 2.2.1.

44 Keane, *Signs of Recognition*, p. 10, 19–20.

45 V.N. Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, trans. by Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik (London: Seminar Press, 1973); see Section 2.2.3 above.

46 Kaja Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 19–22.

the interpretation of how material objects signify, as both icons and indexes are significant for the way they link ideas to their material effects. One of Keane's examples is Veblen's observations regarding conspicuous consumption: For the upper classes of the late-nineteenth century United States, the luxury goods consumed as well as the manner of consumption represented, indexically, the ability to spend time and resources non-productively.[47] Another example is from his field work in Anakalang, whereby cloth becomes the sign of women both via iconism, that is, via resemblance of material qualities (e.g. both women and cloth are soft, fragile, etc.), and indexically through the knowledge that it is women who weave the cloth. Since they are 'less overtly conventional' than symbols, use of icons and, especially, indexes are thus instrumental in naturalising social conventions.[48]

Another of the characteristics of icons and indexes is strongly connected to Keane's emphasis on their use, interpretation and exchange. In practice, signs in general, and material objects as signs in particular, are exposed to contingency and uncertainty in interaction. This is partly because they are 'underdetermined', i.e. not determined fully and open to deviant readings and uses. And partly it is because, in Keane's words, 'their semiotic orientation is, in part, toward unrealized futures'. A chair or a piece of garment invites, iconically, certain postures, which, in turn, may or may not be recognised, and even when recognised, may or may not be realised in practice.[49] This openness to interpretation and appropriation, or what Thomas has called 'the promiscuity of objects',[50] is closely related to the object's materiality. Physical durability of material objects[51] enables them to travel in time and space, away from whatever meanings and intentions were 'originally' consigned to them, and into new semiotic and material configurations. Eventually, this is where politics of appropriation lies: 'To realize some of the potentials of things, and not others, is the stuff of historical struggles and contingencies'.[52]

In response to such promiscuity on the part of objects, regimes of value have a totalising effect, imposing which readings and uses are proper for the material objects they incorporate. This is what seems to have happened with the Aboriginal art works discussed above, as different ideologies of art production dictate the terms of interpretation, albeit differently. Or, we can turn once again to Keane for an example

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47 Veblen, p. 43; Webb Keane, 'Signs are not the Garb of Meaning: on the Social Analysis of Material Things', in *Materiality*, ed. by Daniel Miller (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 182–205 (p. 191).

48 Keane, *Signs of Recognition*, p. 81; see also Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: the Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 59.

49 Keane, 'Signs are not the Garb of Meaning', pp. 193–194.

50 Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, p. 27.

51 See also Bruno Latour, 'Technology is Society Made Durable', in *A Sociology of Monsters? Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*, ed. by John Law (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 103–131.

52 Keane, 'Signs are not the Garb of Meaning', p. 194.

he takes from Comaroff and Comaroff:

> Accustomed to one set of clothes for dining and another for gardening, one kind of textile to cover tables and another beds, Europeans were scandalized when Tswana used the same blankets as garments, ground cover, market bundles, and baby carriers. In time, a successful hegemony would restrict such potential uses, constraining which iconic possibilities would be recognized in practice.[53]

This ties in with the discussion in the previous chapter, where I defined hegemony as an ongoing process that involves dissemination and constant reaffirmation of ideas, and building and rebuilding of alliances.[54] Creation and maintenance of iconic and indexical properties of material objects are in this respect at least as important as the symbolic struggle espoused by Barthes and Eco.[55]

3.3.2. Agency of material objects

Another influential author who looked into the indexicality of objects is Alfred Gell. As I briefly mentioned above, his argument is principally against aesthetic theories of art, suggesting instead that the art object needs to be understood with respect to the social relationships it is embedded in throughout its production and circulation. However, his arguments has also been taken as a more general point on agency and material objects.[56]

In referring to objects as indexes, Gell puts emphasis on the logical process of 'abduction' which entails indexical thinking. Abduction is, put simply, a synthetic inference whereby a tentative explanation, albeit in the form of a general rule, is entertained in response to a particularly mysterious observation: When we see smoke, we 'abduce' that there is fire. In the case of art objects, according to Gell's definition, what the object indexes, or what it makes us abduce, is agency.[57]

Gell defines agency with respect to 'intentionality', and thus in opposition to natural causality. Still, agency is not limited to human beings. People constantly attribute intent to material objects, be it a fetish or one's car. What matters here is that agency, human or non-human, is a function of the social relationships within which it appears:

> In fact, it is only because the causal milieu in the vicinity of an agent assumes a certain configuration, from which an intention may be abducted, that we recognize the presence of another agent. We recognize agency, ex post facto, in the anomalous configuration of the causal milieu—but we cannot detect it in

53 Keane, 'Signs are not the Garb of Meaning', p. 190; John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
54 See Section 2.2.2.
55 Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (New York: Noonday Press, 1972); Umberto Eco, 'Towards a Semiological Guerilla Warfare', in *Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyperreality*, trans. by William Weaver (London: Vintage, 1998), pp. 135–144.
56 For instance, Tim Dant, *Materiality and Society* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005).
57 Gell, *Art and Agency*, pp. 13–15.

advance, that is, we cannot tell that someone is an agent before they act as an agent, before they disturb the causal milieu in such a way as can only be attributed to their agency.[58]

In this manner, objects can embody chains of agency, signifying many acts, one after the other, that accumulates in the final object. For example, nail fetish figures, which are used in the Congo region, are produced in a series of actions that lead to the entrapment of a hunter's soul in the figure, into which, then, nails are driven to ask the soul to deliver justice in matters of dispute. The figure, in this case, becomes the index of all these agencies, starting from the priest cutting the tree, the tree taking the life of the hunter, the driving of the nail and, finally, if the nail-driver's accusations are correct, the delivery of justice.[59]

One striking and particularly illuminating example Gell uses is the soldier who plants an anti-personnel mine, which later explodes to kill. According to Gell, the weapon does have agency, since it is not external to the agent who does the killing, but a part of what I would call an 'assemblage' that is made up of the person, the weapon and other contextual social relationships that make this assemblage possible. But Gell makes a distinction between primary and secondary agents. The soldier is, as an intentional being, categorically different from the weapon. By connecting to secondary agents in this manner, primary agents, such as soldiers, extend the reach of their agency and identity in time and space. Yet, once again, this does not mean that the weapon is a mere tool, devoid of morality. Secondary agents are, on the contrary, 'objective embodiments of the *power or capacity to will their use*, and hence, moral entities themselves'.[60]

Gell calls 'distributed personhood' this way in which an agent articulates itself to other agents, such as material objects, so as to widen its sphere of influence. In the example above, it is to the advantage of the soldier to distribute one's agency via weaponry, however it may not always be so. Outcome of distribution may be hazardous to one's identity, too, as when one's photograph is used in magic to harm the person.[61]

3.3.3. Affordances of material objects

So, material objects are promiscuous, that is, open to recontextualisations, multiple uses and interpretations. Within recontextualisations, and by way of iconic and indexical relations, their capacities can be realised to extend other agencies. But, what

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58 Ibid., p. 20, original emphasis.
59 R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind; or Motes on the Kingly Office in West Africa* (London: Haarlem, 1968; first publ. 1906), p. 93, cited in Gell, *Art and Agency*, p. 61.
60 Gell, *Art and Agency*, p. 21 (original emphasis).
61 Ibid., p. 102.

exactly are these capacities? What is it that is unique to the weapon, as in Gell above, so that it can extend soldiers' agency in a particular way, i.e. enables them to hurt others? Or, as in Keane above, what quality does the chair have so that it can iconically relate to certain postures?

Material culture studies, particularly Daniel Miller's work, have been criticised for their failure to theorise three-dimensional form and physical properties of material objects, which seem to underlie such potentials of objects. Bjørnar Olsen, for instance, argued that, since the main interest of such studies was in symbolic consumption, they have understated the significance of non-symbolic consumption, and thus the materiality of objects themselves.[62] In a similar vein, Tim Ingold contended that the materials of which objects are made, and their properties, such as brittleness or elasticity, were not spared the required attention.[63] A series of parallel critiques have been voiced by design historians, who argued that the methodological focus of material culture studies is inadequate for the study of design objects due to their lack of engagement with three-dimensionality and instrumental use.[64]

Indeed, if the material world is not to be considered 'a *tabula rasa*' that is open to *any* use or interpretation,[65] material objects are required to have certain material properties whose existence precedes the relations they establish in different contexts. However, in suggesting this, it is important not to fall back into a conception of materiality as objective given.[66] Such a pitfall is well demonstrated in Annette Weiner's analysis of cloth. According to Weiner, certain objective characteristics of cloth have made it suitable for the investment of certain meanings in various, if not all, cultures:

> It is not accidental that the very physicality of cloth, its woven-ness, and its potential for fraying and unraveling denote the vulnerability in acts of connectedness and tying, in human cultural reproduction, and in decay and death. Contrastingly, hard possessions such as jade, precious metal, or bones are much more durable than cloth, making them better physical objects for symbolizing permanence and historical accountings. Cloth, unlike hard materials, is able to represent the more realistic paradox of how permanence in social, political, and ancestral relationships is sought after despite the precariousness of these relationships always subject to loss, decay, and

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62 'Material Culture after Text: Re-Membering Things', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 36.2 (2003), 87–104 (p. 94); see also my critique of Miller in Section 3.1.2 above .

63 'Materials Against Materiality', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 14.1 (2007), 1–16; for a response, see Daniel Miller, 'Stone Age or Plastic Age?', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 14.1 (2007), 23–27.

64 Charles Saumarez Smith, 'Material Culture and Mass Consumption', *Journal of Design History*, 1.2 (1988), 150–151 (book review); Victor Margolin, 'The Experience of Products', in *The Politics of the Artificial: Essays on Design and Design Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 38–59; Kjelit Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), pp. 35–39.

65 Ian Hutchby, 'Technologies, Texts and Affordances', *Sociology*, 35.2 (2001), 441–456 (pp. 446, 450).

66 Susan Hekman, 'Constructing the Ballast: an Ontology for Feminism', in *Material Feminisms*, ed. by Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), pp. 85–119 (p. 88).

death.[67]

Such an emphasis on objective properties is, of course, problematic in so far as it hints at the possibility of a transcultural analysis of objects. As Strathern objects to Weiner, 'it would be unwise to predict that objects meaningful in one context will have identical meanings in another'.[68] On the other hand, such physical properties as fragility or durability do matter, since eventually they may, as Weiner shows, play a part in the construction and reproduction of cultural meaning, in this case, of permanence and impermanence.

One particularly helpful way to approach these two extremes is the distinction between animism and fetishism.[69] The former is defined as the animation of things by something external to them, such as by a spirit; while in the latter we find that it is merely the physical properties of the object that exert influence, without derivation from a foreign source. As Peter Pels puts, if animism is 'spirit *in* matter', fetishism is 'spirit *of* matter'.[70] Yet in another sense, the terms are polar opposites. The former can be found typically in theories that foreground representation and symbolism (among which Pels counts Miller's and Appadurai's work), whereby the material is 'a *tabula rasa* on which signification is conferred by humans'. With the fetish, contrarily, material objects have 'a measure of plastic power' independent of, even resistant to, human inscription.[71]

With reference to Keane, Thomas and Gell, I have already started sketching a third way that avoids both extremes in theorising such potentials of objects. This alternative way is to reconsider these potentials as 'affordances'. As the index of a certain capacity, the weapon *affords*, to a soldier who knows how to operate it, hurting others. Or the chair, via its iconic relation to one or more postures, *affords* those postures to a group of users.

Affordance, as a term, was coined by psychologist James J. Gibson as part of his theory of ecological perception. According to Gibson, animals, human or otherwise, perceive and recognise (or often fail to recognise, or even misrecognise) what their environment offers them as action potentials. A cavity affords hiding, or laying eggs, while a knife affords cutting bread, but also cutting oneself. Each such complementarity between an actor and its environment is called an 'affordance'.[72]

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67   Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*, p. 59; see also Myers, 'Introduction', pp. 13–15.
68   Marilyn Strathern, 'Culture in a Netbag: the Manufacture of a Subdiscipline in Anthropology', *Man*, New Series, 16.4 (1981), 665–688 (p. 673).
69   Carl Knappett, 'Materials with Materiality?', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 14.1 (2007), 23–27.
70   'The Spirit of Matter: On Fetish, Rarity, Fact, and Fancy', in *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces,* ed. by Patricia Spyer (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 91–121 (p. 94).
71   Ibid., pp. 100–101.
72   James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (New York: Psychology Press, 1986), Ch. 8.

For Gibson, affordances are closely related to formal and physical properties of objects, but cannot be reduced to abstract physical properties, such as weight or dimensions, since they are always relative to the actor involved: For certain insects, water is 'walk-on-able', but not for humans. Hammers afford hammering to most adult humans, but not to infants. In this manner,

> an affordance cuts across the dichotomy of subjective-objective, and helps us to understand its inadequacy. It is equally a fact of environment and a fact of behaviour. It is both physical and psychical, yet neither. An affordance points both ways, to the environment and to the observer.[73]

It is important that, by being defined relationally, Gibson's use of the term cuts across not only the dichotomy of subjective and objective, but also those of nature and culture, and mental and material. Gibson is adamant that affordances are not representational, they are not composed of a material object and its mental representation. For instance, it is incorrect to speak separately of a material, inert postbox, and a mental representation of it, which invites letter-mailing: 'I prefer to say that the real postbox (the only one) affords letter-mailing to a letter-writing human in a community with a postal system.'[74]

However, the idea of direct perception of affordances, unmediated by language or any cultural order, which underlies Gibson's theory of affordances can be problematic when taken to signify an asocial—merely physical—encounter between the actor and the material object.[75] This results in two shortcomings. On the side of the material object, Gibson's perspective downplays the deliberate management of affordances in design, where objects are designed so as to afford a variety of predicted uses and not to afford possible misuses.[76] One solution, as I have been building up to, is to think of material objects as material and symbolic assemblages that go through different 'moments' and connect to different 'regimes of value'. In the next chapter, it will be my contention that the concept of actor-networks is particularly fit for this task.

On the side of the human actor, Gibson's perspective does not give due attention to socialisation. In fact, as the examples show, the author does acknowledge the learning involved in affordances, yet he is reluctant to further his analysis into the myriad ways in which larger networks of relations (or simply, culture) condition their perception and

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73   Ibid., p. 129.
74   Ibid., p. 139.
75   For a similar argument, see Tim Dant, 'The Driver-Car', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21.4/5 (2004), 61–79 (p. 69).
76   Still, various interpretations of the concept is used in design research, and especially in human-computer interaction and usability studies. See for instance, Donald A. Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Hsiao-chen You and Kuohsiang Chen, 'Applications of Affordance and Semantics in Product Design', *Design Studies*, 28 (2007), 23–38; for design practice based on an ecological approach, see also Masato Sasaki, 'Affordance and Design: Product Designs from the Core of Awareness, in *Naoto Fukasawa*, ed. by Naoto Fukasawa (London: Phaidon, 2007), pp. 62–65 (p. 64); cf. Tom Fisher, 'What We Touch, Touches Us: Materials, Affects, and Affordances', *Design Issues*, 20.4 (2004), 20–31 (p. 24, note 13).

utilisation.[77] Conversely, my use of the term aims to emphasise its social aspect.

Additionally, one important concept in this regard is 'embodiment', which describes the way in which certain material objects are 'embodied' by actors in the form of bodily techniques. An example would be how, through extended use, a blind person's cane becomes an extension of their body and, virtually, a sensory organ.[78] Similarly, the coming together of a driver with a car is not simply a series of physical affordances in the sense that the car affords the driver mobility—i.e. to drive at certain speed, pass through a certain width of opening, etc.—who then makes use of it. Rather, as Dant puts, 'the driver is habitually embodied within the car as an assemblage that can achieve automobility'.[79] However, continuing the example of automobility, neither is the bodily relationship between drivers and cars a mere relationship between an individual body and an individual material object. It is thoroughly social, habitualised via a long process of socialisation.[80] The driver-car interaction is social also in another sense, which is more related to this study, that it is a part of a system of automobility, which is a larger assemblage 'of specific human activities, machines, roads, buildings, signs and cultures of mobility'.[81] It is in this second sense that affordances need to be underlined for their bodily component.

3.4. Concluding points

It is possible, at this point, to advance a series of methodological propositions by manner of summary. It appears that material objects require to be analysed in both spatial and temporal terms, for they travel from one moment (i.e. production, consumption, etc.) to the other, yet also coexist within multiple semiotic and material configurations, which also function as regimes of value. Therefore each moment can also be approached as such a configuration—as Myers' study of Aboriginal art I discussed above implies—so that the object in one moment (e.g. design) is taken in relation to, but also as different from the object in another (e.g. consumption). Meanwhile, the coexistence of multiple configurations (or at least, the possibility of such a coexistence) implies relations of power and asymmetry of access between and within moments, as articulated to larger networks of relationships in the form of hegemonic projects.

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77 Alan Costall, 'Socializing Affordances', *Theory and Psychology*, 5.4 (1995), 467–481; Tim Ingold, 'Culture, Perception, Cognition', in *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 157–171 (p. 167).

78 Jean-Pierre Warnier, 'A Praxeological Approach to Subjectivation in a Material World', *Journal of Material Culture*, 6.5 (2001), 5–24 (p. 7), paraphrasing Paul Schilder, *The Image and Appearance of the Human Body: Studies in the Constructive Energy of the Psyche* (London: Kegan Paul, 1935).

79 Dant, 'The Driver-Car', p. 73.

80 See Marcel Mauss, 'Techniques of the Body', *Economy and Society*, 2.1 (1973), 70–88.

81 John Urry, 'The "System" of Automobility', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21.4/5 (2004), 25–39 (p. 25).

However, it is important that being included in certain social relationships (e.g. a certain consumption setting) does not reduce the object to the terms of that social context which precedes its inclusion. The object does not simply reflect the terms of its design or consumption, but influences them—'mediates' them. Such mediation can take place at the symbolic level as identity claims, and in social terms by facilitating or consolidating social relationships, both of which can offer either new articulations, or points of resistance, to existing hegemonies. Possibilities opened up by collective consumption practices as creative recontextualisations, are important in this context. And to understand this mediation requires for us to be attentive not only to communicative articulations of the object, but also to its materiality in terms of the following:[82] its promiscuity (that it is open to reinterpretation and creative employment), its agential qualities (that it is the objectification of future uses, and that it can extend or distribute other agencies), its affordances (that it facilitates certain ways of relating to it, and does not so much enable others), its capacity for embodiment (that it can partake in bodily, habitual interactions).

In the following chapter I will clarify the terms of this methodological sketch by reviewing the actor-network approach to material objects.

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82   In this review I omitted a consideration for the radical alterity of materiality, i.e. that which remains outside of, or resists, objectification, since the topic falls outside the scope of this thesis. See for example, Christopher Pinney, 'Things Happen: or, from Which Moment Does That Object Come?', in *Materiality*, ed. by Miller, pp. 256–272; Bill Brown, 'How to Do Things with Things: a Toy Story', *Critical Inquiry*, 24.4 (1998), 935–964; Bill Brown, 'Thing Theory', *Critical Inquiry*, 28.1 (2001), 1–22.

Chapter 4. Material-semiotic analysis of design

In this chapter, I will turn to actor-network theory, and its recent applications, which can be grouped under the title of 'material semiotics',[1] and develop further the theoretical framework I have derived from the insights of cultural studies and material culture. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, material semiotics provides not only further elaboration, but also, and more importantly, a resourceful set of analytical tools for looking into design practice. Moreover, this chapter offers a counterpoint to the previous, where the focus of the literature was more on consumption practices than design.

4.1. Technology studies and actor-network theory

Studying the relationship between scientific activity, technology development and society in general, science and technology studies (STS) have done considerable work on processes of technology and product development. To explain technological change, theoretical approaches have been developed that range from technological determinism—which posits that technological developments drive social change—to social determinism—which contrarily take technologies as neutral by themselves, apart from their socially specific articulations. Between these two extremes, most work in STS have taken the position that there is reciprocity between technological development and social change: While what lead to the creation, dissemination and persistence of certain technologies—and not others—are relationships of a certain social character, these become, in turn, initiators or mediators of significant change in the social realm.[2]

This question of the relationship between technology and social change dovetails with the discussion, in the previous chapters, of the dual politics of material objects. In his seminal article, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?', STS scholar Langdon Winner delineates two different ways in which material objects can embody political perspectives. According to the first of these, as in the example of low overpasses in Long Island, New York, which do not let buses, and therefore lower classes, into richer neighbourhoods, the object can be an outright objectification, a material embodiment, of a political perspective. Secondly, there are what Winner calls 'inherently political technologies' with reference to arguments regarding how certain complex technologies

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1   John Law, 'Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics', version of 25 April 2007, <http://www.heterogeneities.net/publications/Law2007ANTandMaterialSemiotics.pdf> [accessed 09 February 2010].

2   Donald A. MacKenzie and Judy Wajcman, 'Introductory Essay', in *The Social Shaping of Technology*, ed. by Donald A. MacKenzie and Judy Wajcman, 2nd edn (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 1999), pp. 3–27; for a discussion in the context of design, see Edward Woodhouse and Jason W. Paton, 'Design by Society: Science and Technology Studies and the Social Shaping of Design', *Design Issues*, 20.3 (2004), 1–13 (pp. 3–4).

(such as factory production as opposed to crafts, or nuclear as opposed to solar energy) require, and therefore consolidate, strong authority and vertical social organisation.[3] Taking up on Pels' distinction, it is possible to think of the former as an example of animistic thinking, in so far as the bridge is a form given by ideologies to inert raw material. The latter, on the other hand, tends towards technological determinism, and fetishistic thinking, since the 'inherent' qualities of new technologies give rise to—or at least, influence deeply the emergence of—a certain type of social structure.[4]

Within this general perspective, two particular approaches, social construction of technology (SCOT) and actor-network theory (ANT), have suggested ways to cut across and challenge this dichotomy of technological and social determinism, or animism and fetishism. The common assumptions of the two approaches, as compiled by Wiebe E. Bijker and John Law, can be listed as follows:[5] Both technological change and changes in the social world are contingent rather than teleological. These are not products of a linear causality (e.g. of technological progress or of social transformation), but matters of conflicting interests between actors, whoever or whatever they are. The fate of a technology (for instance the TSR fighter plane, if we follow Law and Callon's analysis) is decided through an interplay of these actors' strategies (in this case, the Ministry of Defence, the Royal Air Force, the Treasury, the Navy, the Ministry of Supply, etc.).[6] Accordingly, strategies and their consequences are always considered 'emergent phenomena', and irreducible to any of the strategies involved, or to the rules of some contextual field or social context preceding the actors.

This basic argumentation has led to important studies on development and diffusion of products, successful or otherwise (as in Bijker's study on florescent bulb; Callon on VEL, the electric car; and Latour on Aramis, the personal rapid transit system), some of which also focus on the political implications of these products (for example, Cockburn and Ormrod on gender in the case of microwaves).[7] The close analysis of

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3   In *The Whale and the Reactor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 19–39.

4   Peter Pels, 'The Spirit of Matter: On Fetish, Rarity, Fact, and Fancy', in *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces,* ed. by Patricia Spyer (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 91–121; see Section 3.3.3.

5   Wiebe E. Bijker, and John Law, 'General Introduction', in *Shaping Technology / Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnological Change*, ed. by Wiebe E. Bijker and John Law (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992), pp. 1–16 (pp. 8–10).

6   John Law and Michel Callon, 'The Life and Death of an Aircraft: a Network Analysis of Technical Change', in *Shaping Technology / Building Society*, ed. by Bijker and Law, pp. 21–52.

7   Wiebe E. Bijker, *Of Bicycles, Bakelites, and Bulbs: Toward a Theory of Sociotechnological Change* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997); Michel Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network: the Case of the Electric Vehicle', in *Mapping the Dynamics of Science and Technology*, ed. by Michel Callon, John Law and Arie Rip (London, Macmillan Press: 1986), pp. 19–34; Bruno Latour, *Aramis: or the Love of Technology*, trans. by C. Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Cynthia Cockburn and Susan Ormrod,

processes of product development preferred in these studies has produced a number of insights that mark them as significant for the study of design. One major significance is that they make it possible to look closely into design as a 'sociotechnical'[8] setting—which cuts across symbolic and material levels in accordance with my discussion in previous chapters. Another significance lies in their recognition that material objects could have been otherwise, that a project could have failed, or completed in a state that is radically different from the way it did.[9] Accordingly, ANT and SCOT research refrain from regarding the product as a complete entity, which is by its nature stable. Instead they strive to keep the product in an incomplete, unstable and emergent state, as in that moment when the product is half a project and half real; so that through which means the product is stabilised and how it is made to persist as such, if it does, remain open for interrogation.

4.1.1. Social construction of technology: relevant social groups

As far as the proponents of SCOT are concerned, each technology is a product of interactions among scientists, manufacturers, designers, users, non-users, consumers, etc. qua 'relevant social groups', each of which is characterised by a unique view of the technology at hand. More precisely, involvement of a group in the process is secured by the specificity of their interactions with and interpretations of that particular technology, and this difference in interpretations is called 'interpretative flexibility'.[10]

However, 'interpretative flexibility' does not mean that a product, singular and complete by itself, is received differently by a number of groups, but that every social group interacts with, and thus constructs, a different object. Bijker illustrates this point in his classic example of the 'Ordinary bicycle' as follows:

> For example, for the social group of Ordinary nonusers [of bicycles] an important aspect of the high-wheeled Ordinary [bicycle] was that it could easily topple over, resulting in a hard fall; the machine was difficult to mount, risky to ride, and not easy to dismount. It was, in short, an Unsafe Bicycle. For another relevant social group, the users of the Ordinary, the machine was also seen as risky, but rather than being considered a problem, this was one of its attractive features [… which] made it a Macho Bicycle. This Macho Bicycle was, I will argue, radically different from the Unsafe Bicycle—it was designed to meet different criteria; it was sold, bought and used for different purposes; it was evaluated to different standards, it was considered a machine that worked whereas the Unsafe Bicycle was a nonworking machine.[11]

Parallel with an understanding of technologies as incomplete and emergent, there is

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Gender and Technology in the Making (London: Sage, 1993).

8   Thomas P. Hughes, *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880–1930* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1983), p. 465.

9   Bijker and Law, 'General Introduction', p. 3; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), p. 89.

10   Bijker, *Of Bicycles, Bakelites and Bulbs*, p. 79.

11   Ibid., pp. 74–75.

no archetypal 'Ordinary bicycle' that either epistemologically or historically precedes the 'Unsafe' and 'Macho' bicycles. This incompleteness created by the plurality of interpretations can only be overcome through a consensus among relevant social groups, which can only be achieved through conflict and negotiation, because, as argued above, processes of technological development are characterised by such struggles. In this manner, the SCOT perspective dovetails with Nicholas Thomas' insight that the object is in fact a series of recontextualisations,[12] whilst also implying the existence of hegemonic projects whereby certain interpretations can be enforced onto other groups.

The idea that material objects are defined with respect to certain social groups is particularly interesting in the example of industrial designers and Bakelite, the plastic material. In Bijker's study, industrial designers are considered a relevant social group, too, having transformed the meaning of Bakelite, while their professional role and reception was transformed by Bakelite in turn. What is notable here is that Bijker takes industrial designers as a more-or-less coherent group in itself. For example, speaking of common design solutions to the challenges of the new material (e.g. 'small facet rims that camouflaged the difference in size', which replaced the practice of filing, a technique inapplicable to plastics), he implies the existence of common solutions that are attributable not to particular designers, but to design practice in general[13]—or rather, to what I would prefer to call a design culture.

While SCOT, as its principal contribution, underlined the struggles between different social groups in technology development, the methodological question of selecting relevant groups and accounting for that selection have been its weaknesses. How do you decide which social groups are relevant, and how do you account for their analytical construction? As Clayton put it, for instance, how do you put women, that is, 'half the population of England into a relevant social group'?[14] Critics argued that the boundaries of groups are never clear-cut, nor they are of equal access and visibility in terms of their participation in the development of technologies.[15] And by ignoring that, not only does SCOT fail to account for construction of groups, but it also risks remaining politically ineffective.[16]

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12   Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 28–29.
13   Bijker, *Of Bicycles, Bakelites, and Bulbs*, p. 183; see also pp. 122–126.
14   Nick Clayton, 'SCOT: Does It Answer?', *Technology and Culture*, 43.2 (2002), 351–60 (p. 356); see also Bijker and Pinch's response in Wiebe E. Bijker, Trevor Pinch and Nick Clayton, 'SCOT Answers, Other Questions: a Reply to Nick Clayton', *Technology and Culture*, 43.2 (2002), 361–70.
15   Stewart Russell, 'The Social Construction of Artifacts: a Response to Pinch and Bijker', *Social Studies of Science*, 16 (1986), 331–46; Hans K. Klein and Daniel Lee Kleinman, 'The Social Construction of Technology: Structural Considerations', *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 27.1 (2002), 28–52.
16   Langdon Winner, 'Upon Opening the Black Box and Finding it Empty', *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 18.3 (1993), 362–78.

Simply put, the problem stems from SCOT's disregard for context, i.e. the wider social, economic, political and ideological structures, or its inability to come up with a concept that could replace such sociological considerations. ANT, on the other hand, offers a more sophisticated view of the social, dispensing with the requirement of a deterministic context and sidestepping the critique above.

4.1.2. Actor-network theory: interests and translation

For ANT, actors that play a part in technology development are not limited to social groups; in fact, they are not even limited to humans. Fuel-cells, electrodes and electrons; doors, keys, door-closers and human parts can be actors as well.[17] Akrich and Latour define 'actant' as 'whatever acts or shifts actions', and 'actor' as 'an actant endowed with a character', anthropomorphic or otherwise.[18] In the end, the number of entities that play a part in a particular interaction, e.g. a product development process, is potentially infinite, if we count all the persons and objects involved (as contrary to Gell's stacked agencies).[19] According to ANT, what the researcher needs to do—instead of limiting oneself to ready categories such as individuals, institutions or classes—is to 'follow the actors' in their accounts of processes, and listen to the way they talk about other actors in the network.[20]

Callon's analysis of the failed project of VEL (abbreviation for *véhicule électrique*) can be used to elucidate the ANT approach: EDF (*Electricité de France*), as an actor, devises an actor-world of which it is a part in addition to a number of other actors, including Renault, fuel cells and consumers. EDF defines these as actors, endows them with a character, an interest, a strategy, before attempting to 'enroll' them into the VEL project. For EDF, users are characterised by having problems with transportation and pollution; Renault, by its knowledge of car production; internal combustion engine, by the pollution it creates and its connection to consumer society; and lead accumulators, by their potential to make electric cars reach a speed of 90 km/h and thus change the very way users relate to cars.[21]

In this, Callon's conception of 'consumers of private cars' as an actor is different from SCOT's definition of social groups, since for SCOT social groups exist as such, whereas

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17   Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network'; Bruno Latour, 'Where are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts', in *Shaping Technology / Building Society*, ed. by Bijker and Law, pp. 225–258.
18   Madeline Akrich and Bruno Latour, 'A Summary of a Convenient Vocabulary for the Semiotics of Human and Nonhuman Assemblies', in *Shaping Technology / Building Society*, ed. by Bijker and Law, pp. 259–264 (p. 259).
19   Bruno Latour and Emilie Hermant, *Paris: Invisible City*, trans. by Liz Carey-Libbrecht, <http://www.bruno-latour.fr/virtual/index.html> [accessed 09 February 2010], plan 25–26; Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: an Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); see also Section 3.3.2.
20   Latour, *Aramis*, pp. 204, 243.
21   Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network', pp. 20–26.

for ANT, they are defined in the performative mode. They have no inertia other than the group-making efforts that make them be.[22] In other words, there are groups as far as some actor speaks for that group—just as EDF speaks in the name of consumers of private cars. But the way EDF speaks for the other actors can always be challenged by them. Since each actor that EDF attempts to enroll into its actor-world would have an actor-world of its own, there emerges a network where each represents a unique perspective not only on the project, but also on the number, character and intentions of the other actors involved.[23] Amid these competing perspectives, what every actor attempts is to impose its own interpretation onto the others through a process of 'interessement'. Interessement can involve seduction, persuasion, as well as outright violence, aiming to impose certain roles and characters upon various entities.[24]

This process depends on successful creation of 'obligatory passage points', through which every actor will agree to detour—just as Latour describes in his account of the Aramis project how Mr Bardet, an engineer, made himself indispensable for the project by declaring himself an obligatory point of passage:

> A chain of translation: there is no solution to the problems of the city without innovations in transportation, no innovation in transportation without kinematics, no kinematics without Automatisme et Technique; and, of course, no Automatisme et Technique without Bardet. […] If you want to save the city, save Bardet.[25]

The overall process of defining and accumulating allies in this manner hinges on a process of simplification, whereby complex sets of relationships that make up each actor are reduced to a single entity. A 'black box', in this context, is such an entity, an actant, that is taken (or presented) 'as such', without interest in or knowledge of its interior workings, that is, of the network of heterogeneous elements that constitute it. What is more important is that the aim of network building in general is creating black boxes,[26] or in other words, designing and implementing networks that resist transformation, even interrogation. Had EDF been able to secure the collaboration of fuel cells, manufacturers and consumers, had it been able to 'enroll' them, it could have black-boxed the electric car, giving it durability as a material object. Otherwise, it remains a controversy.[27]

The interdefinition of actors, interessement, their enrolment and, finally, black-boxing

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22   Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, pp. 27–37.
23   Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network', p. 25.
24   Michel Callon, 'Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay', in *Power, Action and Belief: a New Sociology of Knowledge?* ed. by John Law (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 196–233 (p. 207).
25   Latour, *Aramis*, p. 33.
26   'In a sense, all human activity aims to create black boxes.' Graham Harman, *Prince of Networks: Bruno Latour and Metaphysics* (Melbourne: re.press, 2009), p. 37.
27   Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network', p. 32.

constitute the steps of building durable networks.[28]

4.1.3. Agency of material objects in ANT

Translation is a crucial term for ANT, for it is the way in which two entities, human or otherwise, relate. Mediation—as opposed to transmitting, signifying, reflecting or providing a backdrop—indicates a laborious process of translation, and so involves a modification in the state of affairs. Actors do not merely 'intermediate' some meaning in the social structure, but they 'mediate' it; they transform it, translate it.[29]

In terms of material objects, the heavy weight attached to keys in hotels to make customers leave their keys in the reception is a much-cited example offered by Bruno Latour. According to the author, the hotel manager's reminder to her customers to leave their keys at the reception is, when delegated to the heavy weight, translated to getting rid of a heavy object that damages pockets and bags.[30] As objects act, they effect changes around them:

> the bright yellow letter box *makes us lift* our arm, from a distance, to slip in our envelope. The bollards […] categorically *prohibit* cars from driving onto the pavement—and *break* the shins of blind pedestrians; tree protectors […] *allow* cyclists to chain up their bicycles (advising against theft) and *protect* the barks against damage; tulip-shaped bins […] *receive* the rubbish in parks; […] the big bins with flap lids [… *attract*] bombs, […] Norman Foster bus shelters […] *provide* shelter from the rain and even *allow* one to delicately pose one's posterior—although, like the misericords in churches, they *prohibit* sitting or lying down.[31]

Such a conceptualisation of the agency of material objects is parallel with my discussion in the previous chapter, especially with Alfred Gell's definition of agency in art objects.[32] However, actor-network approach is more radical as per the principle of symmetry, whereas for Gell, objects are 'secondary agents', whose agency is derivative, and can act only in so far as they take part in social relationships with human beings:

> All that may be necessary for sticks and stones to become 'social agents' in the sense that we require, is that there should be actual human persons/agents 'in the neighbourhood' of these inert objects, not that they should be biologically human persons themselves.[33]

The principle of ANT that there is no such thing as 'social' relationships (e.g. face-to-face) as opposed to non-social ones (e.g. natural, technical etc.) is particularly

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28 Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network', pp. 203–209; see also Law and Callon.
29 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 71.
30 Bruno Latour, 'Technology is Society Made Durable', in *A Sociology of Monsters? Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*, ed. by John Law (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 103–131 (p. 105).
31 Latour and Hermant, plan 32 (my emphasis).
32 Gell, *Art and Agency*, pp. 13–15; see Section 3.3.2.
33 Ibid., p. 123.

relevant here: Relationships between non-humans are social, too.[34] Alternatively, one can look at Latour's discussion of weapons as agents, which can readily be contrasted with the one by Gell I referred to in the previous chapter.[35] While Latour and Gell both designate the soldier-weapon assemblage as the agent of killing, rather than either the soldier or the gun, Latour insists on symmetry: 'You are different with a gun in your hand; the gun is different with you holding it.'[36] The key to the difference between two approaches is the concept of mediation, which posits that the weapon does not merely extend the agency of the human agent, or vice versa, but that each modifies the other:

> A good citizen becomes a criminal, a bad guy becomes a worse guy; a silent gun becomes a fired gun, a new gun becomes a used gun, a sporting gun becomes a weapon.[37]

It is in this respect that agency does not simply accumulate on the object, then remain as such, extending the agency of the original actors. Agency is strictly a function of the network. As Latour puts, 'B-52s do not fly, the U.S. Air Force flies. Action is simply not a property of humans *but of an association of actants*.'[38] The actor-network approach insists that it is more correct to consider agency as *distributed* in the network, together with interests and competences as they are defined during the negotiations that constitute the process of network-building.

4.2. Design as network-building and long-distance control

Thus far I have made a broad sketch of ANT and reviewed its key terms with regard to the study of material objects. In general, ANT advocates a performative outlook, which views social groups, material objects, companies, etc. as entities in emergence that are in constant need of representation and maintenance. This makes it necessary to look at concepts, such as intention, agency and function, in relational rather than essential terms, for they are taken to be defined and delegated in negotiations. In specific, ANT describes the mechanisms by which material and symbolic assemblages that comprise sociotechnical settings, such as design and consumption, are brought together; namely, via network-building practices that rely on interdefinition and distribution. Thus it provides a terminology to articulate what roles a material object assumes in each setting that it enters.

Looking into design in particular, processes of product and technology development have a privileged standing for ANT since they are explicit network-building processes

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34 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*; see also Karin Knorr Cetina, 'Sociality with Objects: Social Relations in Postsocial Knowledge Societies', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 14.4 (1997), 1–30.
35 Gell, *Art and Agency*, pp. 20–21.
36 Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 179.
37 Ibid., p. 180.
38 Latour, *Pandora's Hope*, p. 182, original emphasis.

that aim to create black-boxes. Of course, not all coming-together of entities can be attributed to conscious design decisions, but it is possible to argue the opposite: Design practice consists of attempts to control the effects of its products by building durable networks. I will call this aspect of design, after John Law, 'long-distance control'.[39]

4.2.1. Strategies of long-distance control

Originally Law uses the term, long-distance control, in his discussion of the Portuguese maritime expansion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He analyses how the Portuguese brought together various actors, namely, well-trained personnel, written documents and material objects, such as ships and navigational devices, to exert remote control over spice trade in the Indian Ocean. His conclusion is that out of these elements the Portuguese managed to build a system, 'an envelope of durable mobility', which could navigate independently of the immediate context and travel to remote places, exert influence and return unharmed. This involved ships with defence towers and a large storage capacity for provisions, which let the system work independently of the cultural and economic context of the ocean, including possible attacks from pirates. It also involved astronomical navigation, which freed the vessels from dependence on the immediate geographical context, such as the coastline and landmarks.[40]

In the sense Law uses the term, then, design can be considered to strive for long-distance control as it attempts to exert long-distance influence on future contexts of use. Such a definition is in line with its role as an effector of articulations between various moments of cultural production, which I maintained in Chapter 2.[41] And this is despite and against 'the promiscuity of things',[42] which permits material objects to connect with an unforeseeable variety of networks and find interpretations and uses that diverge from designers' original intentions. In response to this, design functions as an encoding practice which, as I argued above, functions in both symbolic and material terms. Indeed, material objects carry certain capacities, including those in the form of iconic or indexical relations. My suggestion was that we consider such

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39 John Law, 'On the Methods of Long Distance Control: Vessels, Navigation, and the Portuguese Route to India', <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Law-Methods-of-Long-Distance-Control.pdf> [accessed 13 October 2011] (first publ. in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*, ed. by John Law (London: Routledge, 1986), pp. 234–263).

40 Ibid., p. 7. See also Bruno Latour's term, 'immutable mobile', in the context of scientific practice; *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987).

41 Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus, *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman* (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 66, 120; see Section 2.3.3 above.

42 Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 27; see also Section 3.3.1.

capacities under the general title of affordances. I also indicated that affordances are manipulated in the design of material objects.[43] Actor-network theory, with its close focus on processes of technology and product development, can be used to flesh out these general suggestions.

The concept of 'script' as defined by Madeleine Akrich is particularly useful to this end. A material object's script refers to the assumptions in design process as to the future actors to which the object is anticipated to relate, including their assumed competences, motives, physical properties, etc. Such assumptions about 'the projected user' as well as the context of use are 'inscribed' in the object, and are later encountered by 'the real user' within various networks into which it is inserted. Within the new configuration, actual actors may or may not 'subscribe' to these scripts, taking on or resisting the roles defined by the product's 'prescriptions', i.e. its affordances.[44] For instance, an ATM 'addresses a generic bank customer and an ergonomic human being—neither dwarf nor giant—with certain properties—he talks French—and about ten thousand neurons,' the pedestrian barrier is thinking of someone with 'the required muscles, resistance and agility', and the traffic light, 'a reader of signs'.[45]

As Akrich and Latour note, script analysis is thoroughly semiotic, being about the production and distribution of meaning—though, a specifically non-representational meaning—within a network.[46] In this particular sense, Akrich's use of the terms, inscription and subscription, are analogical with Stuart Hall's concepts of encoding and decoding, and thus methodologically compatible with an understanding of design as a practice of encoding material objects.[47] On this note, it is important to remember that material semiotics of script analysis is a long way from representationalist analyses of objects, such as that of Barthes,[48] not only because it works on both material and ideational levels, but also because it looks for mediation as opposed to representation.[49] As a much-cited example goes, speed bumps do not simply stand for a warning sign indicating you to slow down, but obliges you to do so, as it translates

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43   See Section 3.3.3.
44   Madeline Akrich, 'The De-scription of Technical Objects', in *Shaping Technology / Building Society*, ed. by Bijker and Law, pp. 205–224; see also Akrich and Latour; Latour, 'Where are the Missing Masses?'.
45   Latour and Hermant, plan 33.
46   Akrich and Latour, p. 259.
47   Nelly Oudshoorn and Trevor Pinch, 'Introduction: How Users and Non-Users Matter', in *How Users Matter: the Co-Construction of Users and Technology*, ed. by Nelly Oudshoorn and Trevor Pinch (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. 1–25; Stuart Hall, 'Encoding/Decoding', in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*, ed. by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis (London: Routledge, 1980), pp. 110–116; see also Section 2.3.1.
48   Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (New York: Noonday Press, 1972); see also Section 2.1.
49   See my earlier discussions in Sections 3.3 and 4.1.2.

the warning to the possibility of damaging your car.[50]

Script analysis, its connection with affordances, and its significance as a tool for understanding design have been indicated in design literature.[51] It has also been shown that scripts are widely used in design practice in the form of scenarios, mood boards, as well as usability tests and focus groups in order to anticipate consumption. Throughout the design process, not only a particular scenario of use, but also a particular user is built into the product, together with the assumed knowledge and skills, anthropometric dimensions, needs, desires and emotional profiles.[52] In that sense, the design process imposes, or attempts to impose, a particular order, a particular figuration and form to the human. These impositions, in the form of affordances, should be considered as parts of the attempts to exert long-distance control over the diversity of configurations the material object will enter in the future. As I have argued in the previous chapters, though, these various settings of consumption need to be taken as separate configurations in which various other actors interact with the material object in myriad ways. In these new settings whether, to what extent, and in what creative ways[53] the affordances will be related to can be extrapolated neither from the dynamics of the design process, nor from the objects themselves.

4.2.2. The insides and the outside of material objects

In this manner, script analysis provides for ANT a vocabulary that makes it possible to bring together in analysis the insides of an object—its physical and technical aspects— and its outside—the larger networks it is involved with. Fallan, following Hubak, calls

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50   Bruno Latour, 'Where are the Missing Masses?, p. 166; see Peter-Paul Verbeek, *What Things Do* (Pennsylvania State: Pennsylvania University Press, 2005), p. 209.

51   Jack Ingram, Elizabeth Shove, and Matthew Watson, 'Products and Practices: Selected Concepts from Science and Technology Studies and from Social Theories of Consumption and Practice', *Design Issues*, 23.2 (2007), 3–16 (pp. 8–10); Kjetil Fallan, 'De-scribing Design: Appropriating Script Analysis to Design History', *Design Issues* 24.4 (2008), 61–75; Kjetil Fallan, 'Form, Function, Fiction: Translations of Technology and Design in Product Development', *History and Technology*, 24.1 (2008), 61–87; Albena Yaneva, 'Making the Social Hold: Towards an Actor-Network Theory of Design', *Design and Culture*, 1.3 (2009), 273–288; Nikiforos S. Panourgias, 'Towards a Semiotics of Machines: the Participation of Texts and Documents in the Design and Development of an Information Technology-Based Market Device', in *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society*, University College Falmouth, 3–6 September 2008, ed. by Jonathan Glynne, Fiona Hackney, and Viv Minton (Boca Raton: Universal Publishers, 2009), pp. 345–352; Andrés Felipe Velderrama Pineda, 'Scripts and the Distribution of Agency in Urban Transport Projects', in *Networks of Design*, ed. by Glynne et al., pp. 265–269.

52   Harvey Molotch, *Where Stuff Comes From: How Toasters, Toilets, Cars, Computers, and Many Other Things Come to be as They are* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 45–46; Steve Woolgar, 'Configuring the User: the Case of Usability Trials', in *Sociology of Monsters?*, ed. by Law, pp. 57–102; for a design approach to user needs, see also Patrick W. Jordan, *Designing Pleasurable Products: An Introduction to the New Human Factors* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2000).

53   For a critique of script analysis for reducing the role of the user to either adopt or reject the inscribed meaning and use, see Oudshoorn and Pinch, pp. 15–16.

the former 'the physical script', and the latter, 'the sociotechnical script'.[54] However, such an analytical distinction is against the grain of script analysis, for it separates again what was brought together, undoing the very gain that allows for a seamless passage from the physical level to the sociotechnical and back. As Akrich illustrates at the very beginning of her article, design decisions regarding the physical properties of the material object are intertwined with the larger networks the object is articulated to:

> The strength of the materials used to build cars is a function of predictions about the stresses they will have to bear. These are in turn linked to the speed of the car, which is itself the product of a complex compromise between engine performance, legislation, law enforcement, and the values ascribed to different kinds of behavior.[55]

I argue that this promise of seamless passage, or more precisely, the flattening of these two levels of relations in analysis,[56] is the single most important contribution of ANT to the study of design. Two significant implications follow. First, such an approach connects the analysis of material objects to professional practices of their designers, which includes organisational structures, interdisciplinary relations, symbolic struggles in the field of design, and so on. Design as network-building and long-distance control involves the translation of both technical parts and design managers. However, this does not mean giving authorship back to designers, in the sense that designers are Rand-esque originators of their designs—a much-condemned flaw in popular design literature.[57] Rather the approach invites us to follow and make 'thick descriptions'[58] of the negotiations that take place among designers and other actors, which lead to the emergence of heterogeneous networks. Instead of attributing authorship to any actor, such an analysis brings to light the processes of distribution of authorship among persons, organisations and so-called external factors. In this respect, very much like Myers' analysis of Aboriginal artwork within two different regimes of value,[59] design practice can be said to take place in distinct regimes of authorship, implying different 'author functions'.[60]

Secondly, removing in analysis the distinction between the insides and the outside of

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54 Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), pp. 85–89; Marit Hubak, 'The Car as a Cultural Statement', in *Making Technology Our Own? Domesticating Technology into Everyday Life*, ed. by Merete Lie and Knut H. Sørensen (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996), pp. 171–200 (p. 175), cited in Fallan, *Design History*, pp. 85, 87.
55 Akrich, p. 7.
56 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, pp. 171–172.
57 See John A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), p. 50.
58 Clifford Geertz, 'Thick Description: toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3–32; Ken Alder, 'Introduction', *Isis*, 98.1 (2007), 80–83.
59 Fred Myers, 'Ontologies of the Image and Economies of Exchange', *American Ethnologist*, 31.1 (2004), 5–20; see Section 3.2.
60 Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?', in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), pp. 100–120.

an object makes it possible to investigate how and to what effect such a distinction was drawn in the first place. As Knorr Cetina notes, material objects are by definition 'unfinished' as they are open to new, even unforeseen, connections. A non-exhaustive list of such connections would include different models and versions that product models go through; the series—styles, brands, lifestyles, functional sets—they are organised into; and potential discoveries of their new capabilities by their users.[61] Objects are thus linked to the settings in which they are employed, to the extent that it is unclear how much of the 'peripherals', to use a computing term, belongs to the 'original' object, and how much is actually peripheral. In fact, some of such connections are more than opportunities for extension, but are requirements in so far as they describe 'orders of contingency',[62] which need to be in place for the object to function in a certain manner. For instance, as Harvey Molotch points out, for a toaster to work, there need to be 'wall out-lets for its plugs, bread slicers calibrated for a certain width, and jams that need a crusty base', as well as 'people's various sentiments about the safety of electrical current and what a breakfast, nutritionally and socially, ought to be'.[63] In that sense, a functioning toaster includes breakfast advertisements as well as power stations. Once again, as a relational understanding of agency entails, action is a property of the network, and not of the single actor (the toaster).

Still, objects are often presented as finished commodities despite such connectivity and contingencies and this fact alone implies a practice of black-boxing at work. Slater calls 'découpage' this process by which product categories, or markets, such as toasters, computers, and electric coffee makers, are cut out of the extensive sociotechnical systems of which they are parts, and black-boxed as isolated commodities. According to Slater, it is routine practice in marketing to confirm ('stabilise') or challenge ('destabilise') existing market categories to exploit opportunities.[64] As he notes elsewhere, 'marketing strategy is not—in the first instance —a matter of competition within market structures; rather it is a matter of competition over the structure of markets'. In other words, marketing innovation involves cutting out sociotechnical networks in such an innovative manner that the new product concept challenges existing market divisions and opens up a place for itself.[65] Though Slater only mentions design's role with regard to découpage in passing, it is evident

61   Knorr Cetina, 'Postsocial relations', pp. 530–531.
62   Guy Julier, 'Design Practice within a Theory of Practice', *Design Principles and Practices: An International Journal*, 1.2 (2007), 43–50.
63   Molotch, p. 1.
64   Don Slater, 'Markets, Materiality and the "New Economy"', in Market Relations and the Competitive Processes, ed. by Stan Metcalfe and Alan Warde (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 95–113 (pp. 100–102).
65   Don Slater, 'Capturing Markets from the Economists', in *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life*, ed. by Paul du Gay and Michael Pryke (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 59–77 (p. 68, original emphasis).

that processes of design depend on practices of découpage and black-boxing to create objects, however 'unfinished'.

Finally, it is important to note that in the discussion above regarding design, there is no allusion to a distinction between function and form, utility and meaning, use-value and sign-value.[66] This is partly because a levelling of the inside and the outsides of the object demands it. But it is more because the way sociotechnical settings as heterogeneous networks function, as I have shown throughout this Part 1, cuts across the very distinction of material and symbolic. Design as long-distance control involves tools from both sides of the dualism, intertwined in their application for the creation and maintenance of networks.

In this regard, and specifically to show, in prospect, how symbolic representation is a product of ongoing negotiation that involves heterogeneous relations, I would like to refer to the story of the Spanish Civil War bunkers in Madrid as reported in *Cabinet* by Amanda Schachter. The bunkers are cylindrical concrete enclosures, built by Franco's army in 1936 as part of the siege of Madrid. After one of the bunkers, the Lucero bunker, is unearthed in March 2003, media interest is aroused on the subject, as centred around one person, Antonio Morcillo, his project to preserve the bunkers, and his struggle with authorities who 'seem concerned merely to prevent them from becoming garbage heaps or refuges for squatters'. Schachter narrates:

> By the time I meet [Morcillo] for a visit to the Lucero bunker, nearly two months after it was unearthed, the little fort's windows and door have already been blocked up with bricks and mortar. Morcillo laments that the city has robbed the bunker of its meaning, making it look more like a water tank than the machine-gun nest it was. I learn that the bunker's twin has already been quietly demolished by developers, to make way for housing across the street.[67]

Morcillo takes the author to other bunkers that he discovered 'through long investigation of military maps, photos, and writings'; however, these are either buried under the ground or covered by 'house paint and kitchen tiles' for until 1998 they were part of shanty housing. As Schachter comments:

> Unlike Madrid's evident, self-contained memorials to Fascism, these bunkers are vestiges of a system always reliant on and intertwined with its surroundings. When the Nationalists realized that Madrid was not going to yield and fall 'like a ripe fruit,' they built the offensive line in three quick weeks with whatever was at hand—river stones, broken-up household crockery, plumbing from a nearby fountain. Now these structures are once again accretions of the debris from which they were made, cadavers too unwieldy to be removed and too disfigured to be properly eulogized.[68]

It is possible to extrapolate the material-semiotic perspective I described above, and

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66 However, see also Verbeek, pp. 204–207; see Barry Katz, 'Intelligent Design', *Technology and Culture*, 47.2 (2006), 381–390 (book review) (p. 388).
67 'Leftovers / Coming to the Surface', *Cabinet*, 10 (2003), 15–17 (p. 17).
68 Ibid.

take Morcillo's project as a (failed) design project, which tries to make the concrete structures communicate their origin as bunkers (denotatively) and the horrors of Fascism (connotatively). Thus it becomes evident that symbols, too, require to be constructed as relatively durable networks, bringing together media, history and municipal authorities. They also require maintenance, for they deteriorate as the network that makes them signify dissolves—however readily they once gave themselves to signification.

Canonical works of ANT have failed to comment on such questions of symbolism (or style and aesthetics) regarding material objects, which a design cultural research needs to account for. Neither Latour's famous examples of the Berlin key and the weighted key, nor his study of Aramis refers to such aspects.[69] In much of the literature that comments on material objects from an actor-network perspective, this shortcoming persists. Cynthia Cockburn and Susan Ormrod, for instance, in their influential and detailed study of the microwave oven, spare only two paragraphs to industrial design, where they quote a sales manager and two advertisements to remark that products' appearance should be matched to the latest 'fashion'.[70] Similarly, Fallan contrasted history of technology with design history to note that design has not been considered fully by research in the former field, which has been occupied with 'content and performance' at the expense of 'aesthetics and appearance'.[71]

In this regard, Peter-Paul Verbeek suggested that the concept of mediation could be applied to sensory aspects of material objects, and not only visual, via an approach that he calls 'material-aesthetics'. His case study is of Eternally Yours, a Dutch ecodesign project, which attempts to stimulate emotional attachment between material objects and their users, so that the users will be less predisposed to throwing them away. For Verbeek this is a case of mediation, rather than representation or simple functionality, since via such aesthetics, 'artifacts mediate the relations that people have with them'.[72]

In my analysis of electric Turkish coffee makers in Part 2, I will specifically approach this issue as to how product form and the design practices that define it can be analysed in material-semiotic terms beyond these preliminary suggestions.

4.2.3. The problem of managerialism and the question of fluidity

A view of design as long-distance control may seem to paint a rather bleak picture for design practice due to its emphasis on dominance. And this is where the conception of

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69   Latour, 'Where are the Missing Masses'; Latour, *Aramis*.
70   Cockburn and Ormrod, pp. 25–26.
71   Fallan, *Design History*, p. 57.
72   Verbeek, *What Things Do*, p. 225.

hegemony as material and symbolic practice of compromise and consent-gathering, and the possibility of multiple and creative articulations in consumption, together with an insistence on mediation in translation,[73] become significant once again to take the focus away from design's will to control.

Nevertheless, the way ANT accounts for technological developments certainly has a strong focus on the strategies of the powerful, be it individuals, institutions or classes, rather than the weak and the repressed.[74] It is true that the approach tends to denaturalise both social and natural categories, that is, individual subjects, social groups, material objects, animals, microorganisms, etc., by unveiling the exercises of power that take place in their making. Yet at the same time it naturalises those very practices, partly due to its distinct managerialist undertone, and partly due to its descriptive mode—so much so that it fails to challenge, even outright reproduces, a perspective characteristic to the powerful.

As Law too recognised, early ANT writing was especially vulnerable against such critique, since it was mostly preoccupied with the question of the production of heterogeneous yet singular and relatively stable networks, and tended to ignore more fluid, more open connectivities.[75] Even when it focused on failed experiments, it assumed a diagnostic role.[76] As Law comments, 'things that didn't fit were [...] tackled as matters to be controlled, limited, mastered. To be "drawn together", centred.'[77] In this manner, ANT prioritised centring strategies over the decentralisation of agency and openness to connections.

One example of research that underlines fluidities at the expense of centralism is De Laet and Mol's work on the Zimbabwe bush pump. The water pump, which is widely used in Zimbabwe, is an actor that is fluid in more than one sense. First, its size and shape is indefinite, its boundaries fluctuating:

> A water-producing device. [...] Or a type of hydraulics. [...] But then again, maybe it is a sanitation device—in which case the concrete slab, mould, casing and gravel are also essential parts. And while it may provide water and health, the Pump can only do so with [a boring device] and accompanied by manuals, measurements and tests. Without these it is nothing, so maybe they belong to it too. And what about the village community? Is it to be included in the Pump? [...] But then again, perhaps the boundaries of the Bush Pump coincide with those of the Zimbabwean nation. For in its modest way this national Bush Pump helps to make Zimbabwe as much as Zimbabwe makes it.[78]

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73 See Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3; Ch. 3; and Section 4.1.3 respectively.
74 Susan Leigh Star, 'Power, Technologies and the Phenomenology of Conventions: on being Allergic to Onions', in *A Sociology of Monsters?*, ed. by Law, pp. 26–56; in the context of gender, see Cockburn and Ormrod, pp. 173-174.
75 John Law, 'Traduction/Trahison: Notes on ANT' <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Law-Traduction-Trahison.pdf> [accessed 09 February 2010]
76 See for instance Latour, *Aramis*; Law and Callon.
77 Law, 'Traduction/Trahison', p. 6.
78 Marianne De Laet and Annemarie Mol, 'The Zimbabwe Bush Pump: Mechanics of a Fluid

A second fluid aspect of the pump is its openness to 'indigenous adaptation'. It is produced in such a way that it can be repaired by the community itself and in the absence of necessary tools and spare parts. It favours repairability over durability, and therefore in a certain sense, fluidity over stability.[79] The bush pump is uniform neither technically (every single product looks different, with all the innovative solutions devised by the users themselves) nor socially (though it is meant to be used by the village community, it is also used in a variety of other social arrangements), and this is exactly what makes the pump work in the first place.[80]

I already indicated the first fluidity in the above discussion of découpage. But with the second fluidity, a novelty appears; for here, fluidity as the opposite of closure, of black-boxed systems, is not the opposite of reality.[81] In such a fluid mode the pump keeps functioning, and most of the time that it can function at all is owing to its fluidity. If there were copyrights involved, if the pump were sealed, black-boxed as a technology, etc., it could easily fail. The conclusion is that a material object can be open and willing to participate differently and creatively in various configurations of use.

Arguments for designing more open networks have been made. Verbeek, for instance, argued against black-boxing and for 'transparent' products in order to prolong user engagement. Julier, in his interview with Scott Lash and Celia Lury, suggested that we call such a more open design approach 'relational design' after Bourriaud's idea of 'relational aesthetics'. Wilkie and Ward defined designers as 'material-semiotic storytellers; […] a role in which the construction and communication of possibility is wound into the generation of belief and hope'. There are also Ezio Manzini's writings on 'metadesign', which suggest that the designer's role is being a facilitator for what he calls 'designing networks', that is, networks of individuals and institutions that routinely employ creative approaches to solve everyday problems.[82]

Technology', *Social Studies of Science*, 30.2 (2000), 225–263 (p. 237, original emphasis).

79   Ibid., p. 240.
80   John Law, *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 80.
81   I use the term 'reality' here in Latour's sense: In the course of a project the product, which is the transport system Aramis in Latour's case, can become more 'real'—that is, an actual working transportation system that carries passengers—or less—a text, a report, a statistical figure. Eventually, 'anything can become more real or less real, depending on the continuous chains of translation'. Latour, *Aramis*, p. 85; see also John Law and Annemarie Mol, 'Notes on Materiality and Sociality', *The Sociological Review*, 43.2 (1995), 274–294 (pp. 281–282).
82   Verbeek, pp. 225–227; Guy Julier, 'Value, Relationality and Unfinished Objects: Guy Julier Interview with Scott Lash and Celia Lury', *Design and Culture*, 1.1 (2009), 93–104, p. 97; Alex Wilkie and Matt Ward, 'Made in Criticalland: Designing Matters of Concern', in *Networks of Design*, ed. by Glynn et al., pp. 118–123 (p. 121); Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, trans. by Simon Pleasance and Fronza Woods (Paris: Les Presses Du Réel, 2002); Ezio Manzini, 'Designing Networks and Metadesign: Some Introductory Notes', *Sustainable Everyday Project*, 25 June 2007 <http://sustainable-everyday.net/manzini/> [accessed 11 December 2011]; Ezio Manzini, 'Systems Capable of Evolving: Flexibility in the Era of Networks and Sustainability', *Sustainable Everyday Project*, 22 May 2008

Yet unlike the bush pump, the components inside most products are sealed and their contours made definite. It should be obvious by now that such a sealing requires extra effort so that their insides do not spill out—that is, without authorised supervision. It requires connectors, bolts, screws, even those with special heads so that common screwdrivers do not work; it also requires stickers that tell you not to open the case, warning you against the dangers of the inside, as well as regulations, disclaimers and warnings in small print.[83]

4.3. Concluding discussion: writing on material objects

But does the researcher have no choice but to mirror in research such practices of closure? As Law argues, academic writing itself can be seen a way of constructing—describing and thus enacting—closed networks.[84] Haraway asks exactly this:

> How can science studies scholars take seriously the constitutively militarized practice of technoscience and not replicate in our own practice, including the material-semiotic flesh of our language, the worlds we analyze? How can metaphor be kept from collapsing into the thing-in-itself? Must technoscience —with all its parts, actors and actants, human and not—be described relentlessly as an array of interlocking agonistic fields, where practice is modeled as military combat, sexual domination, security maintenance, and market strategy? How not?[85]

To 'inquir[e] into all the oddly configured categories clumsily called things like science, gender, race, class, nation, or discipline', Haraway suggests that we substitute managerialist accounts with a game of cat's cradle—an open-ended game of 'making and passing on culturally interesting patterns'.[86]

This brings me back to the two questions I asked at the beginning of this Part 1, regarding writing on the politics of material objects and their design practices. So, if matter is not an objective base on which the social is built, rather is produced in discourse and practice;[87] and if there is nothing to the material object apart from the various symbolic and practical connections it establishes within the diverse settings it

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<http://sustainable-everyday.net/manzini/> [accessed 11 December 2011].

83   See Ellen van Oost, 'Materialized Gender: How Shavers Configure the Users' Femininity and Masculinity', in *How Users Matter*, ed. by Oudshoorn and Pinch, pp. 193–208 (pp. 203–204).

84   Law, *After Method*, p. 143; see also Annemarie Mol, *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice* (London: Duke University Press, 2002), cited in Law, *After Method*, pp. 59–61.

85   Donna J. Haraway, 'A Game of Cat's Cradle: Science Studies, Feminist Theory, Cultural Studies', *Configurations*, 2.1 (1994), 59–71 (pp. 60–61).

86   Ibid., pp. 69, 70.

87   This is argued forcefully by Judith Butler regarding the construction of gendered bodies via performative practices which depend on iteration in their functioning. Her arguments are not only directed to a different topic but also follow a very different trajectory than the one I do in this thesis, traversing Foucauldian discourses and psychoanalytical theory. Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (London: Routledge, 1993). Regarding how Butler's conceptualisation of materiality as iteration precludes a consideration of materiality as material interaction, see Karen Barad, 'Getting Real: Technoscientific Practices and the Materialization of Reality', *differences*, 5.2 (2001), 87–126.

enters, the symbolisms and scripts it embodies; the course of writing on the material object is then to follow and describe the various threads that converge on, and thus constitute it—which includes design practice, too. Since such an analytical account will also be performative, in that it will produce the very object it describes,[88] it is particularly important to be attentive to the hegemonic projects embodied by the object in its symbolisms and scripts, and its political significance.

In this and the previous chapters I have outlined a framework to undertake this task. To restate my main points, the aim of analysis is to follow the hegemonic struggles at the micro level between different network-building projects at different settings. Hebdige's study of the scooter[89] provides a template, albeit without in-depth theoretical consideration of materiality. Analysis needs to take objects' materiality into consideration—theorised as promiscuity, affordance, agency and embodiment—and its complex relations with the symbolic level—the regimes of value specific to each setting. For this purpose, it is required to dispense with the distinction between the insides and the outside of the object, and to 'flatten' the connections that constitute it, so that equal attention is given to its inner workings, designers' drawings, users' appropriations and larger networks. The role of design practice as mediator between different settings as long-distance control calls for special consideration, whilst the setting of consumption is defined by creative recontextualisation.

In the next chapter I will look at the specifics of investigating the relationship between material objects and politics of the nation.

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88   Law, *After Method*.

89   Dick Hebdige, 'Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle', in *The Consumer Society Reader*, ed. by Martyn J. Lee (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 125–159 (first publ. in *Block*, 5 (1981), 44–64); see Section 2.4 above.

Chapter 5. Nation, material objects and design

The aim of this chapter is two-fold: first, to demonstrate the gaps in literature that I mentioned in the introduction; second, to extract key points regarding how mass-produced material objects are related to the nation and thus to start to apply the general theory outlined in the previous chapters on the subject of the nation. I will start my review with theories of nationalism, and the various attempts to explain nationalism as seen in everyday life, particularly in material culture. Then, I will turn to the ways in which nations have been discussed in design literature, and especially in design history.

5.1. Terms: nation, nationalism, national identity

Before commencing the review, it is necessary to explain the terminology I use. First of all, throughout this study, I use the term, nation, to denote not an objective entity (just as one would do when two 'nations' are compared), but one that is always in emergence. This follows from the methodological premise of material semiotics that any social group, entity or concept persists only in so far as it is 'enacted' in specific settings—or, in Law's words:

> that relations, and so realities and representations of realities […] are being endlessly or chronically brought into being in a continuing process of production and reproduction, and have no status, standing, or reality outside those processes.[1]

Secondly, I insist on the use of the term, nationalism, outside the more explicitly political contexts such as political speeches or political rallies. Accordingly, I prefer to call everyday manifestations of the nation 'everyday nationalism' instead of using the less overtly political terms, nationhood and national identity. This is despite the suggestions in literature to separate nationalism from its everyday manifestations. For instance, Fox and Miller-Idriss indicate that they are interested in 'politicized forms of collective belonging on the one hand and their everyday analogues on the other', of which nation is an instance: 'nations and nationalisms on the one hand and everyday nationhood on the other'. More directly, Anthony D. Smith differentiates between 'the ideological movement of nationalism from the wider phenomenon of *national identity* […] treated as a collective cultural phenomenon'.[2] Instead, I find Brubaker's definition useful as it brings together, rather than separates, the political and cultural aspects of the concept:

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1   John Law, *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 159; see Section 4.1.2 above.
2   Jon E. Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss, 'Everyday Nationhood', *Ethnicities*, 8.4 (2008), 536–563 (p. 558, note 2); Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. vii (original emphasis).

> Nationalism is [...] a heterogeneous set of 'nation'-oriented idioms, practices, and possibilities that are continuously available or 'endemic' in modern cultural and political life.[3]

One concept that requires further attention is 'national identity'. Whilst widely used in research on nationalism, the term has been criticised due to both its vagueness and essentialising tendencies. According to Siniša Malesević, it is prone to ambiguity especially when used 'nonchalantly', which not only makes it lose its analytical specificity but also has the effects of 'reifying groups, essentialising collective relations and anthropomorphising political institutions and social organisations'. Both Malesević and Michael Billig argued in this respect that instead of 'identities', research should focus on 'identity claims' and investigate their underlying assumptions and effects. Brubaker and Cooper contended similarly but more generally; that is, against the use of the term as an analytical tool in social sciences in general, even when used with qualifications such as 'multiple', 'fluid' and 'fragmented'. The authors suggested that we retain the term with its essentialist connotations as an empirical category to be analysed, but as an analytical concept replace it with more specific terms such as 'identification', 'self-understanding' and 'groupness'.[4]

In addition to these critiques, my preference against the term stems from the performative outlook I described above. Since network-building involves the 'interdefinition of actors', so that each setting that is analysed is understood in terms of competing definitions for each and every actor,[5] the concept of 'identity' loses its specificity. Therefore instead of identity, I use processual terms; such as 'definition' (as in 'competing definitions of the Turkish nation'), 'self-definition' (as in 'self-definition of the designer as a Turkish designer'), and 'identification' (as in 'the users' identifications with women in Turkey'). Occasional references to 'national identity' in this thesis result from the language used in quoted material.

5.2. Theories of nationalism

One of the most significant disputes in theories of nationalism regards the historical origins of the nations: Do nations have origins in the pre-modern past (as per the perennialist argument), or are they relatively recent inventions that belong exclusively to the modern era (as per the modernist argument)? While this may seem to be a strictly historical discussion, there are crucial theoretical and political implications of

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3   Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 10.

4   Siniša Malesević, 'The Chimera of National Identity', *Nations and Nationalism*, 17.2 (2011), 272–290 (p. 275); Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995); pp. 60–61; Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society*, 29.1 (2000), 1–47.

5   Michel Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network: the Case of the Electric Vehicle', in *Mapping the Dynamics of Science and Technology*, ed. by Michel Callon, John Law and Arie Rip (London, Macmillan Press: 1986), pp. 19–34 (p. 25), see also Section 4.1.2 above.

either response. As Özkırımlı picturesquely described, if one follows the former suggestion, the nation is likely to end up as an artichoke, with a core to be discovered beneath the layers. Otherwise, it is like an onion, 'which can be peeled away to nothing'.[6] In other words, if the nation predates modernity, it can be considered to have an enduring, 'primordial' essence (as per the primordialist argument). The social bonds that form it, as well as the myths and symbols associated with it, are so fundamental in the formation of interpersonal relationships that they have durability in the face of historical change. If, on the other hand, nations are modern constructs as modernists argue, so are their myths and symbols. Nations are instead products of the social and political conditions within which they emerge, and their myths and symbols are often objects of political manipulation (as per the instrumentalist argument). I will further elaborate on these below.

Whilst Smith has shown that the primordialist argument does not necessarily follow the perennialist, and that not all modernists make instrumentalist arguments, for simplicity's sake I will follow Özkırımlı and take them as polar opposites. Accordingly, I will discuss three paradigms, each of which is based on a critique of the former's position: primordialist, modernist and ethno-symbolist.[7] I will also show the ways and extent to which they incorporated material objects in their theories.

5.2.1. Primordialism

Theories of nationalism which belong to the earliest paradigm, primordialism, are generally associated with the political ideology of nationalism, since its proponents tend to agree that nations have existed since the beginning of history, at the very least in the form of ethnic groups, and that they are a fundamental part of human existence.[8] At the extreme of this view, nations are considered to be natural entities with definite socio-biological (i.e. race and kinship) or cultural (i.e. shared history and language) content. As such, they are *the* legitimate subjects of history, so that even if a nation seems to disappear for a period of time, it is bound to resurface sooner or later.[9] This perspective divides the world into nations, and the earth into homelands.[10] In this view, supranational forms are regarded as *inter*-national, whilst in turn nations are considered to contain smaller nations, minorities and, finally, ethnic groups. All in

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6   Umut Özkırımlı, 'The Nation as an Artichoke? A Critique of Ethnosymbolist Interpretations of Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, 9.3 (2003), 339–355 (p. 339). Özkırımlı notes that he borrows the analogy from Hoffmann, who however uses it to discuss European integration rather than theories of nationalism; Stanley Hoffmann, 'Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe' in *International Regionalism*, ed. by Joseph S. Nye (Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1968), pp. 177–230.

7   Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism: a Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 60–61; Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: a Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 159.

8   Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, p. 64.

9   Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp. 146–147.

10   Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 48–49.

all, it defines a world system where identities and sub-identities proliferate as in a matrioshka doll.[11]

Within primordialism, an important exception to this general view is offered by the approach called 'cultural primordialism'. The proponents of this approach do not assert that nations are natural or timeless, but that nationhood follows from cultural categories such as kinship and language.[12] Consequently, arguments for cultural primordialism are bound up with debates around ethnicity.[13]

One of the key proponents of this approach is Clifford Geertz, who has borrowed the idea of 'primordial attachments' from Shils.[14] According to Geertz, certain cultural categories are assumed by individuals to be cultural 'givens' and attributed considerable significance on that ground:

> These congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbour, one's fellow believer, *ipso facto*; as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself.[15]

These 'givens' are then listed as assumed kinship, race, language, regional differences, religion and customs. Though not natural, but socially constructed, these categories have a certain durability beyond the specific social conditions in which they are observed due to the nature of the ties they depend on. Similarly, Walker Connor has indicated the non-rational, 'emotional essence of the nation', which follows from the blood ties and common ancestry that is assumed by a group of people.[16]

The primordialist paradigm with its suggestion that nationhood follows from ethnicity and kinship ties leaves little ground for the discussion of everyday practices and material objects. Although customs and rituals are mentioned,[17] they are considered to endure as such by virtue of the primordial ties they represent. Neither the processes

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11 Antonis Liakos, *Dünyayı Değiştirmek İsteyenler, Ulusu Nasıl Tasavvur Ettiler?*, trans. by Merih Erol (Istanbul, İletişim: 2008), p. 46.

12 Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 151.

13 Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: a Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 8–9; see also Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, 3rd edn (London: Pluto Press, 2010), Ch. 1.

14 Edward Shils, 'Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 8.2 (1957), 130–145.

15 Clifford Geertz, 'The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 255–310 (p. 259).

16 Walker Connor, 'Man is a R/National Animal', in *Ethno-Nationalism: the Quest for Understanding* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 195–209 (p. 203).

17 On customs, see for instance, Geertz, p. 261; on linguistic everyday practices such as prayers, see Joshua Fishman, 'Social Theory and Ethnography: Neglected Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity in Eastern Europe', in *Ethnic Diversity and Conflict in Eastern Europe*, ed. by Peter Sugar (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1980), pp. 69–99 (p. 94), cited in Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 160.

of their attribution to the nation nor their authentication is questioned.[18]

5.2.2. Modernism

The modernist paradigm is based on a critique of perennialist and primordialist arguments. With regard to the former, the modernist position is that 'nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around.'[19] With regard to the latter, according to the modernist, nationalism replaces rather than follows traditional—'primordial'—ties, such as kinship and religion.[20] Therefore, nations neither historically nor culturally follow the ethnic groups with whom the nationalists associate their nations, but have emerged in response to the requirements of modernity.

Özkırımlı identifies three key factors behind the modern development of nations which were taken up in varying degrees by modernist scholars: economic, political and social/cultural. Briefly, economic factors comprise the demands of the industrial (or capitalist) and increasingly global economy. Political factors include the emergence of modern sovereign states as well as the use of nationalist politics by elites for the mobilisation of masses. Lastly, cultural factors involve the spread of literacy and the homogenisation of national cultures.[21] In my review I will concentrate on the final set of factors.

Gellner, one of the major adherents of modernist scholarship of nationalism, offers a highly influential account, which is also an important representative of an emphasis on cultural aspects of nationalism. According to Gellner, nationalism followed the demands of the transition from traditional agrarian to industrial societies. This brought about a new division of labour which required mobile and interchangeable workers as well as standardised means of communication for bureaucratic and technological purposes—in other words, a shared mass culture within political borders. One of the principal (and less violent) means by which this was achieved was the construction of a unified and homogeneous national culture by means of mass education. For Gellner, this defines nations and nationalism: 'Nations are deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state', and nationalism is the political program that strives to ensure this configuration.[22]

One significance of Gellner's argument is that it underlines the role of cultural

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18 See Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp. 160–161.
19 Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 10. Similarly, Gellner argued that 'it is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round'; Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 55.
20 Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism*, p. 68.
21 Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, p. 84; Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism*, p. 67.
22 Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 48; for a definition of nationalism, see also p. 1.

transformations that produce and maintain nations. In this, much emphasis is put on the construction of a unified communication space, particularly, but not necessarily, through linguistic homogenisation. Therefore, for Gellner, nationalism is not an idea that is communicated to the masses via a mass culture, but the construction of an internal space where there can be accurate communication at all.[23]

Another important modernist scholar who insisted on the role of nationwide communication in the emergence of nations is Benedict Anderson. For him, nation is an 'imagined political community', in the sense that its members can never know all other members in person, and instead have to imagine their communion. However, nations as imagined communities are distinct from their precedents, heraldic and religious communities, due to their peculiar conception of history. Nations are imagined as a single community moving along a history which is conceived as 'homogeneous, empty time'[24]—hence the nationalist argument that nations are the subjects of history.

Anderson argues that in the emergence of this new community an important part was played by 'print-capitalism', that is, the mass production and mass consumption of printed material such as newspapers and books. However, here as in Gellner, the importance of nationwide communication stems not from what is communicated, but from the very possibility of communication. It is not mainly the content of the newspaper, i.e. the latent or manifest nationalist messages it communicates,[25] that makes it possible for its consumers to imagine national belonging, but their apprehension that it is consumed daily and collectively all around the nation by people just as themselves.[26] With this, Anderson's theoretical approach provides one of the early suggestions of the significance of everyday life practices in the reproduction of the nation. In fact, in a note he argues that nationalism owes less to rare shows of democracy like elections than mundane activities like reading a newspaper.[27]

For Gellner, communication is only one dimension of the greater transformation of cultures which has occurred during the transition from agrarian to industrial societies. He describes this process by comparing folk cultures to national high cultures. The former are by analogy 'natural' as opposed to 'artificial': 'often subtly grouped,

23   Ibid., pp. 126–127; see also Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationalism*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996); for a critique of this argument, see Philip Schlesinger, 'The Sociological Scope of National Cinema', in *Cinema and Nation*, ed. by Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie (London: Routledge, 2000).

24   Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006), p. 6. Anderson borrows the term from Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. by Harry Zohn, ed. by Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), p. 261.

25   For a contrasting argument, see Billig, *Banal Nationalism*; see also Section 5.3.1 below.

26   Anderson, p. 35.

27   Ibid., n. 63; cf. Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–14 (p. 12).

shading into each other, overlapping, intertwined' and capable of reproduction by itself.[28] The latter, on the contrary, are products of conscious design, being normative and pervasive, thus requiring constant maintenance. What is more, the transition into nationalism involves not only the replacement of folk cultures by national high cultures, but also the construction of the latter out of the former. According to Gellner, this takes place in a highly selective and inventive manner, so much so that in the end the original culture is 'modified out of all recognition'.[29]

In addition to language, Gellner's examples include ethnic dresses, music as well as objects from the everyday life of the peasant.[30] On this point he mentions Estonia as an example of how a national material culture is constructed during the emergence of a nation. According to him, Estonians, who 'at the beginning of the nineteenth century […] didn't even have a name for themselves', had, at the end of the twentieth century, 'a collection of 100,000 ethnographic objects' in museums.[31]

This interested, selective and radically transformative way in which nationalists utilised folk cultures—or as Smith calls it, 'the "uses of the past" model'[32]—was the subject of Hobsbawm and Ranger's edited volume, *The Invention of Tradition*. According to Hobsbawm, from the eighteenth century onwards, national traditions have been systematically invented by nationalist elites in order either to justify certain political actions or to consolidate social cohesion. Invented traditions function primarily through repetition to create a sense of continuity with the past, which justifies their existence and provides them with symbolic efficacy. These include national days and ceremonies, national flags, anthems and symbols, architectural styles (the Gothic style of the Houses of Parliament in London), music (German patriotic songs) and so forth. For Hobsbawm, invented traditions are deliberately constructed, maintained, and even outright forged as rooted in the past. In contrast to 'customs', which are plural, flexible and evolving, traditions are formalised and invariable. Similar to Gellner's high cultures, invention of traditions often involves selection from and formalisation of customs and older traditions.[33]

To sum up, modernist arguments are significant in two respects for the study of material objects in everyday life. First, there is the emphasis on mass communication, and in the case of Anderson, mass consumption, which I will return to in the below discussion of everyday nationalism. Second, the 'uses of the past' model is useful in

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28   Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 51, 49.
29   Ibid., p. 56.
30   Ibid., p. 57.
31   Ernest Gellner, 'Do Nations have Navels?', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2.3 (1995), 366–370 (pp. 367–368).
32   Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 42.
33   Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions'; for a later, parallel discussion where Hobsbawm mentions 'proto-national symbols and sentiments' in place of 'customs', see Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780,* Ch. 2, esp. 75–79.

depicting the processes of formalisation of cultural symbols and customary practices for the purpose of constructing a national community.

5.2.3. Ethno-symbolism

The ethno-symbolist paradigm has emerged predominantly in the writings of Smith as a critique of the modernist point of view, while also distancing itself from perennialist and, to some extent, primordialist assumptions. Ethno-symbolists typically agree with modernists that nationalism and nation-states are modern phenomena, but dispute that these are constructed by nationalists *ex nihilo* in response to the requirements of the modern age. According to ethno-symbolists, nations were built on ethnic communities of the earlier epochs, whose historical persistence played a role in the development of nations. Without acknowledging this role, it is not possible to explain, first, why certain 'myths, symbols and memories'[34] have entered national cultures and thus endured, whilst others have been hotly disputed or simply forgotten. Secondly, since nations derive their strength from preceding ethnic cultures, if the latter is not taken into account, why and how nationalisms have had such an emotional power over populations cannot be understood.[35]

As this description already hints, ethno-symbolists attach considerable significance to the role of national cultures in the emergence and endurance of nations.[36] Smith particularly underlines the significance of nationalist symbolisms as constant reminders of national belonging. His examples include various elements of material culture, such as coinage, costumes, passports and crafts. According to Smith, these are

> the most potent and durable aspects of nationalism. They embody its basic concepts, making them visible and distinct for every member, communicating the tenets of an abstract ideology in palpable, concrete terms that evoke instant emotional responses from all strata of the community.[37]

For Smith, symbols such as those do not exist as isolated, but within 'myth-symbol complexes'.[38] These are, in turn, accompanied by collective memories, in accordance with which these myths and symbols are interpreted by the members of the ethnic community. All these are what defines each ethnic community, and by extension, each nation:

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34   Özkırımlı, 'The Nation as an Artichoke?, p. 348.
35   Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, pp. 122–123, 167–170; Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism*, p. 37.
36   See John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982); John Hutchinson, 'Nations and Culture', in *Understanding Nationalism*, ed. by Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 74–96.
37   Smith, *National Identity*, p. 77.
38   Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 183. Smith borrows the term from Armstrong, pp. 8–9.

> We can talk about [...] the changes, even 'inventions' of tradition in Britain—new festivals and ceremonies, new sports and dress, new types of art and architecture, new legal provisions, changes in language and accents—while observing the continuities of an 'English style' and English myths and memories, symbolism and values in their broad forms in at least some of these spheres, forms that make the sense and 'feel' of English art, village life, local mores, legal procedures, religious and domestic architecture, music and crafts, so very different from those of France or Italy and so identifiably English, despite changes in fashion and art-historical period.[39]

In this regard, Smith's take on the 'uses of the past' model is illustrative. He agrees with Gellner that modernisation of ethnic traditions is selective and transformative, but disagrees with Gellner's stance that actual 'cultural continuity is contingent [and] inessential' for nationalism.[40] In other words, even though nationalists have transformed and used the past to political ends, it cannot be just any past or any transformation, but one that is adequately continuous with existing myth-symbol complexes.[41] So, nationalists did not invent traditions from a scratch, but researched and discovered, interpreted and authenticated, and in this manner mobilised certain myths and symbols at the expense of others as historical circumstance (e.g. modernity) dictated. Smith notes that, in this, 'the process of "authentication", or sifting elements of the corrupting other from those of the pure and genuine self, is pivotal', since it defines the extent of the usable repertoire of myths and symbols, and by extension, the boundaries of the nation. Accordingly, Smith defines 'nationalism as a bridge between the distinctive heritage of the ethnic past' and the demands of 'the increasingly bureaucratised world of industrial capitalism'.[42]

Hutchinson elaborates on this general framework by arguing that modernists did not only fail to acknowledge the centrality of ethnic persistence—i.e. continuity of national cultures with ethnic symbols and traditions—to nationalist projects, but also the complexity of the ways in which this was achieved. The reason was that the modernist paradigm overstated the power of nation-states and the cultural homogeneity they imposed. Instead of a manufactured, homogeneous national culture, within nation-states there exist complex cultural structures. Firstly, there is what Hutchinson calls 'mythic overlaying', whereby new inventions by nationalist elites do not obliterate earlier myths and memories, but overlie them. The latter remains dormant but potentially volatile. Secondly, there exist competing myth-symbol complexes, which give rise to cultural conflicts and 'generate rival symbolic and political projects' within

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39 Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 97.

40 Anthony D. Smith, 'Memory and Modernity: Reflections on Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2.3 (1996), 371–388 (p. 378); Gellner, 'Do Nations have Navels?', p. 369.

41 See also George Schöpflin, *Nations, Identity, Power: the New Politics of Europe* (London: Hurst & Company, 2000), p. 87; Anatol Lieven, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?: Scholarly Debate and the Realities of Eastern Europe', *The National Interest*, Fall 1997, n. pag.

42 Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp. 44, 43; see also Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp. 8–9.

the nation.[43]

The interplay of these two levels of complexity within national cultures can be demonstrated by Hutchinson's example of Turkey: When the Kemalist nationalist revolution in Turkey chose to appoint Ankara as the new capital in lieu of Istanbul, which was then the heraldic and religious centre of the community, in effect it engaged in a cultural struggle with existing traditions. Just as the newborn, 'thinly based', mythology of the Turkish nation could not compete with the rich Ottoman heritage, the new capital would not be able to seize the title of cultural capital from Istanbul. This is because, according to Hutchinson, a capital is influential to the extent that it is capable of mobilising history, particularly those cultural values from the past that are considered to be sacred by the community. In this account, Istanbul and Ankara present both two different projects and two 'mythic layers', one of which has attempted to repress the other.[44]

Various critiques directed at the ethno-symbolist paradigm are posed in different ways against its assumption that there is, and needs to be, actual continuity between nations and the preceding communities.[45] An important example of this assumption is the theme of dormancy and inevitable return of repressed cultural repertoires. I noted above that this has been a basic nationalist motif in the primordialist paradigm, whereby the nation is considered the sole legitimate subject of history. Ethno-symbolism has inherited this theme, too, by asserting that myth-symbol complexes have an inherent capacity for persistence and a particular resistance to social engineering. For instance, according to Hutchinson, 'for while it is possible to overthrow a state and control a territory, it is difficult to expunge, penetrate or, indeed, regenerate (from above) a way of life'.[46] Hutchinson's example of the rivalry of Istanbul and Ankara, which I mentioned above, can be interpreted as one example of this, as Hutchinson suggests that the Ottoman heritage has resisted the revolutionary cultural policies of the nationalists. As a matter of fact, this theme is much-repeated in literature and it has been argued that Ottoman culture, which had survived in folk culture despite the Kemalist revolution, has slowly surfaced in politics after 1960s and in popular culture after 1980s.[47]

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43 Hutchinson, 'Nations and Culture', pp. 82, 84.
44 John Hutchinson, *Nations As Zones of Conflict* (London: Sage, 2005), pp. 40, 51; see also Hutchinson, 'Nations and Culture', p. 85. See Section 6.1 for my discussion of the Turkish context.
45 Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, pp. 183–189. See for instance, John Breuilly, 'Approaches to Nationalism', in *Mapping the Nation*, ed. by Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 146–174 (p. 151); Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 49–50; Gerard Delatny, John Hutchinson, Eric Kaufmann, Umut Özkırımlı and Andreas Wimmer, 'Debate on John Hutchinson's *Nations as Zones of Conflict*', *Nations and Nationalism*, 14.1 (2008), 1–28 (p. 6).
46 Hutchinson, 'Nations and Culture', p. 80.
47 Yılmaz Çolak, '1990'lı Yıllar Türkiye'sinde Yeni-Osmanlıcılık ve Kültürel Çoğulculuk Tartışmaları', *Doğu Batı*, 38 (2006), 125–144 (pp. 132–134); Misha Glenny, *The Balkans 1804–1999: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers* (London: Granta Books, 2000), p.

What is problematic here is that the top-down, interested involvements of cultural nationalists are considered categorically different from the self-reproduction of cultural values within the preceding, supposedly organic culture. As Calhoun and Anderson both noted, this shortcoming can be found in modernist theories, as well.[48] In this regard, notions of deliberate construction and invention, as used by both modernists and ethno-symbolists, are different from the concept of construction in the strict social constructionist sense.[49] Instead, invention is opposed to the authenticity of that which precedes the nationalist's constructions. With the modernists, these are 'wild' low cultures and 'genuine traditions'.[50] With ethno-symbolists, these are myths, symbols and collective memories.[51] Considered as such, the difference between modernist and ethno-symbolist theories regards whether the authenticity is carried on to the nation or not. For that matter, Pheng Cheah highlighted the persistence of this 'organismic metaphor' throughout the literature on nationalism, from early nationalists to Anderson's work. According to this metaphor, popular national culture is organic as opposed to the mechanistic character of the institutional practices of colonial states or state nationalisms. In this manner, it appears almost emancipatory, symbolising resistance against hegemony.[52]

To summarise, the ethno-symbolist approach is important in that it further elaborates on the 'uses of the past' model by bringing a consideration for the ways in which pasts are authenticated or invalidated. The question of continuity, or rupture, with past myths, symbols and traditions seems to be of considerable significance to nationalist projects. Furthermore, it contributes the idea that there exist rival nationalist projects with conflicting claims to the past, each of which has its own collection of myths, symbols and traditions, which are claimed to be more authentic to the nation than the alternatives.

From my review of theories of nationalism, two prominent themes emerge. One is the uses of the past by nationalism, and I suggest that, even though it is derived from a debate on the historical origins of nations, it is of relevance to understanding everyday

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328; Bratislav Pantelić, 'Memories of a Time Forgotten: the Myth of the Perennial Nation', *Nations and Nationalism*, 17.2 (2011), 443–464 (p. 461); Hakan M. Yavuz, 'Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy in Flux: the Rise of Neo-Ottomanism', *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 7.12 (1998), 19–41 (p. 30); for an in-depth discussion of these, see Section 6.1.

48 Calhoun, *Nationalism*, p. 34; Anderson, p. 6; see also Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, p. 17.

49 Liakos, p. 88; Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: a Critical Engagement* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 165–166.

50 Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, p. 46; Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', p. 8; see also Christopher Tilley, 'Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11.1 (2006), 7–32 (p. 12).

51 Delatny et al., p. 6.

52 *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 213–228. Mahmut Mutman later expanded the criticism to more radical, postmodernist analyses; 'The Nation-Form', *Third Text*, 22.1 (2008), 5–20.

nationalism as it is observed today. The other regards Anderson's and Gellner's suggestions that nations are constructed and maintained as unified communication and consumption spaces in which a sense of homogeneity is fostered. In the next section I will turn to everyday manifestations of nations and nationalism, and particularly search for an understanding of the everyday equivalents of these two themes.

5.3. Approaches to everyday nationalism

Apart from occasional allusions to everyday, such as Hobsbawm's contention that the analysis of nationalism 'from above' needs to be complemented by studies 'from below',[53] theories of nationalism have been concerned with major social changes that have made and sustained nations, at the expense of their production and maintenance in the everyday life of its citizens.[54] But as Calhoun noted,

> To limit nationalism simply to a political doctrine […] is to narrow our understanding of it too much. It doesn't do justice to the extent to which nationalism and national identities shape our lives outside of explicitly political concerns—and especially outside competition over the structuring of state boundaries.[55]

In what follows, I will discuss three approaches to the analysis of everyday nationalism according to their theoretical postulates and methodological foci.

5.3.1. Ideology and banal nationalism

One approach to everyday nationalism is to regard it as an ideology, which is disseminated mainly, though not solely, by a top-down process. For instance, Etienne Balibar argued, in a Marxist vein, that nation is a historical 'form' in which the flow of capital is organised. In addition to the political and economic processes involved, this requires ideological work by which a 'people' is constructed:

> A social formation only reproduces itself as a nation to the extent that, through a network of apparatuses and daily practices, the individual is instituted as *homo nationalis* from cradle to grave, at the same time as he or she is instituted as *homo œconomicus, politicus, religiosus* …[56]

As already implied in the quote, Balibar's take on the concept of ideology is Althusserian in that he underlines the production of individual national subjects by

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53 Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780*, p. 10; see also Anderson, p. 35.
54 Orvar Löfgren, 'The Nationalization of Culture', *Ethnologia Europaea*, 19.1 (1989), 5–24 (p. 6); Fox and Miller-Idriss, p. 537.
55 Calhoun, *Nationalism*, p. 11.
56 Etienne Balibar, 'The Nation Form: History and Ideology', in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. by Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, trans. by Chris Turner (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 86–106 (p. 93); Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', in *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, trans. by Ben Brewster (London: New Left Books, 1971), pp. 127–188.

institutions, particularly family and school. Nationalism creates effects of unity and sameness, which suppress differences among 'us' and render differences with 'others' as irreducible.[57]

It was Billig who comprehensively analysed these ideological processes in his pioneering book, *Banal Nationalism*. According to the author, theories of nationalism have been concerned mainly with 'hot', violent, manifestations of nationalism in emerging nation-states, and turned a blind eye to its 'banal', non-violent and dormant, versions which can be seen in the so-called established nations. To counter this, he drew attention to the 'beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices' which reproduce the nation as a nation and its citizens as nationals within a world made of nations.[58]

For Billig, this is essentially an ideological process, whereby a view of the world as 'us' and 'them' and a morality of national duty and pride is normalised, even naturalised, so that it can be tapped in times of political crises. The semblance of normality and naturalness is sustained by the myriad reminders of nationhood, which pervade everyday life, but often pass unnoticed:

> The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building.[59]

For Billig, then, everyday nationalism functions not so much via public displays of nationalism such as national days and ceremonies, or via Anderson-esque 'collective acts of imagination', as via banalities: 'Just as a language will die rather for want of regular users, so a nation must be put to daily use.'[60]

Whilst he also refers to material objects such as actual flags, Billig's main interest is in discursive 'flagging', with examples from politicians' speeches, mass media and academic discourse. In these, he discovers that 'nationalism is, above all, an ideology of the first person plural'. This is in two senses: First, banal ways of talking about the nation involves a collective identification (e.g. talking of 'our' history or 'our' past). Second, it involves the assumption that the object of identification, 'we', has its own unique and 'precious' content, an 'identity'.[61]

Here, Billig indicates the critical role played by the use of deixis, that is, rhetorical references to the context of utterance. Statements which do not use pronouns, as in 'the country' or 'the prime minister', help normalise the nation. With these, the country is presupposed and thus established as 'the universe of the ongoing

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57   Balibar, 'The Nation Form', p. 94.
58   Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 6.
59   Ibid., p. 8.
60   Ibid., p. 95.
61   Ibid., p. 70.

discourse'.[62] In this regard, discourse functions less through its content than its form. Billig urges us to concentrate on not 'what the newscaster is saying', but 'the routine graphics' such as maps and flags that accompany his talk.[63]

Various studies have confirmed and furthered Billig's thesis.[64] The major critique, on the other hand, is that the 'banal nationalism' framework pictures a passive and more-or-less homogeneous audience, who is open to manipulation by ideology.[65] Commentators like Michael Skey have instead pointed towards discourse analysis, whereby different interpretations of, including resistance to, top-down ideologies can be studied.[66]

5.3.2. Discursive construction of nations

Discourse-analytical perspectives start from a definition of nationalism as discourse:

> Nationalism is, among other things, what Michel Foucault called a 'discursive formation', a way of speaking that shapes our consciousness […] that carries with it connections to other events and actions, that enables or disables certain other ways of speaking or acting, or that is recognized by others as entailing certain consequences.[67]

With the switch from 'ideology' to 'discourse', the emphasis on top-down dissemination of ideology is replaced by the study of opportunities and limitations dictated by discourse—e.g. opposing 'us' against 'them', thinking within state boundaries and national economies, etc.

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62   Pierre Archard, 'Discourse and Social Praxis in the Construction of Nation and State', *Discourse and Society*, 4.1 (1993), 75–98 (p. 82), cited in Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 108.

63   Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 175.

64   For instance, for the co-existence of multiple banal projects, see Kathryn Crameri, 'Banal Catalanism?', *National Identities*, 2.2 (2000), 145–157; for 'material world' as a banal reminder, see Catherine Palmer, 'From Theory to Practice: Experiencing the Nation in Everyday Life', *Journal of Material Culture*, 3.2 (1998), 175–199; for a study of banal nationalism in the Turkish context, see Arus Yumul and Umut Özkırımlı, 'Reproducing the Nation: Banal Nationalism in the Turkish Press', *Media, Culture and Society*, 22.6 (2000), 787–804.

65   Alex Law, 'Near and Far: Banal National Identity and the Press in Scotland', *Media, Culture and Society*, 23.3 (2001) 299–317; Michael Rosie, Pille Petersoo, John MacInnes, Susan Condor and James Kennedy, 'Mediating Which Nation? Citizenship and National Identities in the British Press', *Social Semiotics*, 16.2 (2006), 327–344; Michael Skey, 'The National in Everyday Life: a Critical Engagement with Michael Billig's Thesis of Banal Nationalism', *The Sociological Review*, 57.2 (2009), 331–346 (pp. 336–337); for Billig's reply to these criticisms, see Michael Billig, 'Reflecting on a Critical Engagement with Banal Nationalism: Reply to Skey', *The Sociological Review*, 57.2 (2009), 347–352.

66   Skey, 'The National in Everyday Life', p. 342; Michael Skey, *National Belonging and Everyday Life: The Significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 10; for a general discussion of limits of 'ideology', see for instance, John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 177.

67   Calhoun, *Nationalism*, pp. 3–4. Note that Calhoun's reference is to Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock, 1972). Accordingly, throughout his book, Calhoun espouses a linguistic definition of discourse by leaving out at large the role of material assemblages in organising bodies, as in later Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1977). On the difference between Foucault's two books in their handling of materiality, see Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. and ed. by Seán Hand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota

According to this perspective, as Finlayson argues, nations are not 'real' entities that are external to the discourse of nationalism, and which can therefore be explained from an academic point outside it, i.e. with reference to certain external realities that ensure its functioning—such as the requirements of modernisation (as in Gellner), specificities of class struggle (as in Balibar) or the strength of primordial bonds (as in Geertz).[68] Instead, the concept of nation can only be understood with reference to the discourse of nationalism, which is 'itself a kind of theory of the social, […] a mode of articulating definitions of society and people'.[69]

So, primarily nation is a discursive construct, an idea. As such, discourse analysis locates the nation in the symbolic register, and focuses on its linguistic articulations, mainly in language but also in other representational idioms.[70]

However, that the nation is a discursive construct does not mean that it is merely rhetorical and does not have an actual hold on those who identify themselves with it. The discourse of nationalism prescribes emotional and behavioural dispositions, too—for instance, solidarity amongst fellow members and an exclusionary attitude towards outsiders.[71] As Suny maintains,

> National identities, which have been created through teaching, repetition, and daily reproduction until they become common sense, are saturated with emotions, themselves in part the product of historical understandings of what might provide pleasure or pain, comfort or danger.[72]

The discourse of nationalism also has an institutional basis. It is produced by politicians and intellectuals, and disseminated via mass education and mass media. However, there is a two-way relationship between discourse and the institutional base that produces and disseminates it. Discourse both reproduces and is reproduced by its institutional base.[73] Accordingly, the relationship between discourse and the base cannot be reduced to one of determination as implied by the ideological perspective I outlined above. Instead, there is a dynamic relationship where resistance to dominant nationalist perspectives, as well as contestation between different discourses and institutions, are possible. There is no single definition of the nation, but multiple ways to define it. As invoked in discourse, the nation is situational, therefore flexible and often ambivalent.[74] For instance, in conclusion to their analysis of the Austrian

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Press, 2000), pp. 31–32.

68 See Section 5.2 above.

69 Alan Finlayson, 'Ideology, Discourse and Nationalism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 3.1 (1998), 99–118 (p. 104); see also Calhoun, *Nationalism*, p. 99.

70 Rudolf De Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, 'The Discursive Construction of National Identities', *Discourse & Society*, 10.2 (1999), 149–173 (p. 153).

71 Ruth Wodak, Rudolf De Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, trans. by Angelika Hirsch, Richard Mitten and J. W. Unger, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 4; De Cillia et al., p. 153.

72 Ronald Grigor Suny, 'Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations', *Journal of Modern History*, 73.4 (2001), 862–896 (p. 894).

73 De Cillia et al., p. 154.

74 Wodak et al., p. 4.

discourse on the nation, Wodak et al. argue that the Austrian nation is defined variously: First, content-wise, it includes elements from ethnic or civic definitions of the nation, as well as other, more specific themes, such as how 'Austrians' are different from 'Germans'. Secondly, definitions change from context to context, for example, when certain arguments are recontextualised as they are transferred from political discourse to media discourse.[75]

To add a final layer of complication to this framework, Roseberry draws on Gramsci to argue that identity discourses (e.g. national, regional, class or religious) are fragile since they require constant maintenance, particularly where they compete for hegemony with one another.[76] As Cubitt noted:

> The nationalist imagination invests a social and political field that is already covered by other imaginative forms—other kinds of imagined community, other symbolic systems, other spatial concepts or historical narratives.[77]

Discourses do not only compete with one another, but also can be used in articulation. As Finlayson suggests, the nationalist discourse is not only about repetitively asserting the uniqueness and sovereignty of a nation, but often used in conjunction with other discourses to sanction or prohibit certain ideas and practices. Finlayson's examples include uses of the idea of national reproduction to support religious arguments of anti-abortion, and allusions to national family traditions to argue against homosexuality.[78]

To summarise, discourse-analytical approaches to everyday nationalism acknowledge that everyday references to the nation, be it in speech or by other forms of communication, are diffuse, but also representative of multiple and conflicting projects, ambivalent in their use, and articulated to each other as well as other political identifications. It is necessary to differentiate these qualifications from individualist critiques of ideological approaches. Jonathan Hearn, for instance, criticises Billig for lack of interest in how individuals relate to nationalism, a disregard for what he formulates as the relationship between 'social identity' and 'individual identity'. But Hearn's conception of audience is different from the discourse-analytical in that difference lies between individuals, or more specifically, between individual processes of identification, rather than in the existence of multiple and conflicting discourses and political projects. Hearn's framework thus advocates an 'inward' turn to individual psychologies.[79] A similar perspective is espoused by Miller-Idriss and Rothenberg, who

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75 Ibid., pp. 187–188.

76 William Roseberry, 'Hegemony, Power, and Languages of Contention', in *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power*, ed. by Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 71–84 (pp. 82–84); see also Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, pp. 175–176.

77 Geoffrey Cubitt, 'Introduction', in *Imagining Nations*, ed. by Geoffrey Cubitt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 6.

78 Finlayson, pp. 108–110.

79 Jonathan Hearn, 'National Identity: Banal, Personal and Embedded', *Nations and*

contend that individuals' identifications with the nation are 'often characterised by ambivalence, confusion and contradiction', and therefore irreducible to either compliance or disavowal. Whilst the general argument is in accordance with the views I explained above, the authors' methodological assumption that their participants were 'ordinary citizens' (in their words, not 'extremely wealthy or extremely poor') betray the underlying individualism.[80] As Calhoun noted, such work on nationalism tends to 'start theorizing from putatively autonomous, discrete, and cultureless individuals' and disregard the extent to which discourses construct subject positions.[81] For instance, in such work, interviewees' statements of indifference towards the nation has been taken literally to mean that those individuals are non-national, whereas such statements can also be understood as rhetorical devices for displaying 'modesty, interpersonal sensitivity and responsible citizenship'.[82] In the case of the discourse on English nationalism, it has been noted that such 'complacent thoughtlessness' can actually be considered as part of the dominant definition of Englishness, rather than its nullification[83]—since, as Billig has pointed out, in so-called established nations, nationalism itself is often considered to exist in the peripheral, 'uncivilised' parts of the world, and thus associated with the other.[84]

5.3.3. National habiti and embodied nations

Ideological and discourse-analytical approaches to everyday nationalism have been mainly interested the reproduction of the nation in the symbolic register—above all in political and media discourse, everyday talk and accompanying representations of the nation. Yet, nationalism in everyday life cannot be reduced to its representational aspects. In this regard, one author we can look at is Löfgren, who made one of the earliest attempts in literature to theorise everyday nationalism:

> The national project cannot survive as a mere ideological construction, it must exist as a cultural praxis in everyday life. Being Swedish is a kind of experience which is activated watching the Olympics on TV, in hoisting the flag for a family reunion, in making ironic comments about the Swedish national character (and feeling hurt when non-Swedes make similar remarks), in memories of holiday trips to national sights, or in feelings of being out of

Nationalism, 13.4 (2007), 657–674.

80 Cynthia Miller-Idriss and Beth Rothenberg, 'Ambivalence, Pride and Shame: Conceptualisations of German Nationhood', *Nations and Nationalism*, 18.1 (2012), 132–155 (pp. 133, 139); see also Steve Fenton, 'Indifference towards National Identity: What Young Adults Think about Being English and British', *Nations and Nationalism,* 13.2 (2007), 321–339.

81 Craig Calhoun, '"Belonging" in the cosmopolitan imaginary', *Ethnicities*, 3.4 (2003), 531–568 (p. 535).

82 Susan Condor, 'Devolution and National Identity', *Nations and Nationalism*, 16.3 (2010), 525–543 (p. 528).

83 Susan Condor, 'Temporality and Collectivity: Diversity, History and the Rhetorical Construction of National Entitativity', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 45 (2006), 657–682 (p. 678); Michael Skey, '"Sod them, I'm English": the Changing Status of the "Majority" English in Post-Devolution Britain', *Ethnicities*, 12.1 (2012), 106–123.

84 Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 5.

place on the wrong side of the national border and securely at home on the inside, in the sharing of national frames of references, from jokes to images.[85]

In this, Löfgren differentiates between 'rhetoric and practice', which correspond to two different ways in which culture is made national:

> One is concerned with the ways in which cultural elements are turned into symbols or national rhetoric—declared to symbolize the essence of the nation or its inhabitants or stated as norms about proper national behaviour and virtues; the other has to do with how cultural flows are contained, organized and transformed within the national borders—how national space becomes cultural space.[86]

In other words, the former refers to the ways in which the nation is *defined*, including designation of certain cultural elements as national characteristics and heritage, description of a 'people' as same among themselves and different from others, delimitation of a national geography in a manner that not necessarily corresponds to actual borders of the nation-state, and so on. This is also what ideological and discourse-analytical perspectives have looked into.

The latter, in turn, refers to the *uniformisation*[87] of the nation—the attempted and often partly successful production of cultural uniformity within national boundaries. This involves the activities of various 'media, agents, institutions and arenas' by which the nation is produced as a national space of communication and interaction.[88] I already established above in my review of modernist arguments that the creation of a national language and the emergence of nationwide mass media contribute towards the production of such a space. To these, Löfgren adds the construction of a unified space of consumption within national borders, when a certain range of products and brands is made accessible to consumers all around the country.[89] The outcome of the process includes certain 'knowledges and experiences which happen to be contained within national boundaries' and 'actually shared' by people living within them—for example, 'inside jokes, associations, references and memories' that the members of a nation understand whilst non-members cannot, or shared experiences of national public rituals, such as those on national days. Löfgren associates these with what he calls the 'national habitus' after Bourdieu, in the sense that the outcome includes knowledges as well as bodily dispositions acquired via socialization.[90] It is important

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85 Löfgren, p. 23.
86 Ibid., p. 22.
87 I borrow the term 'uniformisation' from Himam and Pasin's study of the early-twentieth century textile industry in Turkey, in which the authors locate an attempt to produce 'uniforms' for the nation in order to give the nation a 'uniform', Western outlook. Dilek Himam, and Burkay Pasin, 'Designing a National Uniform(ity): the Culture of Sümerbank within the Context of the Turkish Nation-State Project', *Journal of Design History*, 24.2 (2011), 157–170; see my review of the Turkish context in Section 7.1.1.
88 Löfgren, p. 17.
89 On this, see Robert J. Foster, 'The Commercial Construction of "New Nations"', *Journal of Material Culture*, 4.3 (1999), 263–282 (p. 272); see also Section 5.4.3.
90 Löfgren, p. 15; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), Ch. 2; see also Sections 3.1.1 and 3.3.3.

that, for Löfgren, these 'happen to be shared', and are therefore historically contingent rather than essential to the community (unlike the primordialist argument); since, eventually, these shared elements may or may not be symbolically associated with the nation. In fact, the designation of what is national and what is not is always a matter of 'hegemony and contestation' between different social groups.[91]

The most comprehensive study that looked into the existence of such cultural uniformities within national boundaries is Edensor's *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. The author's project is to analyse the way in which the nation is reproduced in everyday engagements with popular and material culture, and in this he prioritises routine, embodied practice as opposed to symbolic reproduction. Criticising earlier theories of nationalism, he comments that 'culture cannot be subsumed by that which is consciously wielded as symbolic'. On the contrary,

> Besides […] overt displays and self-conscious cultural assertions, national identity is grounded in the everyday, in the mundane details of social interaction, habits, routines and practical knowledge. It is startling how, more generally, theorists of identity have neglected the quotidian realms experienced most of the time by most people, since it is here that identity is continually reproduced in unreflexive fashion.[92]

Edensor refers to 'national structures of feeling' after Williams, and 'national habiti' after Bourdieu to theoretically ground the thesis that national identities are affective and embodied structures in which nationals partake often unreflexively and as part of their everyday, routine conduct. In this, the temporal and spatial organisation that subsumes localities, where everyday life takes place, under the larger totality of the nation is pivotal. Construction of a national temporality, for instance, involves the restructuring of local practices to follow the national calendar (e.g. special days, holidays, etc.) and national time (e.g. standard working hours, TV schedules, etc.).[93] Similarly, 'national spatialisation' involves the construction of a uniform space within national borders via various commercial and bureaucratic practices. The most evident examples of these are utilities such as electric poles, traffic signs and postboxes; national retailer or restaurant chains; or styles of architecture and decoration, all of which can be more-or-less uniform within state boundaries.[94]

Edensor indicates various quotidian activities that establish a national structure of feeling. He counts these as follows: 'Popular competencies' consist of the practical knowledge required to accomplish various everyday tasks in a country, from buying train tickets to registering license plates. 'Embodied habits' are about manners and etiquette. Lastly, 'synchronised enactions' include the knowledge as to not what, but

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91   Löfgren, p. 13.
92   Edensor, pp. 10, 17.
93   Ibid., Ch. 1; Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), Ch. 9; Bourdieu, Ch. 2.
94   Edensor, p. 51.

when certain activities are performed. All three can be reproduced either by state regulations, for instance, via mass education, broadcasting policies, economic management and so on; or by means of popular culture, as encountered in soap operas or read in popular literature.[95]

Whereas Edensor's insights regarding the uniformisation of the nation are invaluable, his approach is problematic in that it reifies in analysis what he considers to be differences between nations. In one example amongst many, the author narrates his first travel beyond Europe, where he experienced India as radically different from Britain.

> The sounds of the buffalo, unfamiliar birdsong, agricultural machinery, and other unidentifiable noises provided a completely different soundscape to any that I recognised. The rich smellscape combining dung, dust and incense and other powerful unidentifiable aromas was similarly strange. And the taste and texture of the food, the heat and the 'atmosphere' added to the sense of unreality. Domestic arrangements were equally unfathomable. […] For instance, my sense of private space was confounded by the grandmother from next door coming to sleep on the bed whenever she wanted to in order to seek refuge from her family.[96]

Edensor's account neither theoretically explains why, nor empirically shows whether and to what extent the radical difference experienced by a traveller—in this case, himself—in a foreign country is experienced as a difference between nations, rather than, for instance, as a subnational difference between rural and urban settings, or a supranational difference between the West and the East. Put simply, it is unclear why Edensor associates these sensations with the Indian nation.

One way to understand the problem here is to comment on the 'substantialist' underpinnings of Edensor's analysis. In his critique of theories of nationalism in general, Brubaker comments as follows:

> The problem with this substantialist treatment of nations as real entities is that it adopts *categories of practice* as *categories of analysis*. It takes a conception inherent in the *practice* of nationalism and in the workings of the modern state and state-system—namely the realist, reifying conception of nations as real communities—and it makes this conception central to the *theory* of nationalism.[97]

So, it seems that Edensor adopts the categories of (British) self and (Indian) other, which are derived from the very discourse of nationalism in its division of the world into nations—into 'us' and 'them'—and reproduces these in his analysis. Even though this is a valid critique, another and more fruitful way to conceptualise the problem is to think in terms of Löfgren's distinction between the processes of definition and uniformisation. Whilst Edensor is insightful in arguing that national boundaries and the

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95   Ibid., pp. 91–96.
96   Ibid., p. 21.
97   Rogers Brubaker, 'Rethinking Nationhood: Nation as Institutionalized Form, Practical Category, Contingent Event', *Contention*, 4.1 (1994), 3–14 (p. 5, original emphases).

cultures within are to some extent rendered uniform via various institutional practices, and thus often perceived by nationals as such, not everything that can be shown to be more-or-less shared within state boundaries is actually articulated in discourse as national characteristics, let alone promoted as symbolic of the nation. Nor can symbolic sameness be assumed to correspond to actual commonalities[98]—especially since we have to take into account other axes of social differentiation such as race, class and gender. A disregard for the difference between and the complex interrelation of these two processes results in such accounts that, in effect, define and reproduce certain practices as national.

To counter this problem, it is imperative that we develop a theoretical understanding of the ways in which the two processes interact. How is the quotidian experience of uniformity, or difference, seized by nationalist symbolism? Conversely, how does the discourse on nationalism partake in the production of uniformity?

A case in point is Haldrup et al.'s study of what they term 'practical orientalism' in Denmark. According to the authors, the resurgence of exclusionary discourses (of orientalism, racism and nationalism) on immigrants is not merely a matter of political rhetorics. The drawing of boundaries between 'us' and 'them' has an embodied and sensuous character, too. Exclusionary discourse regularly draws on everyday bodily experience (e.g. 'overcrowding, violence, food, noise') to normalise and naturalise racial and national boundaries.[99] Gullestad made similar observations in the context of Norway and argued that exclusionary talk and practice are grounded on everyday experience, and thus rendered 'plausible', i.e. self-evident and innocent. This is observable, for instance, in the way Gullestad's respondents argue that they are not 'racists', but that the increasing number of immigrants have disrupted the everyday life in the neighbourhood, since they are culturally 'different'.[100] Via 'experiential grounding', everyday experiences of sameness and difference are articulated to the discourse of nationalism and make it plausible to imagine the nation.

This argument can be used to take Edensor's insights regarding the affective and embodied uniformity of everyday life further. The nation is not simply *made manifest* in the myriad practices that construct a uniform national space and time. Rather, the institutional practices whereby uniformity is manufactured provide the experiential ground on which the discourse of nationalism can be selectively based.

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98 For instance, 'the [English] garden reflects, in part, a national culture of gardening, but primarily in the *imagination*, rather than in any particular material arrangements of borders, paths, flower beds, etc.'; Christopher Tilley, 'From the English Cottage Garden to the Swedish Allotment: Banal Nationalism and the Concept of Garden', *Home Cultures*, 5.2 (2008), 219–250 (p. 222).

99 Michael Haldrup, Lasse Koefoed and Kirsten Simonsen, 'Practical Orientalism: Bodies, Everyday Life and the Construction of Otherness', *Geografiska Annaler*, 88B.2 (2006), 173–184.

100 Marianne Gullestad, *Plausible Prejudice: Everyday Experiences and Social Images of Nation, Culture and Race* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2006), pp. 33–34, 93–94, 99.

In conclusion, a number of ways in which nations are reproduced in everyday life can be described. First, there are discursive references to the nation, with frequent use of deixis, which reproduces national boundaries as the normal context of everyday life. Second, there are various definitions of the nation put forward by nationalist discourse and symbolisms. Third, there is the production of cultural uniformity within national boundaries via market-based or bureaucratic means. I also argued that the relationship of the latter two is complex and needs to be analysed in its own regard.

Below I will elaborate further on this general framework and other possibilities it entails. For this purpose, I will now turn to material objects which have been considered in the literature on everyday nationalism.

5.4. Material objects and everyday nationalism

Despite increased interest in everyday aspects of nationalism in the last two decades,[101] national material cultures remain relatively understudied. Already I have noted some mentions in the literature. Theorists of nationalism have touched upon material objects such as folk dresses, coinage and printed materials. In these they have underlined the symbolic power of such objects to represent the nation, however they did not concentrate on single material objects or product categories other than as illustrations of larger arguments on historical questions.[102]

One example that merits attention is Hobsbawm's differentiation between technical artefacts and invented traditions, since it is, in a sense, an explicit statement of this gap. According to the author, everyday objects and practices lose their original functions in favour of symbolic power during the process by which they are converted to national traditions. For instance, wigs, as used by judges, preserve only their symbolic function. In fact, only when the rest of the society stops wearing wigs can the product assume ideological function as an invented tradition. Hobsbawm compares invented traditions to technical artefacts to argue that the latter (e.g. motorcycle helmets, as opposed to wigs) are solely based on functionality and therefore free to evolve with technological advances.[103] In effect, Hobsbawm's differentiation removes the practical world of objects from the scope of national symbolism, and implies that everyday routines are not only irrelevant to the study of nationalism, but that nationalism starts at the exact point where everyday ends.

In studies of everyday nationalism, too, this general trend largely continues. Rather than looking into single objects or product categories, examples of material objects are aggregated for illustrative effect. This inevitably results in the fading of the

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101 Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, p. 190.
102 See Section 5.2 above.
103 Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', pp. 3–4.

specificity of the material object into the background. Among these, we can count Billig's interest in flags, and his argument in passing that anything can be used to flag the nation—including, for instance, Levi jeans—and Palmer's application of Billig's perspective on body, food and landscapes.[104] The aggregative approach to material culture contrasts the detailed way in which specific political, media and everyday discourses are studied in literature.[105]

Exceptions to this trend can be found in studies on official products of the state, such as money and stamps, and on national cuisines. There is also some work on architecture and landscapes,[106] as well as nationalist appropriations of archaeology.[107] In the review below, I will look at official state products and national cuisines in detail to develop a theoretical understanding of national material cultures as they are mass-produced and consumed in everyday life.

5.4.1. Official state products: money and stamps

Gilbert and Helleiner argue that studies of money from an economic perspective failed to comment on the fact that currencies are organised in national terms. Nor could they explain nationalist sentiments towards national currencies, as evidenced by popular fears accompanying their supersession by supranational currencies such as the Euro.[108] However, as Helleiner remarked, money has played an important role in the emergence of nations as a promotional tool for elites:

> The very thing that Marx and Simmel thought destroyed traditional collective identities was being used to weave a new kind of national identity. Indeed, by doing away 'with all distinctions' through its 'levelling' and 'communistic' characteristics, money may have been ideally suited to promote this new community that was 'imagined' as a kind of horizontal comradeship.[109]

Loosely following Helleiner's study of the nineteenth-century political discourse on national currencies, four different ways in which this has taken place can be differentiated.[110]

First, there is the idea of national sovereignty which is associated with currency. According to this, money is metonymic of the nation. Every nation-state needs to have

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104 Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 149; Palmer, p. 182.
105 For the latter, see Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2.
106 For instance, Tilley, 'From the English Cottage Garden to the Swedish Allotment'; Donald McNeill and Mark Tewdwr-Jones, 'Architecture, Banal Nationalism and Re-territorialization', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27.3 (2003), 738–743.
107 For instance, *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. by Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998).
108 Emily Gilbert and Eric Helleiner, 'Introduction—Nation-States and Money: Historical Contexts, Interdisciplinary Perspectives', in *Nation-States and Money: the Past, Present and Future of National Currencies*, ed. by Emily Gilbert and Eric Helleiner (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1–20 (p. 1).
109 Eric Helleiner, *The Making of National Money: Territorial Currencies in Historical Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 120.
110 Ibid., pp. 101–118.

its own currency, as it does a flag and a national anthem.[111]

Second, the visual imagery on banknotes often partake in the reproduction of a 'national iconography', which encompasses state symbols, historical events and persona, the imagery of the dominant religion, etc.[112] In the case of stamps—another state product that displays such imagery—Cusack uses the phrase, 'the "cut and paste" version of nation building', to indicate that these visual elements are brought together by elites in the manner of a collage in response to the requirements of the historical period concerned.[113] In other words, state products, such as money and stamps, were explicitly designed to propagandistic ends with references to the past. It was intended that the national iconography which adorned these objects would teach their users about their national history, and thus consolidate national belonging.[114] Empirical research have documented the international norms regarding the construction and display of national iconographies on banknotes.[115] Other studies noted the changing iconographies used on stamps in a variety of historical periods and geographies.[116]

Such use of iconographies amounts to defining the nation, for the objective is to communicate certain definitions of the nation to internal and external audiences. However, as Helleiner suggested,

> Territorial currencies were seen to foster national identities not just in these symbolic ways. In a more concrete sense, some policy-makers hoped that territorial currencies would cultivate a national consciousness by fostering economic communication and interaction among the members of the nation.[117]

So, and thirdly, the introduction of national currencies historically meant the construction of a unified national space of commercial transaction, 'in which, for instance, every English pound is equivalent to every other, wherever and by whomever it is held'.[118] By connecting nationals to other nationals as economic units, this national

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111 Ibid., p. 105.
112 Jean Gottman, *The Significance of Territory* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press, 1952), p. 516, cited in Stanley D. Brunn, 'Stamps as Iconography: Celebrating the Independence of New European and Cetral Asian States', *GeoJournal*, 52.4 (2000), 315–323 (p. 315).
113 Igor Cusack, 'Tiny Transmitters of Nationalist and Colonial Ideology: the Postage Stamps of Portugal and its Empire', *Nations and Nationalism*, 11.4 (2005), 591–612 (p. 592).
114 Helleiner, pp. 109–110.
115 Tim Unwin and Virginia Hewitt, 'Banknotes and National Identity in Central and Eastern Europe', *Political Geography*, 20.8 (2001), 1005–1028; Jan Penrose and Craig Cumming, 'Money Talks: Banknote Iconography and Symbolic Constructions of Scotland', *Nations and Nationalism*, 17.4 (2011), 821–842.
116 For instance, on Portugal, Cusack; on Japan, Douglas Frewer, 'Japanese Postage Stamps as Social Agents: Some Anthropological Perspectives', *Japan Forum*, 14.1 (2002), 1–19; on Finland, Pauliina Raento and Stanley D. Brunn, 'Picturing a Nation: Finland Postage Stamps, 1917–2000, *National Identities*, 10.1 (2008), 49–75; 'Visualizing Finland: Postage Stamps as Political Messengers', *Geografiska Annaler*, 87B.2 (2005), 145–163; on Iraq, Donald Malcolm Reid, 'The Postage Stamp: a Window on Saddam Hussein's Iraq', *Middle East Journal*, 47.1 (1993), 77–89.
117 Helleiner, p. 110.
118 Matthew Rowlinson, '"The Scotch Hate Gold": British Identity and Paper Money', in *Nation-States and Money*, ed. by Gilbert and Helleiner, pp. 45–66 (p. 49).

space gave rise to a sense of collectivity that is akin to what Anderson observed in newspaper consumption.[119]

Moreover, and fourthly, banknotes 'link their successive holders in local networks of mutual obligation and credit'.[120] This is beyond the Anderson-esque sense of equivalence that is created by the uniformisation of the transaction space, since national currency becomes further the guarantee of individuals' wealth and thus fosters an idea of merged interests. Hellenier called this, after Gabriel Ardant, 'the financial "infrastructure of national feeling"'.[121]

As Rowlinson warns, however, such uniformities and transactional networks are not necessarily perceived as national by the actors involved in them.[122] It is necessary to underline this in order not to repeat the shortcoming in Edensor's approach to national material cultures that I discussed at length above: It cannot be assumed that a sense of, or even actual, merging of interests automatically leads to a sense of *national* belonging—as opposed to for instance class-based or regional allegiances.[123]

Studies of official products of the state thus parallel ideological analyses of everyday nationalism, which are, as I discussed above, also mainly concerned with state-induced national belonging. As shown by Penrose, these studies often take the state's and political elites' control over national iconographies for granted, offering little insight into the processes of design and decision making that create these objects. If and how non-state actors, such as civil society and commercial institutions, take part in these processes remain unquestioned.[124]

Addressing this gap in literature, Dobson demonstrated that, in Japan, stamps were products of interrelations between civil society and a number of bureaucratic institutions. More to the point, Hewitt, in her survey of British colonial banknotes, pointed to the ways in which the artistic and commercial practices of banknote-printing firms in Britain influenced the final designs. Predominance of classical motifs were related to artists' training in classical art; economic constraints encouraged the recurrence of certain motifs across the banknotes of a variety of British colonies; and Queen's heads were detailed extensively not with patriotic motives, but as a measure against forgery. Still, the final designs involved colonialist themes. Penrose made a similar point, indicating that in 'stateless Scotland', banknote design was undertaken by bank executives and design departments of banknote producers without the

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119 Anderson, p. 35; see Section 5.2.2.
120 Rowlinson, pp. 55-56.
121 Helleiner, pp. 112–113; Gabriel Ardant, 'Financial Policy and Economic Infrastructure of Modern States and Nations', in *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, ed. by Charles Tilly (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 164–242 (p. 227).
122 Rowlinson, p. 49.
123 See Section 5.3.3.
124 Jan Penrose, 'Designing the Nation: Banknotes, Banal Nationalism and Alternative Conceptions of the State', *Political Geography*, 30.8 (2011), 429–440.

involvement of representatives of the state. In this context, issues of brand image and security against forgery overshadowed nationalist motives to represent Scotland. Nevertheless, the final designs did construct an image of the Bank of Scotland as a 'national institution', and thus contributed to the construction of the nation in a state-like manner.[125]

Banknotes and stamps provide the framework I have outlined so far with an example. Firstly, the past is visualised on these objects to convey a particular sense of the nation, suggesting an everyday version of the historical 'uses of the past'. Secondly, they are mass-produced and circulated so that they produce the national space as a unified monetary and postal space, and furthermore in the case of national currencies, create a sense of merged economic interests among nationals. The shortcoming of the example is that these objects are designed, produced and circulated under the supervision of the state, or state-like institutions such as national banks, and implies a top-down process. The next example—that is, national cuisines—differs in that it brings in questions of how commercial practices have related to nationalism.

5.4.2. National cuisines and gastronationalism

DeSoucey termed the two-way relationship between nationalism and food items and practices as 'gastronationalism':

> Gastronationalism, in particular, signals the use of food production, distribution, and consumption to demarcate and sustain the emotive power of national attachment, as well as the use of nationalist sentiments to produce and market food.[126]

As opposed to official state products, the construction of national cuisines have been facilitated less by state propaganda than commercial practices. Bell and Valentine noted that it has been perceived as governments' task to monitor national food practices in relation to food provision and health issues,[127] however, as case studies show, these have played a limited role in gastronationalism when compared to the influence of markets—mainly, food and tourism industries and related journalism.[128]

The principal way in which food is considered national is the association of a single

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125 Hugo Dobson, 'Japanese Postage Stamps: Propaganda and Decision Making', *Japan Forum*, 14.1 (2002), 21–39; Virginia Hewitt, 'A Distant View: Imagery and Imagination in the Paper Currency of the British Empire: 1800–1960', in *Nation-States and Money*, ed. by Gilbert and Helleiner, pp. 97–116; Penrose, p. 438.

126 Michaela DeSoucey, 'Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union', *American Sociological Review*, 75.3 (2010), 432–455 (p. 434).

127 David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Consuming Geographies: We are Where We Eat* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 165.

128 See for instance, Sally Howell, 'Modernizing *Mansaf*: the Consuming Contexts of Jordan's National Dish', *Food & Foodways*, 11.4 (2003), 215–243 (pp. 217–221); Richard R. Wilk, '"Real Belizean Food": Building Local Identity in the Transnational Caribbean', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 101.2 (1999), 244–255 (pp. 251–252); Mary-Lee Mulholland, 'Mariachi, Myths and Mestizaje: Popular Culture and Mexican National Identity', *National Identities*, 9.3 (2007), 247–264 (pp. 249–250).

dish ('curry' with India), ingredient (rice with Japan) or cooking technique ('stir-fry' with China) with a nation.[129] Such associations bring forth concerns for authenticity and continuity with traditions. With reference to a printed advertisement on 'Indian food', Bell and Valentine argue that what are considered to be authentic ingredients, authentic techniques, and even people as authentic cooks, are often used to bestow value on food commodities.[130] Looking at cookbooks, Zubaida indicates the use of national histories to this end:

> [The] supposed historical antiquity and continuity are cited as, somehow, a confirmation of the authenticity and the superiority of the present-day national cuisine. History, then, becomes the measure of national virtue, including food.[131]

All in all, the emphasis on authenticity betrays a concern for national ownership in the discourse of gastronationalism. DeSoucey, for instance, examines the policies of the European Union for designating certain food products as 'cultural patrimony' of certain countries, by which monopolistic exceptions are created within the open-market structure of the union. According to the author, this process is primarily a reaction to the globalising dynamics of the open market, and appears in 'a distinct organizational form [...] that prizes conceptions of tradition and authenticity as desirable rationales' for regulative action.[132] A case in point is feta cheese, whose protection has been challenged by feta producers in other countries, mainly Germany and Denmark. One of the opposing arguments has been about the national origins of the cheese, namely, that it is not originally limited to Greece, but 'white cheeses soaked in brine have been produced for a long time [...] in the Balkans and the south-east of the Mediterranean basin'.[133] In this, gastronationalism appears as a history-writing and boundary-drawing exercise, which grounds the national cuisine in national history as indigenous to the national homeland.

It is of note that DeSoucey's definition puts gastronationalism against globalising market forces. A similar argument is made by Caldwell on nationally charged food practices in post-socialist Moscow. The author reports numerous allusions to national language, history and culture in marketing food products, restaurant and cafés. Food products that are 'made in Russia' are intensively branded as 'ours' ('*nash*'), so that even global brands, such as McDonald's, are driven to emphasise their local sources in

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129 Bell and Valentine, p. 165.
130 Ibid., p. 176.
131 Sami Zubaida, 'National, Communal and Global Dimensions in Middle Eastern Food Cultures', in *A Taste of Thyme: Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, ed. by Richard Tapper and Sami Zubaida (London: Tauris Parke, 2000), pp. 33–48 (p. 41).
132 DeSoucey, 'Gastronationalism', p. 433.
133 The European Commission, 'The Court of Justice Upholds the Name "Feta" as a Protected Designation of Origin for Greece', Press Release, No. 92/05, 25 October 2005 <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=CJE/05/92> [accessed 10 March 2012]; DeSaucey, p. 442. That feta cheese is originally Turkish, not Greek has also been argued; see Defne Karaosmanoğlu, 'Surviving the Global Market: Turkish Cuisine "under Construction"', *Food, Culture & Society*, 10.3 (2007), 425–448 (p. 435).

marketing campaigns. Correspondingly, shopping preferences are shaped by considerations of national belonging, too. Food products 'made in Russia' are considered healthier and thus sought for, and vendors of perceived Russian origin— including both individuals and companies—are trusted more than those perceived as foreigners. 'Russian dishes' are associated with good housewifery, and more importantly, with the 'inherently Russian' characteristics of being social and socially responsible, as opposed to 'foreign', especially 'American', convenience food. Ultimately, Russia is constructed by marketing and consumption alike as 'an imagined collective nation of like-minded consumers' that is 'at odds with the encroaching outside world'.[134]

Both studies underline the way in which global market forces give rise to nationalist food practices in a reactionary form—either in the form of officially sanctioned authenticity, or against the perceived threat of foreign food to the persistence of national culture. Other studies have noted the emergence of national cuisines not in opposition to globalisation, but via markets' imposition of geographic categories upon local food practices.[135] One detailed analysis is presented by Appadurai's article on cookbooks in India, where the author portrays the middle-class housewife of 1970s and 1980s as she is subject to a double pressure. On one hand, introduction of 'labour-saving' appliances and commercial developments, such as markets and advertising, increase access to new culinary possibilities. The housewife is pressed to diversify her kitchen skills for her family, who is tired of 'the same old thing', and for guests as a display of cultural capital within the emerging cosmopolitan middle-class culture. On the other hand, the very same audience demands regional specialities as well from the housewife, who often has to learn these from cookbooks, too. This entails the simultaneous diversification and reification of culinary practices—as 'our' dishes and 'their' dishes in both regional and national levels.[136]

In general, the literature on national cuisines draw attention to the pervasive idea that certain material objects and related practices are owned by particular nations. These seem to be often contrasted to those that belong to 'others', including what can be viewed as global flows. What is more, such claims to national ownership are prone to

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134 Melissa L. Caldwell, 'The Taste of Nationalism: Food Politics in Postsocialist Moscow', *Ethnos*, 67.3 (2002), 295–319 (pp. 297, 309); on the role of consumption choices in the reproduction of the nation, see also Fox and Miller-Idriss, pp. 550–553.

135 See Igor Cusack, 'African Cuisines: Recipes for Nation-Building?', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 13.2 (2000), 207–225; Wilk, pp. 246–248.

136 Arjun Appadurai, 'How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30.1 (1988), 3–24; however, for a contrasting argument that cooking publications do not reproduce the nation so much as provide the producer and the consumer with variety, see Alan Warde, 'Imagining British Cuisine: Representations of Culinary Identity in the Good Food Guide', *Food, Culture and Society*, 12.2 (2009), 149–171. For a diagrammatic representation of such conflicting social forces that are in play in the construction of modern culinary practice, see also Alan Warde, *Consumption, Food and Taste* (London: Sage, 1997), p. 42.

challenges, generating questions of authenticity with regard to the national past. Secondly, it suggests that the various ways in which the nation is defined and maintained in everyday life are not controlled by the nation-state, but involves commercial practices. The next section will elaborate on this latter point.

5.4.3. Branding and commercial construction of nations

In general, such commercial practices as in gastronationalism which participate in the reproduction of nations are far from novel. As Foster argued, nations have been 'imagined communities of consumption' since the nineteenth century. From national brands to nationally distributed mail-order catalogues, 'commercial technologies of nation-making' are coeval with state-induced nationalisms of public rituals.[137] My review of the literature above also attests to the fact that political and commercial practices alike have shaped and normalised nations through practices of definition and uniformisation.

Branding, and advertising in particular, have been noted for their use of nationalist discourse and symbolisms to promote products.[138] Recent studies pointed to the existence of both commercial and political motives behind these. Prideaux, for example, differentiated between two different ways in which marketing campaigns engage in such practice. They can either instrumentalise nationalist rhetoric or imagery to monetary ends, mainly to establish or maintain their corporate identities as national brands; or they can openly participate in nationalist politics, for instance, by trying to mobilise the consumer against foreign products or companies. According to the author, the latter shows relatively less interest in profit and more in political outcomes when compared to the former.[139] One instance of such double role was analysed by First and Hermann in the case of Israeli sugar packet graphic designs that display 'the founding fathers of Zionism'. Following their interviews with the producer and the designer, authors inferred that

> On the face of it, the manufacturer was motivated almost exclusively by commercial considerations. […] However, we argue that the very fact that he chose this specific theme and not another suggests that he intuited the national need for unity at that time, and he expected to influence the

137 Foster, 'The Commercial Construction of "New Nations"', p. 268; Robert J. Foster, 'Making National Cultures in the Global Ecumene', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 20.1 (1991), 235–260; Anderson, Ch. 3.

138 For instance, on Austin Mini-Metro, see Richard Johnson, 'What is Cultural Studies Anyway?', in *What is Cultural Studies: A Reader*, ed. by John Storey (London: Arnold, 1996), pp. 75–114 (first publ. in *Social Text*, 16 (1986–1987), 38–80). Various examples, including Swiss chocolate and Canadian whiskey, were presented in the 'Product Communication and the Nationalisation of Consumption' conference in Vienna in 1–3 September 2009. See Oliver Kühschelm, 'Editorial: die Nation im Alltag: Nationalisierende Potentiale von Produktkommunikation', *ÖZG*, 2 (2010), 5–18.

139 Jillian Prideaux, 'Consuming Icons: Nationalism and Advertising in Australia', *Nations and Nationalism*, 15.4 (2009), 616–635.

consumers' preferences, even when buying sugar.[140]

Despite their coordinated operation for more than a century, the last few decades seem to have been characterised by the changing status and role of commercial practices with respect to nationalist projects. Most notably, Appadurai argues that, with the impact of novel technologies of transportation and communication, the global movement of people, ideas, capital and technologies take place more independently from one another, and therefore are patterned in increasingly dissimilar ways. The implication is that nation-states, which used to contain most such movement and regulate others, have become less determining as boundaries.[141] As a consequence, commercial practices have assumed more power in defining the content of nationhood. Foster argues that, today, nationals are hailed less as citizens than as consumers for 'their sense of national belonging derives less from common membership in a polity and more from common participation in a repertoire of consumption practices'.[142]

One of the most overt manifestations of this development has been the growing interest in nation branding, through which the public images of nation-states are branded by hired advertising agencies. As Aronczyk argued, the phenomenon is continuous with nation-building projects since they share a concern for the management of symbols and rituals.[143] But it also represents a break with earlier understandings of the nation, for conceiving the national image as a brand emphasises commercial considerations over the more explicitly political: 'If flags set up nations as equivalents in war and diplomacy, brands and logos set up nations as equivalents in commerce and leisure.'[144]

Another context in which such developments can be observed is design. In the following section I will make a review of the design literature on nationalisms, keeping in mind both the uses of design by nation-states and nationalisms, as well as the uses of national cultural elements in design.

5.5. Nations in design literature

In design history, the historical development of design practice along national lines has been described in detail. In my review of the literature on design, I will follow the design historical narrative, expanding the review with specific examples for the period

140 Anat First and Tamar Hermann, 'Sweet Nationalism in Bitter Days: a Commercial Representation of Zionism', *Nations and Nationalism*, 15.4 (2009), 506–523 (p. 521).
141 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
142 Foster, 'The Commercial Construction of "New Nations"', p. 264; see also Edensor, p. 4.
143 Melissa Aronczyk, 'New and Improved Nations: Branding National Identity', *Practicing Culture*, ed. by Craig Calhoun and Richard Sennett (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 105–128; see also Wally Olins, 'Branding the Nation: the Historical Context', *Journal of Brand Management*, 9.4/5 (2002), 241–248.
144 Ibid., p. 124.

after the 1980s.

5.5.1. The history of nation and design

The period from the mid-nineteenth century to the Second World War in Europe was marked by cultural and political nationalism on one hand, international economic competition on the other, both of which deeply influenced the design practice of the era.[145] The strongest expression of this could be found in international exhibitions. Starting with the Great Exhibition of 1851, these grand events provided a public platform for the display and comparison of national industrial achievements. With an increasing intensity up to the Second World War, this meant describing and glorifying the cultural characteristics of individual nations, and showcasing their industrial and political might.[146]

International exhibitions were not only used by the 'developed nations' of the Western Europe in this manner, but also provided a context where the perspective of international competition was imposed on the peripheries. Yagou describes how the Greek Exhibit in the Crystal Palace, including only crafts objects or semi-finished products, failed to offer an image of national development for the Greek industry, and thus received passionate responses from commentators, ranging from sympathy to reproach towards Greece, which they considered the origin of Western civilisation.[147] As such, exhibitions became grounds for struggles over national images. For instance, in the colonial context, McGowan notes the way in which an 'Indian design style' emerged from the Great Exhibition of 1851, while in later exhibitions it was strongly influenced by the Orientalist assumptions of the colonial authority.[148] Similarly, Bhagat documents the negotiations between British and South African colonial authorities regarding the latter's pavillion for the 1924–1925 British Empire Exhibition.[149] All three examples support Andermann's claim, which he based on his study of Brazil and Argentina in international exhibitions:

> National pavilions, rather than the immediate expression of the state-as-author, were complex and negotiated performances of the national image involving multiple intermediaries; a crossroads of gazes and voices to which the verbal and visual accounts of exhibition visitors would add further layers

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145 Penny Sparke, *An Introduction to Design & Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 79–80.

146 Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The* Expositions Universelles*, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988)*, Ch. 5.

147 Artemis Yagou, 'Facing the West: Greece in the Great Exhibition of 1851', *Design Issues*, 19.4 (2003), 82–90.

148 Abigail S. McGowan, '"All that is Rare, Characteristic or Beautiful": Design and the Defense of Tradition in Colonial India, 1851–1903', *Journal of Material Culture*, 10.3 (2005), 263–287.

149 Dipti Bhagat, 'Performing White South African Identity through International and Empire Exhibitions', in *Global Design History*, ed. by Glenn Adamson, Giorgio Riello, and Sarah Teasley (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 72–81.

of meaning.[150]

Economic concerns with the betterment of industrial products, and state attempts to motivate it, were carried on beyond the exhibitions by national museums of decorative and applied art. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the South Kensington Museum was opened in London; the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, in Vienna; Kunstgewerbemuseum, in Berlin; and the Museé des Arts Décoratifs, in Paris. In addition to these, professional institutions were established with the aim to encourage 'good design' in national industries; for instance, the Deutscher Werkbund in Germany, the Design and Industries Association in Britain, and the Comité Central Consultatif Technique des Arts Appliqués in France.[151] Drawing on insights from the previous chapter, it can be assumed that these institutions contributed to the nationalisation of design practice in their countries both by beginning to create a nationally bound and internationally connected discursive space on design, and a sense of merged interests among the manufacturers, artists and designers involved.[152]

Side by side with the mission for development was the idea to turn to traditions. Despite its original association with political Left, the Arts and Crafts movement was in the same period articulated to nationalist politics.[153] Under romantic nationalism, vernacular cultural elements—'folk cultures'—were utilised to construct and promote national cultures in the form of applied arts throughout Europe. The aim was to use art and design to resuscitate national morals and reaffirm the national character. As Kaplan states, even though this was a conservative project that advocated 'intense adherence to a country's heritage', in practice it also meant 'the recasting of traditions for new markets and constituencies'.[154] An example of invented traditions from this period is the matrioshka doll, designed and produced for export as a 'Russian folk tradition'.[155]

Indeed, international competition with its emphasis on progress, and the romantic nationalist project to turn to traditions were not as opposed or incompatible as they may seem, but in fact complementary. Traditions provided substance to capitalist practice, and simultaneously offered sanctuary from its pressures on everyday life.[156]

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150 Jens Andermann, 'Tournaments of Value: Argentina and Brazil in the Age of Exhibitions', *Journal of Material Culture*, 14.3 (2009), 333–363 (p. 338).

151 Jeremy Aynsley, *Nationalism and Internationalism: Design in the 20th Century* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1993), pp. 37–38; Jonathan M. Woodham, *Twentieth-Century Design* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), Ch. 1.

152 See for instance, Sparke, *An Introduction to Design & Culture*, Ch 4.

153 Paul Greenhalgh, 'The English Compromise: Modern Design and National Consciousness 1870–1940', in *Designing Modernity: the Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885–1945*, ed. by Wendy Kaplan (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995), pp. 111–139 (pp. 118–120, 123).

154 Wendy Kaplan, 'Traditions Transformed: Romantic Nationalism in Design, 1890–1920', *Designing Modernity*, ed. by Kaplan, pp. 19–47 (p. 19).

155 Ibid., p. 35; for the concept of invented traditions, see Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', see also Section 5.2.2 above.

156 Greenhalgh, 'The English Compromise', pp. 119.

In this respect they were a manifestation of what Tom Nairn famously termed the 'Janus face' of nationalism, gazing simultaneously 'forwards' to progress and 'backwards' to the past.[157] The most overt examples of this dual construction could be found in the national socialist and fascist aesthetics in Germany and Italy. Both regimes used iconographies that comprised technological achievements and vernacular forms alike to promote the nation through art and design.[158]

In post-war Europe, concerns for the role of design in economic competition continued. The period saw the second generation of design institutions aiming to improve design quality in national industries.[159] However, there was a fundamental change in the way national design styles were conceived. They increasingly became akin to brand names as the national characteristics that were defined in the international exhibitions of the pre-war period were selectively appropriated, depoliticised and commercialised:

> While Germany sells design in the name of science, Italy in the name of art, Scandinavia in the name of craft, and the USA in the name of business, all these national images of design were necessary strategies in the highly competitive markets of the immediate post-war years.[160]

For instance, Sparke argues that in Italy, companies aimed from the outset to make 'a visual impact on the world market that was specifically Italian in character'.[161]

From the 1980s on, the diffusion of such national stereotypes in design discourse increased significantly. According to Narotzky, since then, design journalism has frequently attempted to discover the 'national characteristics' of design practice and products in each country.[162] Examples include Frederique Huygen's attempt to list the qualities of British design that set it apart from others' and an exhibition on 'national characteristics' at the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1985.[163] I found similar arguments in the popular design magazine, *Art+Decor*, where journalists often interviewed designers from Turkey and abroad regarding their 'national roots'.[164]

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157 Tom Nairn, 'The Modern Janus', *New Left Review*, I/94 (1975), 3–29 (p. 18).

158 Woodham, pp. 96–107; see also Dennis P. Doordan, 'Political Things: Design in Fascist Italy', in *Designing Modernity*, ed. by Kaplan, pp. 225–255; John Heskett, 'Design in Inter-War Germany', in *Designing Modernity*, ed. by Kaplan, pp. 257–193.

159 Aynsley, p. 42; Sparke, *An Introduction to Design & Culture*, pp. 144–145.

160 Penny Sparke, *Consultant Design* (Pembridge: London, 1981), p. 48.

161 Sparke, *An Introduction to Design & Culture*, p. 147.

162 Viviana Narotzky, 'Selling the Nation: Identity and Design in 1980s Catalonia', *Design Issues*, 25.3 (2009), 62–75 (p. 62).

163 Frederique Huygen, *British Design: Image and Identity* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989); Jonathan Glancey, *The Boilerhouse Project: National Characteristics in Design* (London: Boilerhouse/Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985), cited in John A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), p. 124.

164 Harun Kaygan, 'Türkiye'de Tasarım veya "Türk Tasarımı" Üzerine', in *Türkiye'de Tasarımı Tartışmak: 3. Ulusal Tasarım Kongresi Bildiri Kitabı*, Istanbul Technical University, 19–22 April 2006 (Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 2006), pp. 325–333; Harun Kaygan, 'Evaluation of Products Through the Concept of National Design: a Case Study on *Art+Decor* Magazine' (unpublished master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2006).

What is more, depictions of national characteristics have often been accompanied by a rhetoric on the commercial benefits of supporting their expression.[165] For instance, in the conservative political context of Britain after 1979, Buckley described the various ways in which the past was utilised by a variety of commercial endeavours, from urban renewal projects that built on 'industrial heritage' to the branding of 'English' tableware:

> Identities were evoked and represented via the commodification of particular ideas of 'Englishness' and 'Britishness', invoking a highly selective reading of the past that stressed the virtues of free-market capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These processes of commodification involved the marshalling of 'heritage' in design and material culture, and […] the past was not so much a 'foreign country', as a well-worn reference book, falling open at certain pages due to over-use.[166]

An overt expression of this strategy can be found in Aldersley-Williams' *World Design*, made of chapters that describe the unique design styles of 19 different 'nations'. Writing in 1992, the author argued that, despite globalisation, 'the nation-state […] remains the principal designator of cultural character', owing to 'the facts of political, economic and commercial life'. He then called for a design practice that engages more actively with national cultures—one which could foster 'benign new nationalisms', which 'may no longer serve much political purpose, but [which] could contribute materially to company performance'. Furthermore, in this manner, 'design could begin to restore to artefacts some of the meaning they have lost as societies became more secular, more industrialized, and more intertwined'.[167]

As Narotzky indicates, what this perspective advocates is a 'commodity-led, business-oriented formalism',[168] which disregards the hegemonic aspect of making singular definitions of the nation, and which, particularly in the case of design journalism, tends to be often highly reductive. The reductiveness of such formalisms have been documented in literature. Regarding 'Australian design', for instance, Jackson indicated the salience of references to the nationalist and masculine mythology of 'rough and ready pioneers', which is reductive in two ways: First, it concentrates on rural inventions, such as agricultural machinery. Second, even among such inventions, it brings pioneers' inventions to the fore at the expense of later designs:

> In order to be recognised and valued by the general population (and so incorporated into the national identity), it would seem a design object has to create a link with Australia's beloved pioneering era.[169]

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165 Narotzky, p. 63.

166 Cheryl Buckley, *Designing Modern Britain* (London: Reaktion, 2007), p. 198; see also Woodham, Ch. 9, who argues that the interest in heritage was continuous in the depiction of Britishness from the Second World War on.

167 Hugh Aldersley-Williams, *World Design: Nationalism and Globalism in Design* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), pp. 12, 14.

168 Narotzky, p. 63.

169 Simon Jackson, 'Sacred Objects: Australian Design and National Celebrations', *Journal of Design History*, 19.3 (2006), 249–255 (p. 252); however, see also Suzette Worden,

In Greece, Yagou noted the indiscriminate combination of 'Ancient Greek', 'Byzantine' and 'folk' patterns in graphic and product design since the inter-war period. This is in line with Greek nationalist myths of continuous tradition:

> loaded with populist and nationalistic overtones, a rhetoric by which the average citizen of the country is bombarded in advertising, journalism, popular culture and other aspects of daily life, including design.

According to Yagou, in the course of the twentieth century, such anachronistic uses of the past became, first, 'banal'—in Billig's sense—and ultimately, in the context of the 2004 Olympics in Athens, a public expectation.[170]

It is important to recognise that these ways in which national design styles are produced in a reductive manner out of various cultural elements, has an international basis—similar to how international exhibitions implied and thus compelled international comparison and competition. For example, Skov pointed out how the fashion designer Rei Kawakubo's *Comme des Garçon* collections of the 1980s were tagged 'Japanese' mainly by international commentators, and mostly from an Orientalist point of view. The author argued that it was the global fashion community who interpreted the designs as Japanese—or rather, imposed Japaneseness on them—whilst the designer's actual audience was not Japan at all:

> Designers of whatever nationality more or less consciously address their design, not to national communities, but to certain enclaves of taste, which in Kawakubo's case has certainly transcended national boundaries.[171]

Similarly, Narotzky argued that it was an 'international craving for "Spanishness"' as expressed in foreign design periodicals which shaped the global design community's perception of works by Barcelona designers. When it did influence the designs themselves, the result was often a 'highly postmodern approach to stereotyped identities', rather than self-professed expressions of a Catalan design style.[172] The author contrasts this to the 'domestic' project to banalise[173] the Catalan nation, in which design was not so much a medium of the nation, as its very object:

> 'Normal' Catalans spoke Catalan, listened to Philip Glass, wore designer suits, and sat in designer chairs. How different they were from other Spaniards! One only needed to switch channels to see the proof.[174]

'Aluminium and Contemporary Australian Design: Materials History, Cultural and National Identity', *Journal of Design History*, 22.2 (2009), 151–171.

170 Artemis Yagou, 'Metamorphoses of Formalism: National Identity as a Recurrent Theme of Design in Greece', *Journal of Design History*, 20.2 (2007), 145–159 (p. 152); Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 55.

171 Lise Skov, 'Fashion Trends, Japonisme and Postmodernism: or "What is so Japanese about Comme des Garçons?"', Theory, Culture & Society, 13.3 (1996) 129–151 (p. 137).

172 Narotzky, p. 67.

173 While Narotzky uses the word 'normalise', my contention is that in her discussion it is interchangeable with Billig's term.

174 Narotzky, p. 71; see also Guy Julier, 'Urban Designscapes and the Production of Aesthetic Consent', *Urban Studies*, 42.5-6 (2005), 869–887.

Lastly, Narotzky's argument on postmodernist, tongue-in-cheek uses of national iconographies were echoed by Huppatz's study of 'nostalgic design' in the Hong Kong of the 1980s and the 1990s, which he called, 'Chinese historical pastiche with the aura of tradition'.[175]

This review of the design historical literature on nations shows that design has been historically perceived as an instrument of national economies. The international organisation of design, from international exhibitions to journalism, played a part in this by imposing national categories on design practices and objects. Accordingly, national boundaries have often appeared as the boundaries of design practice, both in the symbolic (with design styles) and organisational (with national institutions of design) sense.

However, this does not mean that the nation is the only geographical unit whose content and boundaries has been normalised in this manner. Keeping with Liakos' metaphor of the matrioska doll for the nationalist point of view of the world,[176] regions smaller (e.g. Milan, Barcelona) and larger (e.g. Scandinavia) than nations have claimed for design styles, too.[177] In this regard, it is necessary to understand the process of nationalisation of design cultures as a complex set of relationships on many levels (from regional to global) in multiple modalities (discursive, visual, organisational) and between diverse actors (state, design community, manufacturers, etc.). Similarly, the various definitions of the nation that were promoted and banalised by design, as well as the very relationship between design and nation, seem to have been objects of contestation, rather than straightforward expressions by nation-states —to paraphrase Andermann's quote above.[178]

5.5.2. Design historical common sense

Another point that can be derived from this review is that the division of the design world into national styles is the product of a process that has been going on since, at least, the Great Exhibition of 1851. It needs to be acknowledged that design literature has also been involved in the reproduction of this categorisation. Two different ways in which this took place can be discerned. Firstly, various studies have offered observations regarding what each national design style comprises, actively taking part in the contestations that shaped the object of their analysis. I noted a number of examples from design journalism above. A recent academic example is Dawson et al.'s

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175 D.J. Huppatz, 'Designer Nostalgia in Hong Kong', *Design Issues*, 25.2 (2009), 14–28 (p.28).
176 Liakos, *Dünyayı Değiştirmek İsteyenler, Ulusu Nasıl Tasavvur Ettiler?*, p. 46; see Section 5.2.1 above.
177 Aynsley, p. 56.
178 Andermann, p. 338.

consumer survey on 'national design identities'.[179]

Secondly, design literature has reproduced this division by simply taking it for granted. After Billig's argument that it is 'sociological common sense' to define research contexts as nations,[180] a similar tendency in design research can be called the 'design historical common sense', which conceives design history as a series of coeval developments in neighbouring countries. In addition to much of the literature I reviewed above, for instance, Sparke's *An Introduction to Design & Culture* is organised, within each chapter, according to nation-states. Or, in his important critique of mainstream design history's preoccupation with a limited geographic area, Woodham referred to the number of 'countries' researched to illustrate his point.[181]

Whilst design history does tend to organise its subject matter into nations, it would be incorrect to assert that, in this, national characteristics are considered to be primordial or essential. Instead, it is often emphasised that they are historically contingent and ever-changing. For example, Aynsley states from the outset that whether an object is considered national or international is always determined by 'the structures which help it to be bought or to be used by different groups'. Likewise, Woodham contends that the portrayal of national identities via design, specifically in exhibitions, 'may be seen as bearers of myths rather than accurate reflections of more deep-seated national traits'. Even Aldersley-Williams, despite his glorification of national styles, does not argue that they have a historical basis, but are often created and disseminated by designers.[182] Instead, attention is directed to the analysis of how political ideologies and state intervention on design have contributed to the development of different design cultures in each country.[183]

5.6. Concluding discussion: material semiotics of nationally charged objects

Before concluding Part 1, I will restate in further detail the significant gaps which I pointed out in the introduction. I will then relate these to the theoretical framework I sketched in the previous chapters, and the case study in Part 2.

To reiterate, as the review shows, there is a major gap in literature regarding in-depth

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179 Kelly Dawson, Povl Larsen, Gavin Cawood and Alan Lewis, 'National Product Design Identities', *Creativity and Innovation Management*, 14.4 (2005), 393–404.
180 Billig, p. 55; see also Yagou, 'Metamorphoses of Formalism', p. 156.
181 Jonathan Woodham, 'Local, National and Global: Redrawing the Design Historical Map', *Journal of Design History*, 18.3 (2005), 257–267. For a similar critique, see Walker, p. 124; Yagou, 'Metamorphoses of Formalism', pp. 155–156; see also the proceedings for the ICDHS conference in 2006, where a variety of papers focused on examples of international collaborations; *Connecting: A Conference on the Multivocality of Design History & Design Studies: ICDHS 5th Conference Proceedings*, Aalto University School of Arts and Design (UIAH), Helsinki and Tallinn, 23–25 August 2006 <http://tm.uiah.fi/connecting/proceedings.html> [accessed 01 June 2007]; Aldersley-Williams, p. 12.
182 Aynsley, p. 5; Woodham, p. 87.
183 Sparke, *An Introduction to Design & Culture*, p. 81.

studies of individual nationally charged material objects. In theories of nationalism, material objects are instead aggregated for illustrative purposes. The gap becomes particularly evident when contrasted with the detailed way in which nationalism in everyday talk is studied. Furthermore, the few exceptions tend to concentrate on objects with graphic aspects (currencies, stamps and sugar packets, as well as brands)[184] and omit mass-produced technical objects as well as the design cultures in which they are shaped. In design literature the gap persists, since the focus is on the selective and reductive ways in which certain forms, objects and cultural elements are brought together to form national styles, and not on the ways in which individual objects are 'nationalised' via design.

In addition to this principal gap, there are other areas where further work is required to answer the question how material objects are related to nations in design and consumption. Firstly, in studies of everyday nationalism, there is much emphasis on the ways in which objects in everyday contexts symbolise and in this manner normalise nationalism. From the myth of the black soldier saluting the French flag in Barthes, to the ethno-symbolist interest in the power of national symbols such as coinage and passports, to the banal nationalism of food, such normalising effects have been commonly noted, and conceptualised in significantly diverging ways.[185] However, the role of material objects with regard to nationalism cannot be reduced to being bearers of national symbolisms. This indicates a gap in theories of nationalism that is most overtly expressed by Hobsbawm's differentiation between invented traditions and technical artefacts.[186] Instead, the way people (manufacturers, designers, users, etc.) talk about and do things with nationally charged material objects in their everyday engagements should be analysed and documented in detail. Edensor's call for more engagement with 'spatial, material, performative, embodied and representative expressions and experiences of national identity' is notable in this respect, yet, as I argued above, the shortcomings of his approach undermines its contributions.[187]

Secondly, both literatures are lacking in studies of the specific ways in which designers have dealt with the nation. I noted above that a number of articles on the graphic design of banknotes are exceptional in this respect, considering graphic design processes as relevant to the final outcome.[188] In the case of material objects, product designers should be similarly, and with further detail, included in research.

Lastly, the design literature on nations is characterised by insufficient consideration for the politics of everyday life that is related to nationally charged material objects,

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184 Raento and Brunn, 'Picturing a Nation'; Penrose; First and Hermann; Prideaux.
185 Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (New York: Noonday Press, 1972), p. 118, see Section 2.1; Palmer, p. 182, see Section 5.3.1; Smith, *National Identity*, p. 77, see Section 5.2.3.
186 Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', pp. 3–4; see Section 5.4 above.
187 *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, p. vii; see Section 5.3.3.
188 Dobson; Hewitt; Penrose.

whereas the aesthetic and economic aspects of the topic are more extensively studied. Even in exceptional cases, references to theories of nationalism have been limited to passing references to Billig and others.[189] It is my contention that theories of nationalism in general, and the various insights provided by the recent interest in everyday nationalisms in particular, have implications for our understanding of national design styles.

I argue that the material-semiotic framework I outlined in the previous chapters is instrumental in responding to these gaps.[190] I suggested above that, from a material-semiotic point of view, the politics of the material object consists in its symbolic and material involvement in hegemonic processes at the micro level within multiple settings. In the case of nationally charged material objects this means that, via discursive and material practices, the object is brought in relation to the nation, which is also defined and enacted within each setting, yet in connection with nationalist discourses, iconographies and design cultures.

At this point, I derive my inspiration from Gerald Raunig:

> Is it about a machine? The question is not easy to answer, but correctly posed. The question should certainly not be: What is a machine? Or even: Who is a machine? It is not a question of the essence, but of the event, not about *is*, but about *and*, about concatenations and connections, compositions and movements that constitute a machine. Therefore, it is not a matter of saying 'the bicycle *is* …' —a machine, for instance, but rather the bicycle *and* the person riding it, the bicycle and the person *and* the bicycle and the person mutually supporting one another, the bicycles *and* the bicycle thieves, etc.[191]

Regardless of its underpinnings in Deleuze and Guattari's work,[192] the quotation points towards an important distinction that follows from the adoption of a material-semiotic methodology to understand the relationship between material objects and nations. Accordingly, what we are looking at is not an object *of* the nation, as if it were an expression or an objectification of a national identity. Nor is it an object *in* the nation, as in the specific meanings and uses an object assumes within national boundaries, its national appropriations. We are instead investigating the object *and* the nation, to see whether and in what ways exactly the object connects to the nation in each setting we

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189 See for instance, Yagou, 'Metamorphoses of Formalism'; Aldersley-Williams, Ch. 1.

190 Material semiotic arguments have been used in other fields of research to look at nations. For a discussion of nineteenth-century Finnish geography, see Jouni Häkli, 'Regions, Networks and Fluidity in the Finnish Nation-State', *National Identities*, 10.1 (2008), 5–20; for an analysis of early-twentieth century power stations in France, see Gabrielle Hecht, 'Technology, Politics, and National Identity in France', in *Technologies of Power: Essays in Honor of Thomas Parke Hughes and Agatha Chirpley Hughes*, ed. by Michael Thad Allen and Gabrielle Hecht (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001), pp. 253–294.

191 Gerald Raunig, *A Thousand Machines: a Concise Philosophy of the Machine as Social Movement,* trans. by Aileen Derieg (Los Angeles, CA: semiotext(e), 2010), p. 19.

192 Specifically, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen Lane (London: The Athlone Press, 1984); and *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Brian Massumi (London: The Athlone Press, 1988).

look into.

This is what Part 2 will undertake in looking at electric Turkish coffee makers *and* the Turkish nation, identifying the specific ways in which nations and objects are articulated in design and consumption.

Part 2. Electric Turkish coffee makers and the nation

Chapter 6. Research design and methods

In the introduction, I stated my research questions as follows: How does a material object in its design and consumption relate to the political concept of nation? And, how do we move beyond politics of representation, where certain objects are taken to symbolise the nation, and give due attention to their materiality in our investigations of the relationship between material objects and nations?

The discussions and reviews in Part 1 provide theoretical waypoints that start to sketch an answer to these questions. They also provide a methodological framework that suggests, as I argued at the end of Part 1, that we research whether and in what ways exactly objects connect to the nation in each setting we look into. In Part 2 I will study a nationally charged material object—the electric Turkish coffee maker—with the aim to further elucidate my theoretical findings and to put the methodological framework to test.

For this purpose and in light of my discussions so far, it is possible to specify my research questions further. Firstly, I defined design and consumption as two sociotechnical settings, separated as recontextualisations of a single material object. I argued that the settings include interactions within and around object, which also cut across symbolic and material levels. I showed that in the context of nationalist projects, the two levels correspond to definitions of the nation on the one hand and projects of uniformisation on the other, which are connected in intricate ways. Accordingly, the first question is symmetrical:

In each setting, how are the electric Turkish coffee machine and the interactions within and around it articulated to different definitions of the nation at the symbolic level and various projects of uniformisation at the material level? How is the interplay of the two levels?

Secondly, there is also an asymmetrical question that follows from my definition of design as 'long-distance control', that design involves attempts to control future recontextualisations of products via scripts. I linked this to hegemonic processes, whereby dominant meanings, practices and material connectivities inscribed on material objects are actualised in consumption via gathering of consent, which is equivalent to enrolment in actor-network terms. Then, the second question is as follows:

How are these articulations with the nation which were engineered in the design setting and scripted on the electric Turkish coffee maker received in the setting of

consumption? How and to what extent did the user subscribe to their inscribed roles; how and to what extent did they devise alternative articulations?

Below I will describe my research design to answer these questions, and explain the methodological considerations that underlie it.

6.1. Researching electric Turkish coffee makers

The very first question is why I research electric Turkish coffee makers. As I noted in the introduction, and will show in my literature review of the last few decades' popular nationalism in Turkey,[1] the Turkish market is replete with products that make use of, in one way or another, various definitions of the Turkish nation. However, these are often in the form of graphic applications of nationally charged images (portraits of Atatürk, Turkish flags, sultan's seals) on a variety of objects (mugs, t-shirts, ornaments). This reduces their usefulness for this research by driving the focus onto their overt symbolisms and away from the actual interactions that take place in their design and consumption. If not graphic, often they are exclusive high-design products, such as limited-production furniture and lighting fixtures. Though innovative in their uses of nationalist iconographies and concepts, not being mass-produced and mass-consumed limits the variety of practices they provide the analysis with.

In contrast, electric Turkish coffee makers present a rich example. As electric kitchen appliances, each product is made of multiple components (as opposed to a mug, for instance), requiring relatively complex engineering, design and manufacturing processes. There is also diversity among the products. Whilst it is difficult to give a reliable final number,[2] my own research revealed that between 2002 and 2010, at least 27 products were launched under 13 brand names (see Table 2 for a list of pioneering products). The category covers a large price range (between around 20 liras to 300 liras) and varying levels of automaticity, too.

As for the study of consumption, electric Turkish coffee makers offer a highly successful and well-diffused product category.[3] In 2010, it was reported to me by one of the executives I interviewed that they included an electric coffee pot in their newly launched product line simply because it had become an element of the standard kitchen appliances set in Turkey. My research with the users proved this point, as every group I observed had some experience with electric Turkish coffee makers, and most participants talked proficiently about, even compared various brands and

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1   See Section 7.1.4 below.
2   The reason for this is the relatively short lifespan of some products. Many companies use OEM products from manufacturers based in Turkey or China, which they can market for short periods, often before switching to their own designs. This is further complicated by the use of shared, or highly similar, designs by more than one brand, where the count is affected by different opinions as to what constitutes a unique design.
3   Except for the automatic machines, in so far as home use is concerned; see Section 9.6.

products.

Moreover, that food in general, and national cuisines in particular are popular subjects of conversation has been noted in literature.[4] In Turkey, especially Turkish coffee has been shown to be more ceremonious and symbolically invested than other hot drinks, such as tea.[5] Indeed, Turkish coffee and various ways to prepare and consume it, including electric Turkish coffee makers, proved to be lively topics of discussion for everyone I spoke to.

Product	Release date
Plastic bare-resistance kettles	banned in 2008[6]
Bayıner 'Kahveset' (automatic)	1995, 1999
Bayıner / Sinbo 'Elektrikli Cezve'	2002
Arzum 'Kahwe'	2003
Arçelik 'Telve' (automatic)	2004
Arzum 'Cezve'	2005
Felix 'Hünerli', Arzum 'Kahveci'	2006
Bayıner 'MacBlue' (automatic)	2006
Korkmaz 'Kahvemat'	c2006

Table 2. Electric Turkish coffee makers in Turkey by release date up to 2006. Products released after 2006 are not included due to the large number of products designed after this date.

Still, the richness of the interactions in which electric Turkish coffee makers can be observed had be screened due to time constraints. Therefore the thesis concentrated on two specific settings: design processes and a specific consumption setting. Due to the unique characteristics of each, research strategies and the resulting narratives differed. I will discuss these strategies below.

In September 2008 a series of preliminary interviews were organised with the aim to substantiate my early observations regarding the object of study. This included three semi-structured interviews with users and an interview with a product designer. Following these four interviews, later on the course of the project, two field trips were made to Turkey between December 2009 and July 2010. The field work conducted in this period has provided the core data used in this study; comprising interviews, focus groups, observations and collection of various documents.

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4   Sidney W. Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), p. 96; Nancy Rosenberger, 'Patriotic Appetites and Gnawing Hungers: Food and the Paradox of Nation-Building in Uzbekistan', *Ethnos*, 72.3 (2007), 339–360 (p. 341).
5   Güliz Ger and Olga Kravets, 'Special and Ordinary Times: Tea in Motion', in *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life*, ed. by Elizabeth Shove, Frank Trentmann, and Richard Wilk (Oxford: Berg, 2009), pp. 189–202 (p. 192).
6   'Plastik Kahve Pişiriciler Toplatılıyor', *Zaman*, 20 July 2008 <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=716142> [accessed 5 November 2010].

6.2. Researching the design setting

The aim of the research into the design setting was to understand whether and in what ways the nation was related to in the design of the electric Turkish coffee makers. For this purpose, all the companies that had a product in the market by the end of 2009 were contacted by telephone and e-mail, and through personal contacts where necessary, and an interview was requested from 'whoever was responsible for the designs', which I knew did not necessarily mean a practising designer. Since every company had its unique organisational procedure to deal with design, only after interviewing the designers could I determine who the other relevant actors were, and contact them. The confidentiality of the product development processes I was asking the participants to reveal played a negative role in the manner I was received, and many of the potential interviewees declined my requests outright. Others were more eager to provide me with information. In the end, a total of 18 professionals were interviewed regarding 14 electric coffee makers by 9 different brands (see Table 3).

Company	Number of products	Professionals interviewed
Electric coffee pots		
A	2	2 product designers, executive, marketing expert
	1	Product designer, executive, marketing expert
B and C	1	Production engineer, executive
C	1	Product designer
D	4	2 R&D engineers
E	1	Product designer
F	1	Product designer, executive
Automatic coffee machines		
G	1	Design manager, 2 product designers, 2 engineers
H	1	2 product designers, executive
I	1	Product designer

Table 3. List of interviews for the design setting. Note that the number of professionals on the table exceeds the total number of interviewees, since some took part in the design processes of more than one product.

The interviews were unstructured, following and encouraging the participant's own course of narration of the design process and only interrupting to request a more detailed explanation or clarification of certain points. I refrained from imposing a structure onto their narratives, since I did not consider their responses as depictions of a past project, but themselves discursive practices which constructed a network of relationships at the moment of interview, and which I later analysed as extensions of the project rather than retrospective elaborations. Still, I had a list of probes to use in case the flow of the interview is broken. These probes were

- originary idea or design brief,

- steps of the process (different alternatives, prototypes, meetings, presentations),

- interdisciplinary relations,

- role of design,

- considerations of the user, and

- other products in the market.

As the probes indicate, I particularly avoided any direct question or guidance regarding Turkishness or traditions beyond a short summary of my research at the very beginning of the interview, which was also available on the ethics consent form.

The interviews were conducted in participants' offices during work hours when possible, which facilitated observations and collection of documents. Almost all of the participants I interviewed in the office had something to show me. In addition to the various documents I list below, material objects were also involved, where the participant brought and showed, even used them. More than once this included prototypes, which I was allowed to examine but not to take photos of. Furthermore, as I was recognised as a designer myself, there was much technical discussion about design solutions and manufacturing processes, including making drawings on my notebook.

In addition to the interviews, whenever ongoing design processes of electric Turkish coffee makers were encountered or heard of, permission was sought to study the project via participation in meetings and presentations as an observer and interviews about the process. However, access to such processes was not granted due to issues of confidentiality. Manufacturers and designers would not let me document the sensitive processes of R&D and design, citing their competitive value.

Participants were relatively more open to discuss a project that had ended and to share sketches, photos, documents, presentations, etc. This does not mean that they have been completely impartial in their narrations of the processes. Throughout the interviews I have been either told or implied that some of the details were withheld from me. Participants disclosed information in varying degrees of trust. Some of the information I was told was later requested to be left off-record by the participants either of themselves or after my prompt.

To provide further details as well as to supplement and cross-check the narratives provided by the interviews, I gathered documents where possible. These include

- pictures, sketches and computer renderings of the product,

- user's manuals,

- presentations made to upper management during product development,

- presentations made in later meetings such as conferences or panels,

- photos of the product in use,

- photos of different Turkish coffee pots purchased for research purposes,

- photos of mock-ups, models, prototypes,

- interviews given to other sources by the participants,

- information from manufacturers' or designers' websites,

- TV adverts, and

- application forms to international design awards.

Some of the digital images and documents were copied into my flash memory, some with and some without the permission to publish, and some were sent to me later by e-mail; and of some of the objects I was allowed to take photos.

In addition, during my research in the Internet, I came upon an Internet forum user who introduced himself as 'the inventor' (*mucit*) of one automatic Turkish coffee machine. Further research showed that the user had indeed been one of the engineers in the project. This was further confirmed by the way the user wrote about the project since his definitions and concerns were consistent with those I encountered in my interviews with participants from the same company. Though I learnt his name as well, I will not be sharing this out of respect for his privacy and instead use his nickname, Alehar, since in the forum messages that I will be quoting he has chosen to hide his real name.

In analysis, I compared and contrasted interviews by various actors and the documents I collected to reconstruct the design setting in the form of a cat's cradle. In this, as I noted, the interviews were not considered evidences of past processes, but as their extensions. In general, it emerged as a viable strategy to treat the design processes of a variety of electric Turkish coffee makers as a single design setting. I will account for this decision in my analysis below. Simply put, I argue that the overlaps in themes and design practices make it possible to look at the design setting as a single 'national' project.[7]

6.3. Researching the consumption setting

The aim of the research into the consumption setting was to analyse whether and in what ways the users connected the electric Turkish coffee makers with the Turkish nation, and to evaluate how they interpreted and reappropriated the product's script as related to the nation. In the face of the multiplicity of the consumption settings

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7   See Section 8.1 below.

these objects are integrated to, I concentrated largely on a single setting, that is, day-time coffee meetings among middle-aged middle-class housewives in major cities.

This decision owes, firstly, to the fact that these users were considered by the professionals as the principal target consumer group and assumed to be the typical users of electric Turkish coffee makers. This assumption was mentioned, or implied, by many of the professionals I interviewed.

It is important to acknowledge that the term, 'middle-aged middle-class housewife', is not neutral but has strong gendered connotations, such as being a passive consumer. It is employed in this thesis on the sole basis that it was used by the professional interviewees, partially if not always in full, to describe their imagined user group. Otherwise—and in line with the 'performative' approach I adopt in this thesis[8]—it is not implied that such a group exists *as such*, without any one (such as the designers or this thesis) speaking for or about it. On the contrary, the analysis problematises the construction and enrolment of such groups both in design and consumption, especially when they are imagined as being homogeneous nationwide.[9]

Secondly, and more importantly, the concerned setting was chosen since the meetings themselves provided a unique opportunity for this project. It is in such meetings that Turkish coffee, and by extension, the product, assume a central role. I will demonstrate this in my analysis below.[10] In addition to this one consumption setting, interviews were conducted to complement the core research by diversifying the sampling and including the experiences of men, younger users and working women.

6.3.1. Core sessions

The research into coffee meetings were organised as a series of group sessions. These were designed not simply as group interviews aimed at collecting opinions and experiences, but as lightly moderated participant observation and focus group sessions where the users were encouraged to engage with Turkish coffee and electric coffee makers, practically and discursively, and reflexively. To this end, five sessions were organised as integrated into friendly or neighbourly day-time coffee meetings. During one of the sessions, an offer was made by one of the participants to organise a sixth session in their workplace, where women office workers regularly gathered to drink coffee in a manner that is analogous to the original setting of the house (see Table 4).

The main obstacle I came up against in the organisation of these focus groups was my being an outsider and also a male, since this kind of meeting tends to be a relatively intimate gathering among friends, and composed predominantly (if not completely) of

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8   See Section 4.1.2 for an explication of performativity in this respect.
9   See Sections 8.3.3, 8.5.5 and 9.1.2 for examples.
10 See Section 9.1.

women. To overcome this difficulty, each of the sessions was organised and conducted with the help of a gatekeeper: either a housewife I know, or one that is known to a friend who was approached personally by me. Still, more often than not, my request was not found credible and the focus group could not happen. When it did, my being there as a male was not a problem any more, since I was invited by the host. In addition, the fact that I was with my wife, who undertook the taking of notes while I moderated the discussion, considerably normalised the interaction.

It was the gatekeepers that recruited the participants and designated a proper time and place for the session, often hosting the visit in her own house. The participants and the location of the session were still approved by me, where my main concerns were, first, that the participants were part of a group of friends or neighbours who already gather in such meetings, and, second, that at least half of the participants used electric Turkish coffee makers. No criteria like age, occupation or income were enforced.

Session	Number of participants	Sex (F/M)	Age	Occupation	Session integrated to	City
1	6	6/0	5 middle-aged, 1 elderly	All housewives	Home visit among friends and relatives	Izmir
2	8	8/0	All middle-aged	7 housewives, 1 retired	Home visit among neighbours with lunch	Ankara
3	5	5/0	All middle-aged	All housewives	Home visit among friends	Izmir
4	3	3/0	2 middle-aged, 1 elderly	1 civil servant, 2 housewives	Home visit among friends	Ankara
5	6	5/1	2 young adults (inc. man), 3 middle-aged, 1 elderly	2 white-collars (young adults), 5 housewives	Home visit among neighbours and relatives	Istanbul
6	3	3/0	1 young adult, 2 middle-aged	All civil servants	Coffee break at coffee room	Ankara

Table 4. Sampling of the sessions by order of realisation. (The age categories used in the table are 'young adults', 'middle-aged' and 'elderly'; describing ages between 18 and 30, 31 and 65, and older than 65, respectively.)

Except the one in the workplace, the sessions were hosted by one of the participants in her house, and the focus group on Turkish coffee and coffee makers was integrated into the casual chatting, eating and drinking that continued throughout the visit. This was to make sure that the sessions represented the casual visits 'for a coffee' among users, while keeping the focus on the subject for a certain amount of time. We sat around on the sofa in the living room with nesting tables for drinks and food, as well as for my papers. Once everyone arrived and were seated, the meeting started casually with introductions and a short conversation to follow. Within the first half-an-hour, the participants grew expectant or started talking about Turkish coffee of their

own accord. So I started the formal session by first introducing the research briefly, then asking for the participants' permission for sound recording, during which I delivered the papers to be read and signed.

Turkish coffee was served just before or during the formal sessions. As is the custom, the host asked how everyone would have their coffees (black [*sade*], with little sugar [*az şekerli*], medium sugar [*orta şekerli*] or plenty of sugar [*çok şekerli*]) and proceeded to the kitchen to cook it. It was again the host that served the coffee on a tray. In five out of six sessions, the coffee was cooked in an electric coffee maker.

As the moderator, my main roles were, firstly, imposing a very loose structure that divided the interview into two parts, the first about Turkish coffee and the second about Turkish coffee makers; secondly, trying to make the participants speak one by one, though almost always by my gaze only; and lastly, asking a question or putting forward a prompt when there was a considerable duration of silence. Throughout the sessions, my status was ambiguous: sometimes addressed as a learner, sometimes as an expert on the matter. Most of the time the participants addressed each other more than they addressed me—which made me more an observer than a moderator as they talked to each other about their habits and coffee machines. Just as in my research into the design setting, I refrained from asking direct questions about the nation, but permitted the conversation flow freely. In literature, this possibility has been noted as one of the advantages of using focus groups in studying everyday nationalisms.[11]

The actual duration of the recorded interviews was around 45 minutes, and with the introduction, paperwork and the ending it was extended up to twice that length. The recorded session ended when nobody could think of anything else to say, or when the subject drifted away decisively. Once that happened, I formally ended the recording by checking my notes not to forget any important points, thanking everyone and giving out little presents in gratitude for their contributions. In every case, the meeting continued informally with new discussions on other subjects.

During the sessions, I was amazed at how the participants collectively composed descriptions of objects (their form, material properties, features and functionalities), their own anthropologies (i.e. how people cook coffee in different localities, how genders differ in their expectations of the coffee), and even physics (as to the electrical and thermal conductivity of copper, the endurance of metal and plastics to corrosive effects of boiling water, and the behaviour of coffee particles suspended in water), in the meantime putting forward contradictory statements, agreeing with each other before hearing the end of the sentence, repeating phrases and finishing each

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11 Rudolf De Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, 'The Discursive Construction of National Identities', *Discourse & Society*, 10.2 (1999), 149–173 (pp. 152–153); Jon E. Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss, 'Everyday Nationhood', *Ethnicities*, 8.4 (2008), 536–563 (pp. 555–556).

others' sentences, all played out in their fluency of social interaction (i.e. emphasising, changing and reinstating their argumentative positions and allegiances, courteous appraisal of each other's coffee machines, etc.). So I took, as the unit of my analysis, the discursive and practical possibilities that surround the objects in question, instead of individuals or the social groups those individuals represent, for it is difficult, and irrelevant, to reproduce in precision each individual's opinion and political allegiance in isolation from the immediate dealings, the flow, of the interaction. Each topic of discussion was significant for the very fact that it came up at all, for hinting at a discursive possibility, while each reference to or my observation of practices was important as it suggested a practical relation.

6.3.2. Complementary interviews

In addition to the six sessions, five interviews and a focus group were made with a more diverse sampling of users (see Table 5). The aim was to make note of other settings where users interact with electric Turkish coffee makers, and thus to be able to locate where my core consumption research setting stood with respect to those. They also provided me with specific and more in-depth examples for certain themes that were shared with me during the sessions.

Participant	Sex	Age	Occupation	City	Notes
Interviews					
1	Woman	Middle-aged	Housewife	Ankara	From preliminary study
2	Woman	Middle-aged	Self-employed	Izmir	
3	Woman	Young adult	Self-employed	Istanbul	
4	Woman	Young adult	White-collar	Ankara	From preliminary study
5	Woman	Young adult	White-collar	Istanbul	
6	Woman	Young adult	Graduate student	Ankara	From preliminary study
7	Man	Middle-aged	Blue-collar	Ankara	
8	Man	Young adult	Self-employed	Istanbul	
Focus group					
9	Woman	Young adult	White-collar	Istanbul	
10	Man	Young adult	White-collar	Istanbul	
11	Man	Young adult	White-collar	Istanbul	
12	Man	Young adult	White-collar	Istanbul	
13	Man	Young adult	White-collar	Istanbul	

Table 5. Sampling of the complementary interviews.

The sampling strategy devised for this part was different accordingly. Sex, age and occupation were the three sampling criteria along which a diversification was sought beyond the core user group of middle-aged housewives. In my attempts to recruit participants, I observed that women dominate the use of electric Turkish coffee

makers. It was particularly difficult to locate male users except those who use them as part of their work. Still, the focus group session turned out, unexpectedly, to be dominated by men, who were however not very regular users of Turkish coffee makers. In terms of occupation, my observation is that while coffee meetings are popular activities among middle-aged housewives, the younger generation and working women of both age groups look less eager to organise and attend such meetings.

Recruitment was made through announcements in social networks, namely Facebook, Friendfeed and Twitter. After repeated announcements calling for people who have used electric Turkish coffee makers, volunteers were contacted personally by me and sent documents explaining the research by e-mail. Though my aim was to organise more focus groups with younger, working or male users, I soon realised this would not be possible particularly due to the potential participants' tight schedules. This was also since they seemed relatively less committed to the project when compared with the housewives who were accessed through gatekeepers. Even when the idea of organising focus groups was abandoned in favour of in-depth interviews, less than half of the people who have volunteered at the first stage showed up for the interviews. The only focus group was arranged as part of an after-work meeting among friends in a shisha café in Istanbul.

In analysis, the data from the interviews were used to complement the findings of the core setting, mainly to further exemplify or specify the themes that emerged from the analysis of the core sessions.

6.4. A note on gender issues

While it was not an explicit concern to this project at the beginning, gender emerged during the field work as a factor in both of the two settings. I already mentioned above in passing that, in researching the consumption setting, it had been necessary for me to negotiate my status as a man in day-time coffee meetings, and also that I had had trouble finding male participants who regularly use electric Turkish coffee makers at home. In the light of these, it is possible to suggest that home, as a consumption setting for electric Turkish coffee makers, is dominated by women. In the sessions, too, the participants often took for granted that it is women who make coffee at home, whilst men were described primarily as consumers for whom women, that is, their sisters, wives or workers, prepare coffee.[12]

The design setting, on the other hand, was highly male-dominated. Amongst the professional participants, only two were women: a designer and a marketing expert. All the executives and engineers were men. Almost every time I encountered, or heard

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12   See Section 9.2.1 in the analysis below.

about women in the design setting, it was about woman users. Accordingly, when conceived and depicted by the professionals, or invited to partake in user tests, users were almost always women. The professionals did occasionally refer to men users during the interviews, however it was always in a conspicuous way. For instance, sometimes participants noticed mid-sentence that they may sound discriminating by describing the user as a woman, and corrected themselves by including men users. Or, in other cases, they referred to how their designs made preparing Turkish coffee easier and thus more accessible to men.

All in all, the two settings were strongly and differently gendered. Design appeared as men's domain, and consumption, women's. This was echoed in the data as well, as the many descriptions and narrations of the practices of design and consumption included references to, or implied the relevance of, gender issues. It is therefore necessary to acknowledge from the outset the significance of gender relations for understanding electric Turkish coffee makers and the way they are constructed, interpreted and valued in their design and consumption in general. However, since the thesis concentrates on the subject of everyday nationalism, and aims in particular to unravel the relationship between designed objects and nations, the question of gender has fallen outside its scope. For this reason, I have chosen not to put emphasis on the gender-related data, but to limit my focus on the question of nation and nationalism in relative isolation. In the end, there exist occasional references to gender and related issues in my analysis—since such an isolation cannot be total—yet the overall focus on everyday nationalism remains.

6.5. A note on mediation

Whilst my methodological approach is to analyse the design processes and the single consumption setting as two separate sociotechnical settings, the role of marketing, and specifically advertising, practices in the mediation[13] of the two needs to be clarified. In the case of electric Turkish coffee makers as they were consumed in day-time coffee meetings, I observed that there was limited mediation involved as they were not extensively advertised. In my research, I located TV and magazine ads, product placement in a TV series and promotion as prizes in TV competitions. I preferred to use these, whenever they became relevant to my analysis, as part of the design setting.[14] In the consumption setting that I analysed, however, participants never made references to marketing campaigns or advertisements. When they talked about where they heard about the products or how they decided to purchase the current product, it was always by word-of-mouth. Many saw it at houses of

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13   Grace Lees-Maffei, 'The Production-Consumption Paradigm', *Journal of Design History*, 22.4 (2009), 351–376.
14   See Sections 8.1.1 and 8.2.

acquaintances, often in coffee meetings, rather than in the media. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that they never came across advertisements or were not influenced by marketing campaigns. But it does mean that they did not relate to these in their practice or talk during the coffee meetings, and more importantly for this thesis, did not relate to the nation via them. I suggest that this is connected to the fact that they were already familiar with electric appliances to cook Turkish coffee and considered electric Turkish coffee makers less than a novelty—as I will demonstrate in Chapter 9.

Chapter 7. Everyday nationalism and design in Turkey

This chapter describes the context of research through a literature review which comprises two parts. It starts with a short review of Turkish nationalism, and then positions the history of design practice in Turkey with respect to it.

7.1. Constructing the Turkish nation: the historical context

In what follows I do not mean to make a summary of the complex and multifarious history of Turkey, but merely report on the historical development of Turkish nationalisms and their competing conceptions of Turkish nationhood. The historical background is necessary to understand the current way in which national symbols have a high visibility in everyday life, and nationalist discourse, a high salience in media and popular culture.

In this, I will largely follow Tanıl Bora's influential writings on the subject. Particularly, I find his insistence on the existence of multiple Turkish nationalist discourses useful, because, as will be evident below, each offer a distinct definition of the nation and a unique iconography in contestation with the others. Secondly, since he takes these nationalisms on par with one another—implying that neither is more benign than the others—his approach avoids the trap of the organismic metaphor I discussed earlier.[1]

7.1.1. The Republican project of nationalisation

Defeated in the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was invaded by the victors of the war, its territories shared among the colonialists. The following five years would witness a struggle for independence all around Anatolia, finalised by the founding of the Turkish Republic as a nation-state in 1923. Despite the importance of the period after the Independence War, it is a widely accepted fact that the idea of a Turkish nation was already being discussed within Ottoman circles, with precedents in the nineteenth-century Ottoman modernisation efforts.[2]

In *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, a key resource on the early history of the Turkish Republic, Bernard Lewis presents this process of nationalisation of Turkey as a series of discoveries regarding the 'Turkish origins', starting from the mid-nineteenth century among Ottoman intellectuals.[3] In fact, he takes the history of nationalist revival in

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1   Tanıl Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102.2 (2003), 433–451; for a discussion of the 'organismic metaphor', see Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 213–228; see also Section 5.2 above.
2   Fatma Müge Gökçek, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Oluşumu: Sosyolojik bir Yaklaşım', in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Cilt 4, Milliyetçilik*, ed. by Tanıl Bora (Istanbul: İletişim, 2004), pp. 63–80.
3   3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; first publ. 1961).

Turkey further back to the year 1318, when a cultural, but obviously not political, interest rose during the reign of Murat II towards Central Asian Turkish traditions; but this was interrupted by the growing into power of a Persian dynasty which cut off Ottoman relations with their so-called relatives in the East. If we follow his narrative, after the First World War, Turks had to retreat to Anatolia, and choose Turkish nationalism against the other two alternatives, Ottomanism and Islamism. As formulated by Yusuf Akçura as early as 1904,[4] the former meant the construction of a cosmopolitan Ottoman supranational identity, while the latter, unification under the cause of Islam. For Akçura, as it was for most of the nationalist intellectuals of the time, Turkism was understood as pan-Turkism, a political project that aims at the unification of all Turkic peoples, including those in Central Asia. However, the political direction that the newborn Turkish Republic appropriated would be the one that dictated the present borders as *the* Fatherland of Turks, dispensing with the dream of a Turkish Empire that united 'all Turks'. This view was finalised by the incentive of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and it was realised by the abolition of the monarchy and the caliphate, thus making a radical break with the other two alternatives, and consequently, with the past. This was followed by a series of cultural reforms, which were directly continuous with the Ottoman modernisation project of the nineteenth century; but this time, reforms had an overtly nationalist character and they involved the reconstruction of the Turkish history and language in the most radical manner, that is, by defying its Ottoman past and modelling itself after the developed nations.[5]

Lewis' history of Turkey, summarised above, is very close to the official narrative. It is clearly positive and optimistic about the modernisation project, and celebrates the modern character of the definition Kemalist reforms secured for the Turkish nation. While its significance as an early study of the history of Turkey is to be acknowledged, its uncritical attitude has been commented on. Lewis' narrative, as well as those by other early historians of Turkish modernisation like Lerner,[6] have been accused of utilising the history of Turkish Republic to affirm their conception of modernisation as a single linear process, moulding a much complex political and cultural history into a series of successful modernist reformations from the late Ottoman to the Kemalist reforms up until the 1950s.[7] Such reductionist approaches are, indeed, not helpful in describing the complexity of the modernisation project and its outcomes. Neither can their Eurocentric tone, which dictates a single route for modernisation, completely elude critique.

Contemporary studies on the early years of the Republic, however, are not as

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4   *Türk Yılı* (Istanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1928), cited in Lewis, p. 326.
5   Lewis, Ch. 10.
6   Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1958).
7   Reşat Kasaba, 'Kemalist Certainties and Modern Ambiguities', in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 15–51 (pp. 20–23).

uncritical. The definition of Turkish nation developed in the late 1920s and 1930s has been criticised for its emphasis on Turkish ethnicity[8] and white race,[9] its depreciative attitude towards vernacular cultural forms,[10] and its cultural elitism.[11] In addition to the critique directed at the 'content' of the definition, the very process of its construction has been condemned for its hegemonic character, its apparent uniformity, called into question, and the residues of the process, indicated.[12]

Still, the reformist Ottoman elite of the nineteenth century, the Young Turks of the 1908 Revolution and the state-building elite of the Turkish Republic are considered continuous in both their class interests and their efforts to modernise the state by 'Westernising' its institutions.[13] These three successive attempts of elite intervention have modelled itself after the Jacobin of the French Revolution, starting a top-down, yet total reformation, through which reforms at the governing structures were expected to trigger change in the everyday life of the masses.[14] In other words, when the reforms differed content-wise, method was continuous. In 1829, Ottoman reformist authorities prohibited the public use of *sarık*, the traditional Ottoman headdress, and enforced fez throughout the country. Ten decades later, in 1925, the Turkish parliament would proceed with the prohibition of, this time, fez and enforce its modern, Western equivalent, hat:

> My friends, there is no need to seek and revive the costume of Turan [i.e. the originary land of the Turks]. A civilized, international dress is *worthy and appropriate for our nation*, and we will wear it. Boots or shoes on our feet, trousers on our legs, shirt and tie, jacket and waistcoat—and, of course, to complete these, a cover with a brim on our heads. I want to make this clear. This head covering is called 'hat'.[15]

In their efforts to define what is appropriate for the nation in a top-down manner, all these reforms can be interpreted as attempts to construct a national everyday culture. Educational reforms from the mid-nineteenth century on are important in this regard.[16] Another case in point is the textile factories of the early Republic, which attempted to impose a uniform national culture on citizens. In a recent study, Himam

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8   Ahmet Yıldız, *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene: Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-Seküler Sınırları (1919–1938)* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2001).

9   Murat Ergin, '"Is the Turk a White Man?" Towards a Theoretical Framework for Race in the Making of Turkishness', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 44.6 (2008), 827–850.

10   Tanıl Bora, *Milliyetçiliğin Karabaharı* (Istanbul: Birikim, 1995); Meral Özbek, 'Arabesk Culture: a Case of Modernization and Popular Identity', in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Bozdoğan and Kasaba, pp. 211–232.

11   Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey'.

12   See for instance, Tanıl Bora and Nergis Canefe, 'Türkiye'de Popülist Milliyetçilik', in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Cilt 4*, ed. by Bora, pp. 635–662 (p. 637); John Hutchinson, *Nations As Zones of Conflict* (London: Sage, 2005), pp. 40, 51; see also Section 5.2.3 above.

13   Erik-Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: a Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1993).

14   Kasaba, p. 24.

15   Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 'A Speech Delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal, President of the Turkish Republic' (Leipzig: [n. pub.], 1927), cited in Lewis, p. 269 (my italics).

16   Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

and Pasin have argued that these factories did not only mass-produce Western-style garments (national 'uniforms') to this end, but also created 'uniform' living spaces in and around the factories.[17]

The singularity of the third wave, that is, Republican, reforms is that, in the process of renewal they were committed to, all that was associated with the Ottoman and Islam were systematically abandoned to be replaced with their 'Western' equivalents. For the Kemalist nationalist project, particularly in the first few decades of the Republic, the 'other' of the new Turkish nation remained its very past, namely, the Ottoman dynasty with its Islamic connotations. Ottoman cosmopolitan culture, which was considered to have been corrupted under an Arabic-Islamic influence, was projected as the abomination that held back the Turkish nation from accomplishing its destiny.[18] This view is most visible in the manufacturing of a Turkish language. Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) was established in 1932 with the mission to derive an authentic Turkish language from the spoken Turkish dialects of Anatolia. This new language was to replace the Ottoman written language, which was accused of being both impure and unintelligible to most of the population, and thus, as with the Arabic script, a cause for illiteracy and ignorance.[19] Moreover, the language revolution, which abolished the Arabic script and started the purification of Turkish language, also amounted to a forgetting. It was through forgetting the old that the new was supposed to emerge, that is, a new culture that would meet the requirements of the modern age.[20]

Archaeology and architecture were instrumental in the process of nationalisation. Regarding the former, the Sumerian and Hittite ruins uncovered in Anatolia were presented (inaccurately) by official nationalism as Turkic in origin. In this the principal aim was to utilise the 'Anatolian heritage' to consolidate the current boundaries of Turkey as *the* ancient fatherland of Turks.[21] As for architecture, I already mentioned above the mission accorded to factory architecture in the construction of the Turkish nation as a uniform society. At the symbolic level, the first decade of state architecture chose to reinterpret the formal innovations of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Revivalism as 'Turkish' forms, rather than Ottoman or Islamic as previously

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17 Dilek Himam and Burkay Pasin, 'Designing a National Uniform(ity): the Culture of Sümerbank within the Context of the Turkish Nation-State Project', *Journal of Design History*, 24.2 (2011), 157–170; for a similar study of a sugar factory of the period, see Catherine Alexander, 'The Factory: Fabricating the State', *Journal of Material Culture*, 5.2 (2000), 177–195.
18 Ibid.
19 Soner Çağaptay, 'Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40.3 (2004), 86–101.
20 Yılmaz Çolak, 'Language Policy and Official Ideology in Early Republican Turkey', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40.6 (2004), 67–91.
21 Mehmet Özdoğan, 'Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey', *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. by Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 111–123.

understood. In the 1930s, however, there was a turn to modern aesthetics to promote the Westernisation project publicly.[22]

7.1.2. Revival of interest in alternative definitions of the nation

It was at the end of the 1930s, particularly after the Second Turkish History Congress in 1937, that the relationship of the newly founded Republic with the Ottoman Empire started to be rehabilitated. The Ottoman was included back in the official historical narrative, yet with an emphasis on its classical period.[23] This was accompanied by 'a revived public interest' on the topic.[24] In literature (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu), arts (*D Gurubu*) and music (Bela Bartok) there was the pursuit to reinclude what is deemed to be 'national traditional' forms to create East-West syntheses.[25] Likewise in architecture, the period witnessed growing discontent with modernist, '*kübik*', forms. In reaction to these, architects, such as Sedad Hakkı Eldem, turned to vernacular building styles to isolate specifically Turkish architectural principles. Furthermore, frequent references to National Socialist and Fascist architectures in the architectural discourse of the time hints at the relationship of these developments with the rise of ethnic nationalisms all around Europe.[26]

Such interest in that which had been excluded from the definition of the Turkish nation by the early Republican nationalism was precursor to later developments, between 1950 and 1980, that challenged the legacy of Kemalist nationalism. In this period, official nationalism lost its implicit, common-sense character, and the definition of the nation became an object of popular contestation for the first time. In politics, with the 1950 national elections, the victory of DP (Democrat Party) ended the 'one-party era' in the history of Turkish politics by appealing to the rural population's resentment towards the modernisation project. For nationalism, this brought an intermediary period of around ten years, after which point nationalist politics started to differentiate itself from the centre as a distinct political movement. This culminated in the establishment of MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), which defined itself as a 'nationalist conservative' political movement and advocated radical pan-Turkism with populist references to Islamist sentiments.[27]

22 Sibel Bozdoğan, 'The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview', in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Bozdoğan and Kasaba, pp. 133–154; Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation-Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2001), Ch. 1, 2.
23 Tanıl Bora, *Medeniyet Kaybı: Milliyetçilik ve Faşizm Üzerine Yazılar* (Istanbul: Birikim, 2006), p. 45.
24 Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West: The Origins of the Tulip Age and Its Development in Modern Turkey* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), p. 164.
25 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation-Building*, pp. 106, 158–159, 252–253.
26 Ibid., Ch. 6.
27 Tanıl Bora, 'Sunuş', in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Cilt 4,* ed. by Bora, pp. 15–22 (p. 21); Beşir Ayvazoğlu, 'Tanrıdağ'dan Hira Dağı'na Uzun İnce Yollar, in *Modern Türkiye'de*

Alternative definitions of the nation were being devised also in popular culture. For instance, an alternative nationalist narrative emerged in the Turkish cinema of the 1960s, taking as its subject matter the incompatibility of traditional values and modern life. According to Güney, the alternative definition of the nation advocated by these films promoted a traditional and moralistic Anatolian folk culture in contradistinction to morally corrupt Western cosmopolitan values. In this manner, it positioned itself in opposition to the West, and this positioning, popularised by the film industry of the time, was openly incompatible with the official narrative that preached Westernisation.[28] Similarly, in music, the emergence of the *arabesk* genre of pop music has been considered to be the response of an urbanised 'folk culture' to the top-down modernisation project. Being opposed strongly by the bureaucrat elite until the recent decades, it was not until the 1990s, with the introduction of the commercial TV and radio stations, that *arabesk* was finally normalised.[29]

7.1.3. Renormalisation of nationalism

The period from the 1980s on has been characterised by the renormalisation of nationalism, which had diverged from mainstream politics in the 1960s. The global resurgence of nationalist politics in the 1990s has been an influence, with the Bosnian war, the foundation of post-Soviet Turkic republics in Caucasus and the Central Asia, and most importantly, the rise of Kurdish nationalism, all of which have contributed to the appeal of nationalist politics in Turkey.[30] In this period, despite being originally extremist in its orientation as represented by MHP, Turkist nationalism has lost its marginal character and moved towards the political centre—first, in the conservative political atmosphere following the 1980 coup d'etat, and later, in reaction to the rising Kurdish nationalism in the 1990s.[31]

The renormalisation of Turkish nationalism has also been observed in popular media and material culture. The most visible manifestation of this has been the proliferation of the official symbols of the Republic in everyday spaces: the map of Turkey, portraits of Atatürk, and the Turkish flag—'the star and the crescent'. In the last few decades such symbols achieved significant visibility, not only in public spaces in the form of flags and posters, but also on a wide range of objects from necklaces to license plates.[32] For instance, Özyürek describes the extent to which Atatürk's pictures have

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  Siyasi Düşünce: Cilt 4, ed. by Bora, pp. 541–578 (p. 574); see also Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', pp. 450–451, note 1.

28 Atilla Güney, 'Resmî Milliyetçilikten Popüler Milliyetçiliğe Geçiş: 1960 Sonrası Popüler Türk Sineması Üzerine Siyasal Bir Deneme', *Doğu Batı*, 39 (2007), 209–228.

29 Meral Özbek, 'Arabesk Culture: a Case of Modernization and Popular Identity', in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Bozdoğan and Kasaba, pp. 211–232.

30 Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', pp. 434–437.

31 Ibid., 445–447.

32 Can Kozanoğlu, *Pop Çağı Ateşi* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1995), Ch. 4; Halil Nalçaoğlu, 'Ulus

been used on posters, mugs, t-shirts as follows:

> Suddenly, it seemed, there was an appropriate picture of Atatürk for every trade: Atatürk seated at a table for use in restaurants and bars, several poses of Atatürk drinking coffee for coffee shops, a dancing Atatürk for nightclubs, and even Atatürk with cats and dogs for veterinarians.[33]

Commercialisation has been key to these changes in the visual regime of Turkish nationalism. Of particular influence were the deregulation of markets by the free market policies of the 1980s, and the deregulation of culture by the privatisation of communication through the introduction of commercial TV and radio stations in the 1990s.[34] Can Kozanoğlu argued that the increased visibility of national imagery was, in this context, strongly connected to the emergence of a popular culture which was characterised by 'an insatiable appetite for identities'. According to the author, the 'vacuum' in the political centre pulled in various kinds of nationalisms—Turkist, Islamic or Kemalist. This process made nationalisms, even those which used to be seen as radical, become acceptable, even fashionable in everyday-life terms.[35]

This, however, hardly means that the resultant 'pop nationalism', to use Kozanoğlu's term, is of benign character by virtue of its commercial orientation.[36] He indicates that popular nationalist movements benefited from this development, too, by utilising diverse elements from the 'amalgam' of popular culture to devise a highly flexible nationalist discourse that can appeal to a diverse constituency. The use of popular cultural appeal by nationalist politics was to the extent that nationalist political rallies (e.g. of MHP) were integrated with football matches and concerts, so that the new nationalisms, as Kozanoğlu remarks, 'granted access to both the mosque and the barracks, as well as the stadium, the concert and the bed'.[37]

7.1.4. Competing definitions: Kemalism and Islamism

Moreover, the various elements that make up the 'amalgam' are not neutral, but highly politically charged—which further undermines any hopes for benignity in their commercialisation. In his analysis of the three Republican symbols mentioned above— the Turkish flag, Atatürk's portrait and the map of Turkey—Nalçaoğlu shows that not only has there been a quantitative increase in their employment by non-state actors, but there appeared a functional correspondence between the three. For instance, when used as a windscreen sticker, any one of the symbols would indicate the political

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İnşasının İkonolojisi', in *Göstergebilim Tartışmaları*, ed. by Esen Onat and Sercan Özgencil-Yıldırım (Istanbul: Multilingual, 2001).

33 Esra Özyürek, 'Miniaturizing Atatürk: Privatization of State Imagery and Ideology in Turkey', *American Ethnologist*, 31.3 (2004), 374–391 (p. 374).

34 Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', p. 434; see also Bora, *Milliyetçiliğin Karabaharı*.

35 Kozanoğlu, p. 135 (my translation).

36 For a discussion of the benignity of commercial nationalisms, see Section 5.5.1 above.

37 Kozanoğlu, p. 137 (my translation); see also Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', p. 447.

allegiance of the driver as a Kemalist.[38] This is consistent with what Özyürek found in her ethnography of consumers of Atatürk pictures:

> I found that most of the Kemalists in Istanbul who eagerly purchased pictures of the leader to display in their homes and businesses in the late 1990s were middle- and upper-middle-class, Turkish (not Kurdish) secular urbanites who had been living in a major city for two generations, who did not position themselves on either the right or the left end of the political spectrum, but who were adamantly opposed to the emergent Islamist movement.[39]

Özyürek indicates the simultaneous emergence of 'Islamist paraphernalia'—such as 'Peace is in Islam' ('*Huzur İslam'dadır*') windscreen stickers—against which the three state symbols have started to symbolise Republican politics.[40] In 2007, this would culminate in the intensive, if not excessive, use of flags and Atatürk portraits during the rallies against the rise of the pro-Islamist AKP (Justice and Development Party) to power.[41]

An important manifestation of this 'war of symbols'[42] was over the symbol of Ankara municipality. Until 1994, when the Islamist administration attempted to replace the symbol due to its 'pagan' connotations, this role had been undertaken by the 'Hittite sun disc': an archaeological artefact excavated in the early years of the Republic, which was among the ruins that had been adopted by official nationalism as symbols of a Turkish Anatolia. In this regard, the argument put forward by Ersan in his contribution to *Design Issues* echoes the heated debates on the subject in Turkey: Replacement of the sun disc, a secular symbol, with a new symbol that is easily associated with Islamism is a move 'backwards', an undoing of the Kemalist revolutions.[43]

The conflict between what can be considered two distinct imaginings of the nation is also played out over the uses of the past. Özyürek elsewhere called the use of Republican symbols in everyday life 'Nostalgic Kemalism', for it idealises and yearns for the one-party era, when Kemalist nationalism held sway.[44] Similarly, in her study of the Islamist textile market, Navaro-Yashin reported that both in the marketing campaigns of manufacturers and in her interviews with retailers, there were frequent references to 'the Ottoman'. Contemporary products were posited as representatives of a 'past Ottoman and Islamic reality' in spite of what is considered a break in traditions effected by Kemalist revolutions. For instance, it was argued that the

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38 Nalçaoğlu, p. 345.
39 Özyürek, 'Miniaturizing Atatürk', p. 375.
40 Ibid., p. 376.
41 For representative photographs of the rallies, see 'Cumhuriyet Mitingi'ne Yüzbinler Katıldı', *Milliyet*, 14 April 2007 <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/fotogaleri/a/32113-sicakhaber-cumhuriyet-mitingi-ne-yuzbinler-katildi/> [accessed 1 February 2012].
42 Özyürek, 'Miniaturizing Atatürk', p. 378.
43 Gökhan Ersan, 'Secularism, Islamism, Emblemata: the Visual Discourse of Progress in Turkey', *Design Issues*, 23.2 (2007), 66–82.
44 Esra Özyürek, *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 180.

headscarf had been abandoned during the Republican period, but after the 1980s, taken up again.[45]

Indeed, with the abolishment of the Kemalist state monopoly on the definition of what constitutes Turkishness, Islamic references to the Ottoman have become more and more overt. The authoritarian undertones of the regime instituted by the 1980 coup d'etat was not obstructive to this development; on the contrary, aiming to intercept leftism and to reinstitute social solidarity, it institutionalised religion and facilitated the spread of Islamic sentiments that had already been under way with the rise of a pro-Islamist bourgeoisie from the 1970s on.[46]

The term, Ottomanism, and its different uses are important in this context. The 'political' Ottomanism of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries advised the consolidation—and after 1923, the reestablishment—of the Ottoman dynasty, and was therefore at odds with the Republican project. Later into the twentieth century, royalist connotations of the term gave way to a conservative fascination with the Ottoman, accompanied by an idealisation of Istanbul as the former capital of the empire, and of its conquest in the fifteenth century. Finally the early 1990s saw a short-lived foreign policy under Turgut Özal's presidency, which advocated a semi-imperialist vision towards influence in ex-Soviet and Balkan countries, eventually arguing for a 'Pax Ottomana'.[47] According to Yavuz, himself a proponent of the perspective, Neo-Ottomanism involves the ethnicisation of Ottoman history as a Turkish-Islamic state and the glorification of its history as the Golden Age of Turkish civilisation. The multiculturalism of the Ottoman rule, as opposed to the apparently oppressive identity politics of the Kemalist project, is argued to be capable of rehabilitating both Turkish and Kurdish nationalisms, as well as offering a regional alternative to integration with the European Union.[48]

An everyday manifestation of this perspective can be observed in the last few decades' interest in Ottoman cuisine. Karaosmanoğlu shows that the discourse on and the various practical suggestions for the revival of the cuisine have been shaped by the question of how traditions can be 'updated' with an eye to international culinary competition, but 'without spoiling its authenticity'. In popular culinary writing the project was articulated to Neo-Ottomanism by putting the cosmopolitan character of

45 Yael Navaro-Yashin, 'The Market for Identities: Secularism, Islamism, Commodities', in *Fragments of Culture: the Everyday of Modern Turkey*, ed. by Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), pp. 221–253 (p. 244); see also Özlem Sandıkçı and Güliz Ger, 'Veiling in Style: How does a Stigmatized Practice Become Fashionable?', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37.1 (2010), 15–36.
46 Tanıl Bora, *Türk Sağının Üç Hali: Milliyetçilik, Muhafazakarlık, İslamcılık* (Istanbul: Birikim, 1998); M. Hakan Yavuz, 'Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy in Flux: the Rise of Neo-Ottomanism', *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 7.12 (1998), 19–41.
47 Gökhan Çetinsaya, 'Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde "Osmanlıcılık"', in Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Cilt 5, Muhafazakarlık, ed. by Ahmet Çiğdem (Istanbul: İletişim, 2004), pp. 361–380.
48 Yavuz, p. 40.

the Ottoman cuisine, which embraces variety, against Kemalist nationalism. However, as Karaosmanoğlu argues, the discourse on Ottoman cosmopolitanism did not abolish nationalism as it claimed to. In fact, it has had its own nationalist underpinnings, particularly in its strivings to to protect the national ownership of certain dishes against similar claims from other countries in the Balkans and the Middle-East.[49]

7.1.5. Liberal neonationalism

In my review of the period after 1980, I have so far mentioned three different types of popular nationalism. The first was the 'Turkist' nationalism of MHP, and its normalisation via popular culture. The second and the third were, respectively, the 'official' and 'conservative' versions of Turkish nationhood, both of which have resorted to national iconographies in a war of symbols. These correspond to three of the five 'Turkish nationalisms' Bora distinguishes: official nationalism, Kemalist-left nationalism, liberal neonationalism, Turkist radical nationalism, and nationalism in Islamism.[50] Leaving Kemalist left politics aside,[51] the only everyday manifestation of Turkish nationalism that I have not discussed is liberal neonationalism.

Liberal Turkish neonationalism, as defined by Bora, is a particular type of Turkish nationalism that has matured in the late 1980s with the ongoing integration of Turkey to global economy. At the discursive level, it has mainly adopted the Kemalist aspiration to 'catch up with the West', and the accompanying modernist progressivism, to argue—and prove again and again—that Turkey has already reached the status of modern civilisation. National pride is gathered not out of a claim to the uniqueness of Turkish people, but through comparisons with developed countries, be it in terms of economic progress, success in sports or scientific achievements.[52]

Along this line of reasoning, liberal neonationalism is in favour of the late capitalist consumer culture, and takes pride in Turkey's successful integration to global market.[53] As an example, Özkan and Foster—who also follow Bora's classification—cite Cola Turka, a cola-flavoured soft drink launched in 2003 in Turkey and marketed as the Turkish equivalent of Coca-Cola. According to the authors, the product's advertisers 'envision[ed] the commercial success of distinctively Turkish commodities circulating through the sphere of *world class* consumption', while 'also celebrat[ing] national

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49   Defne Karaosmanoğlu, 'Surviving the Global Market: Turkish Cuisine "under Construction"', *Food, Culture & Society*, 10.3 (2007), 425–448 (p. 431).

50   Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey'. For a critical attitude towards this approach, see also Umut Özkırımlı, 'Türkiye'de Gayrıresmî ve Popüler Milliyetçilik', in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 4*, ed. by Bora, pp. 716–718.

51   What Bora calls Kemalist-left nationalism is a social-democratic political stance, which is both secularist and anti-imperialist. It is ignored here since it does not seem to have a counterpart in everyday nationalism.

52   Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', p. 440; see also Bora, *Milliyetçiliğin Kara Baharı*.

53   Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', pp. 443–445.

cultural specificity'.[54]

Some commentators on Turkish nationalism argued that the globalisation of consumption practices has the potential to offer a 'change of air' for the Turkish society and act as an antidote for nationalism.[55] Whilst this may look viable when liberal neonationalism is compared to the three nationalisms I mentioned above with their excessive use of symbolism and overtly exclusionary discourses, other commentators have been more critical of this relatively new conception of the nation, too.[56] According to its critics, that it is founded on a late-capitalist conception of marketplace democracy does not mean that it does not discriminate. The discourse of liberal neonationalism elevates Western popular culture to the status of high culture and assumes a discriminatory stance towards those who are not affiliated with it. In this discourse, 'white Turks', the urban upper-middle classes of 'Western Turkey', are compared to 'the East' in terms of economic status, culture, manners and even bodily features such as complexion or stature. In the most extreme case, dark hair and moustache are associated with an underdeveloped, even uncivilised, Eastern Turkey, as opposed to the white-Turk stereotype of fair complexion.[57] This is, first of all, continuous with what Ergin termed 'chromatism', that is, 'the Republican fascination with whiteness', which can be traced back to the official nationalism of the 1930s.[58] Secondly, Bora associates this with 'neoliberal chauvinism of prosperity' and, after Balibar, 'class racism', whereby underdeveloped regions and lower classes are discriminated in racial terms.[59]

In this review, I shortly described the historical process by which different definitions of the Turkish nation have developed. In summary, Turkish nation is defined in a number of different ways, with more-or-less distinct manifestations in everyday life. The period after the 1980s is particularly important due to the growing use of nationalist imagery by commercial practices, with increased references to the national past and often a nostalgic undertone.

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54 Derya Özkan and Robert J. Foster, 'Consumer Citizenship, Nationalism, and Neoliberal Globalization in Turkey: The Advertising Launch of Cola Turka', *Advertising & Society Review*, 6.3 (2005), n. pag.
55 Murat Belge, *Linç Kültürünün Tarihsel Kökeni Milliyetçilik*, interview with Berat Günçıkan (Istanbul: Agora, 2006).
56 Bora, *Milliyetçiliğin Kara Baharı*; 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey'.
57 Kozanoğlu, Ch. 9.
58 Ergin, p. 831.
59 Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', p. 441; Etienne Balibar, 'Class Racism', *in Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. by Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, trans. by Chris Turner (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 204–216. In this sense, Turkish liberal neonationalism is contemporary and coterminous with what Balibar called 'the European apartheid'; Etienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe: Reflections of Transnational Citizenship*, trans. by Judith Swenson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

7.2. Design and national style in Turkey

The last few decades have been of crucial significance for the development of design profession in Turkey, too. Alpay Er narrates the process as a series of phases, in which he follows Gui Bonsiepe's model of the development of design in the periphery.[60] After an 'embryonic' period, the 1970s saw the emergence of design as a profession in Turkey under the influence of import substitution policies. In 1971, the first industrial design program and, in 1979, the first university department of industrial design were established. There were also the first design promotion efforts in the form of competitions, exhibitions, seminars and projects. In 1980, following the coup d'etat, a new phase started with the introduction of free market policies. Whilst this was followed by a period of stagnation due to lack of support or need for design services by the industry, the end of the decade brought increased industrial production, especially in the larger industries of car, electronics and domestic appliances. This was accompanied by the establishment of corporate industrial design departments in large scale industries.[61] Turkish industry was characterised by OEM strategies for around a decade, mainly until after the economic crisis of 2001. The crisis brought a new phase as it was pivotal in forcing manufacturers to brand-led strategies. In this final phase, design became a fundamental part of the industry's efforts towards partaking in global competition.[62]

In the last decade or so, design did not only assume an indispensable role for Turkish industry, but also increased its visibility in the popular cultural realm. This took place via design magazines, such as *Art+Decor*, *XXI* and *Icon;* the newspaper supplement, *Radikal Tasarım;* and design exhibitions, including the influential ADesign exhibitions, which were followed by the Istanbul Design Week, as well as others, such as the FesOrient exhibitions. This was further accentuated by various international events, such as the Istanbul Biennials and the selection of Istanbul as the European Capital of Culture 2010.[63]

In the midst of such developments, design practice turned to vernacular elements as raw material.[64] This can be seen as part of the increased commercial uses of the

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60 H. Alpay Er, 'A Creative Convergence of Modernity, Globalization and Tradition: Understanding Industrial Design in Turkey', *Asia Design Journal*, 4.4 (2009), 68–89; Gui Bonsiepe, 'Developing Countries: Awareness of Design and the Peripheral Condition', in *History of Design: 1919–1990: The Dominion of Design* (Milan: Electa, 1990), pp. 252–269, cited in H. Alpay Er, 'Development Patterns of Industrial Design in the Third World: A Conceptual Model for Newly Industrialized Countries', *Journal of Design History*, 10.3 (1997), 293–307 (p. 296).
61 Gülay Hasdoğan, 'The Institutionalization of the Industrial Design Profession in Turkey: Case Study: The Industrial Designers Society of Turkey', *The Design Journal*, 12.3 (2009), 311–338 (p. 314).
62 Er, 'A Creative Convergence', pp. 85–87; Hasdoğan, p. 321.
63 Tevfik Balcıoğlu, 'Editorial: a Glance at Design Discourse in Turkey', *The Design Journal*, 12.3 (2009), 263–266; see also Hasdoğan, pp. 321–326.
64 Er, 'A Creative Convergence', p. 88; Gökhan Karakuş, *Turkish Touch in Design: Contemporary Product Design by Turkish Designers Worldwide* (Istanbul: Tasarım Yayın

national past that various authors I cited above noted—from mugs with Atatürk portraits to the revival of the Ottoman cuisine. Specifically, a version of what Bora termed 'liberal neonationalism' with its emphasis on economic competition can be observed in magazines and academic conferences, arguing for the perceived necessity to develop Turkey as a brand name in the global arena.[65] For design, this involved calls for the development of a specifically Turkish design style.[66]

These concerns were answered in the field of high design by various projects that took up vernacular material cultural elements which are considered to be national culture, such as Turkish delight, hamam, fez and hookah, and submitted them to geometric abstraction.[67] The high point of these efforts was the '"İlk" in Milano: Turkish Touch in Design' exhibition at the Salone Internazionale del Mobile 2007 in Milan, where forty-one designers collaborated to present their works collectively as, and in the name of, 'Turkish design'.[68] In literature, these projects were either celebrated for their innovative approach to design, or found problematic, particularly due to the 'Orientalist' underpinnings of their aesthetic approach and accompanying rhetorics. They were mainly criticised for the way in which they presented traditional iconographies as timeless, rooted in the past and therefore static, yet open to modification and utilisation by 'Western' technologies and modern lifestyle.[69]

Electric Turkish coffee makers should be considered to be closely related to these developments in Turkish nationalisms and the current state of design practice in Turkey. However, I argue that in-depth studies of such objects as the coffee makers

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Grubu, 2007), p. 22.

65 For instance, regarding olive oil, see Seçil Şatır and Serdar Tolun, 'Bölgesel Kültür Kapsamında Üreticiden Tüketiciye Zeytinyağı ve Donanımları', in *Agrindustrial Design: 1st Product and Service Design Symposium and Exhibition on Agricultural Industries: Proceedings*, Izmir University of Economics, 27–29 April 2005, ed. by A. Can Özcan, Elif Kocabıyık and Zeynep Tuna Ultav (Izmir: Izmir University of Economics, 2006), pp. 194–200; regarding crafts, Halide Sarıoğlu, 'El Sanatlarında Tasarım Eğitiminin Önemi' in *Kamu ve Özel Kuruluşlarla Orta Öğretimde, Üniversitelerde El Sanatları Yaklaşım ve Sorunları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 12–29 November 1992 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Halk Kültürlerini Araştırma ve Geliştirme Genel Müdürlüğü, 1994), pp. 391–396; regarding tea, Bilge D. Mutlu and H. Alpay Er, 'Yeni Ürün Tasarımında Kültürel Kaynaklı Kullanıcı Gereksinimleri ve Küresel Rekabet: Arçelik Tiryaki Örneği' <http://bilgemutlu.com/wp-content/pubs/Mutlu_PI03.pdf> [accessed 11 January 2012] (first publ. in *PI: Pazarlama ve İletişim Kültürü Dergisi*, 2.6 (2003), 19–23).

66 For instance, see Oğuz Bayrakçı, 'Yerel Ürün Kimliği, Küresel Dış Pazar', in *Tasarımda Evrenselleşme: 2. Ulusal Tasarım Kongresi Bildiri Kitabı*, Istanbul Technical University, 13–15 Mart 1996 (Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 1996), pp. 95–102; Ahmet Buğdaycı, Aziz Sarıyer, Sezgin Aksu, Güran Gökyay, İnci Mutlu and Koray Malhan, 'Turkish Delight—Turkish Design', panel discussion at the ADesign Fair 2004, 8 October 2004.

67 Karakuş, pp. 23–25; see also Harun Kaygan, 'Nationality Inscribed: an Iconological Analysis of Turkish Design', *Proceedings of the 7th European Academy of Design Conference: Dancing with Disorder*, Izmir University of Economics, 11–13 April 2007 [on CD].

68 Bahar Emgin, 'Identity in Question: Turkish Touch in Design in "İlk" in Milano' (unpublished master's thesis, Izmir University of Economics, 2008).

69 Emgin, 'Identity in Question', pp. 52–54; Er, 'A Creative Convergence', p. 88; Kaygan, 'Nationality Inscribed'. The concept of Orientalism is based on Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1985).

are necessary to understand what that relation is, how it is produced and maintained, transformed and challenged at the level of everyday interaction.

Chapter 8. Designing electric Turkish coffee makers

In this chapter I will look at the design process through which the electric Turkish coffee maker, as a product category, was produced. For this, I will use the professionals' accounts of the processes, as well as various documents, such as sketches, presentations, advertisements, etc., and reconstruct the process as a 'cat's cradle'[1]—a snapshot of a particular configuration of relationships between various actors involved. As this implies, my analysis will be 'material semiotic', in the sense that it will be about the production of meaning and significance in relational terms, and with regard to various discourses, practices and material objects.

I will first describe the setting of design as it is brought together around the producers, looking at how they positioned themselves, the electric Turkish coffee maker project, and the designers they employed, with regard to one another. In this, I will underline how the national-traditional became a salient theme. Then I will follow the design practices through which the actors—mainly, but not only, the designers— enacted the nation and simultaneously positioned other actors, chiefly themselves and their designs, in relation to that nation.

8.1. Building the network: producers and designers

I will start my reconstruction of the design setting with the producers and how they defined themselves with reference to electric Turkish coffee makers. To this I will start with Arzum, a household appliances company in Turkey. This is due to a number of reasons: Firstly, two of Arzum's electric coffee pots, 'Kahwe' and 'Cezve', have played a leading role in the emergence of a commercially viable product category of electric coffee pots—even though they were not the first products in the category (see Table 2). Secondly, Arzum has underlined its product range of electric coffee pots in publicity, and made the products an important part of its corporate identity. I will demonstrate these two points below. A third reason, which was contingent on my field work,[2] is that the 'Cezve' project was one of the few projects on which I was allowed access to extensive material. Despite this focus on Arzum, my contention is that amongst the manufacturing companies who performed the required research and development work towards the emergence of a new product category of electric Turkish coffee maker, there were significant overlaps in themes and practices, which altogether constitute a single narrative for the emergence of the product category.

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1   See Section 4.3.
2   For issues of access, see Section 6.2 above.

8.1.1. Producers: mechanisation of national traditional practice

In our interview, the CEO of Arzum described the mission of his company, and where the electric coffee pot project stands in relation to it, as follows:

> We are set out to make products to be used by the consumer, the housewife mainly, in the kitchen and in other areas of the house—but we're particularly [interested in] the kitchen […]—which will somehow speed up their routines, which we can automate, […] which will make these processes shorter, but which, we think, does better, or which will help her do these better. I think this is the big picture. […] So when we set out from here, Turkish coffee, Turkish tea, I don't know, stuffed vegetables, stuffed vine leaves—we still couldn't make a product for that one—things which the housewife, the woman in the house, the person who is responsible for these in the house, has, umm, trouble with; this sort of minutiae-products for which they'd say 'Oh, if there were such a thing, it'd be so much easier for me'. [1][3]

In other words, Arzum's corporate mission is the automation and mechanisation of vernacular cooking practices. Turkish coffee preparation is one amongst such practices, which were listed by the executive as preparing tea, stuffing peppers and vine leaves, and later on in the interview, cooking baked beans (*kurufasülye*) and Turkish ravioli (*mantı*). Though left unsaid in his explication, mechanisation ultimately aims to commodify these; that is, it aims to design commodities out of, and back into, the kitchen practices.

This indicates one of the conditions of emergence of the electric Turkish coffee maker project: the discourse on and the commercial practice of mechanisation of household chores. This practice has been most famously analysed by Siegfried Giedion in his *Mechanization Takes Command*. For Giedion, mechanisation has been 'the end product of the rationalistic view of the world', and essentially a drive to dissect and rationally reassemble manual work processes, first those in the factory and later in the household, especially from the mid-nineteenth century on.[4] Aside from his belief in technical rationality, which has been criticised much,[5] Giedion's concept of mechanisation as a distinct mode of engagement with manual practice is useful to contextualise the discourse around and the practice of designing Turkish coffee makers, including the argument that mechanisation makes housework easier. In other words, with the coffee maker project the executives drew on this commercial practice of mechanisation as described by Giedion: Turkish coffee making is manual work which can be mechanised, just as sewing and dish washing were. Baudrillard dubbed this idea that there should be a gadget in response to every functionality, 'the

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3   Quotes from the interviews in original Turkish can be found in Appendix A with the corresponding number.
4   Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: a Contribution to Anonymous History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 32, also p. 714.
5   See for instance, Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pp. 92–93; see also Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. by James Benedict (London: Verso, 1996), p. 2.

functionalist myth'.[6] Hence, in a TV advertisement for one of the electric coffee pots, it is suggested that 'There is an Arzum for every task of the housewife'.[7]

In its advertisements, Arzum has used such slogans as well as its products which mechanised traditional practices to construct and consolidate its image as a company that helps the housewife by mechanising her chores. Accordingly its coffee and tea makers were featured together in advertisements (see Figure 1). The electric coffee pot, Arzum 'Cezve', was particularly emphasised, since it was considered, as I was often reminded during my interviews, the most prestigious, even though not the best-selling, electric coffee pot in the market.

Figure 1. Printed advertisement showing electric a tea and a coffee maker. The caption reads: 'Turkey's leading small kitchen appliances brand Arzum introduces 'Çaycı Klasik' and 'Cezve'. With Arzum 'Çaycı Klasik' and 'Cezve', you can prepare your favorite traditional tastes at home very easily.' (image courtesy of Arzum, undated; original in colour)

Arzum's image, as it is performed via a detour to the vernacular kitchen, also refers to Turkey as the locus of its activity: The practices that Arzum mechanises are not simply vernacular, but national traditional practices. In specific, Turkish coffee is posited as Turkish culture. On its website, for example, Arzum defines its mission specifically as promoting 'Turkish culture' abroad:

> After its continuous growth in domestic market, Arzum decided to start

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6   Baudrillard, p. 60.
7   In original Turkish, '*Her ev kadınının her işinin bir Arzum'u vardır*'. Arzum, 'Arzum Getir-Götür Kampanyası', TV advertisement, March 2006 [on CD] (my translation).

overseas sales and started to export in 2001. As Turkey is on the way to EU, Arzum has begun to export products with the mission of introducing the Turkish culture in European countries.

In 2005 with designing new products, Arzum has got the aim to accelerate its export. The priority has been given to Arzum 'Kahwe' and Arzum 'Cezve'—the Turkish coffee makers—to introduce the Turkish culture to the world.[8]

This particular way in which the electric coffee pot project is framed, i.e. as the mechanisation of the national traditional, is not peculiar to Arzum. Regarding another producer of electric Turkish coffee pots, it has been reported to me by an engineer that their project started when an executive from the company went abroad and observed that the 'Arabs' knew Turkish coffee by its name, which was then considered an opportunity to exploit by designing an electric Turkish coffee maker. The CEO of a third producer commented differently, albeit following the same idea of mechanisation:

> When we set out, there was this idea: espresso, cappuccino, filter coffee; these are widespread in the world, umm, both their use, and their machines. […] And we said we don't have a machine for our Turkish coffee. So if we do it, we'll be the one and only. […] In the world, there are three or four different types of coffee, […] but Turkish coffee has a unique preparation technique. In Turkey, they make it relatively stronger, umm, in the south, especially in Syria, Israel, Lebanon, Arabia, it's even stronger. They call it 'mırra', they make it very strong, stronger than ours. In Greece, too, it's more-or-less the same style of coffee as ours; theirs is a bit lighter. […] Within this group that I tell you, it's the same preparation technique. I suppose this is rather the Ottoman influence. They all drink the same type of coffee. I suppose it's the influence of the Ottoman. The preparation technique was spread there. […] Now here what we're interested in is simply how we can make this presentation a little bit more easier. Espresso, cappuccino have made it easier. They've mechanised it and spread it worldwide. If we mechanise it, too, our machine will also be spread worldwide. […] If we can come up with a proper machine, we can become another Italy. You see, Italy dominates the global market with espresso. I mean, with our Turkish coffee machine, too, we can actually make a serious impact. [2]

Two points need to be highlighted here. First, there is the comparison with espresso —'Italian coffee'—makers: If there exists an Italian coffee maker, by extrapolation, there can be an electric Turkish coffee maker. Secondly, the executive makes a very lucid association between the national ownership of Turkish coffee culture (despite its spread to other countries under Ottoman rule) and its future commodification, and the possible economic benefits for his company as well as for Turkey in general. The project not only can, but should be done.

So, one can observe two conditions of emergence of the electric Turkish coffee maker: the possibility of mechanisation and commodification of national traditional practices, and the existence of 'Italian coffee' machines as an object of comparison. Apart from these two connections, the idea of mechanising Turkish coffee making cannot be

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8   Arzum, 'Arzum: from Past to Future' <http://arzum.com.tr/en/company/> [accessed 10 November 2011].

traced back to a single individual or company, but has been 'in the air'[9]. As one designer put it,

> In our industrial design departments [that is, design departments in Turkey], or as a general topic, there has always been the idea of a Turkish coffee machine. Everyone has thought about it at least once. [3]

My own experience supports the observation, too, since I had also been assigned a project to design an automatic Turkish coffee maker during the second year of my undergraduate design education in 2000.

Accordingly, in my interviews, the project was often put forward as a collective national project, rather than belonging to certain people or organisations. Defined in this manner, contributing to the project becomes a matter of national pride, even responsibility. In my interviews, two different executives mentioned, somewhat proudly, how they taught Chinese manufacturers Turkish coffee:

> For example, I was in a trade fair in China, and the chair of the Chinese bureau of coffee told me in the Shanghai trade fair: [...] 'Turkish coffee have been a very well-known thing. But it didn't have a machine. Great job, well done!' He was an old man, too. He said: 'Good thing you made this. Now, Turkish coffee can spread around the world.' [4]

Kahve Dünyası (literally, 'Coffee World'), a coffeehouse chain which also sells its own electric Turkish coffee makers, has used a similar argument of pride as part of its corporate image. In an interview with *Capital Online*, a company representative explained that their mission is 'to bring Turkish culture of coffee to the place it deserves', and commented: 'We will be proud when we see Turkish coffee in restaurant menus worldwide.'[10]

In contrast, when companies are perceived to have failed the mission, they are resented. For instance, a designer explained to me how they felt when they found a small manufacturer doing R&D work on coffee machines:

> I felt sorry that these people do this whilst [big companies] don't. [Big companies] have always been timid when it came to this matter. [...] He has invested, I don't know, one million dollar in this, he may lose it, but he takes the risk. [...] If you don't do this as big companies, this sort of people will. [5]

In other words, big companies should take the risk and engage with the project as global players. When small companies do it with less resources, it is admirable, yet insufficient.

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9   Bruno Latour, *Aramis: or the Love of Technology*, trans. by Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 19.

10 In original Turkish, '*Türk kahve kültürünü ülkemizde ve dünyada hak ettiği yere taşımak [...] Tüm dünya mönülerinde Türk kahvesinin yer aldığını gördüğümüzde gurur duyacağız.*' 'Ödüller Kalitemizi, Üretim Gücümüzü Ortaya Koyuyor', interview with Eda Terçin, *Capital Online*, 1 March 2011 <http://www.capital.com.tr/oduller-kalitemiziuretim-gucumuzu-ortaya-koyuyor-haberler/
22797.aspx> [accessed 8 January 2012] (my translation).

All this discourse on, as well as the practice of, the mechanisation and commodification of the national tradition of Turkish coffee is in line with the 'liberal neonationalist' discourse, which casts international competition in economic terms: If Turkey is on a par with other nations, it should be able to exploit—commodify and market—its culture as does Italy. Particularly, they derive from arguments for the use of vernacular elements to fashion globally competitive brands.[11]

Figure 2. An example of bare-element kettles, or 'cheap plastic coffee makers'. The label on the product reads 'Kettle–Coffee Maker'. The product comes with a plastic spoon, since the bare heating element is known to give the user an electric shock if a metal spoon is used to stir the contents while it is on. (image from Gittigidiyor.com, online market; original in colour)[12]

But what matters is not simply to mechanise the tradition—the idea is 'in the air' anyway—but also how this is supposed to be done. Before these projects were realised, there had already been electric appliances in the market which were sold as Turkish coffee machines. With a capacity of couple of hundred millilitres, often sold in bazaars or low-profile markets in Turkey, and called 'cheap plastic coffee makers' by the participants, these one-cup, bare-element electric kettles invariably came up in my interviews both with the users and the professionals as predecessors of the contemporary electric Turkish coffee maker (see Figure 2, also Table 2). Indeed, early Turkish coffee maker projects were conceived partly as improvements over these products, which are well-known for the usability problems and health risks they embody. One executive narrates:

> Now when I look at the house, the street, the market, they have actually solved this. They make the coffee, they plug it in, but the problem is this: That machine gives you an electric shock. That's because—It says on the

11   See Section 7.2; Tanıl Bora, *Medeniyet Kaybı: Milliyetçilik ve Faşizm Üzerine Yazılar* (Istanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2006); see also Section 7.1.5.
12   'Stillo Seyahat Tipi Su Isıtıcı Kahve Makinesi', *Gittigidiyor.com* <http://urun.gittigidiyor.com /ev-dekorasyon-bahce/stillo-seyahat-tipi-su-isitici-kahve-makinesi-34116617> [accessed 9 January 2011].

label, it says 'Don't put [a] metal [spoon] in this!'. Those came before our products. […] It's not a product that you can sell with pride in London, in England, umm, in the US, in New York, wherever. So we said we have to make a safe product which complies with standards. […] So that's where we set out from for this product. Now this product comes out and suddenly creates a category for itself. You see, it's cordless. Umm, it doesn't have a spilling problem, it's quite stable. You have to tilt it this much (*prods the coffee pot*), and it regains its balance. Therefore this product is proper all around. [6]

As the argument goes, the new product not only provides improvements on usability and health issues, but also marks a rupture with earlier, less proper design solutions. Representing the product in this manner, the argument destabilises the existing product categories to cast the new product as *the* proper electric Turkish coffee pot, first of its kind, and therefore the first proper mechanisation of Turkish coffee making. The argument culminates in the implication that the new Turkish coffee maker is a product that the company can be proud of, having represented Turkish culture appropriately.

To summarise, the project was enacted by the producers as a national project for the mechanisation of Turkish coffee as a national tradition. This is derived from the liberal neonationalist discourse on the use of the national traditional towards global commercial competition. Furthermore, the propriety of the way in which the project is executed has been shown to matter, propriety being defined in this context with regard to global marketability and in connection with national pride. I will show below how these, in turn, had an impact on, and affirmed by, the way in which the producers defined other actors—designers—and 'enrolled'[13] them into their projects.

8.1.2. Interessement of the designer

One of the ways in which the nation mattered in the selection and employment of designers was the designer's nationality. An executive I interviewed explained to me how they chose the designer:

So, we thought, with whom shall we do this? Someone abroad. Because we had already worked with (*counts a number of designers*) […] But then, no, it's not an abroad thing, I mean, this product is not for abroad. […] It's our culture. I mean [a Turkish designer] would know it, but it'd be difficult to describe the coffee pot to an Italian designer. Wooden [handle] and so forth, we have to show him lots of pots before he gets it. Umm, at the very least he'll ask, 'Why is its spout on the side?' […]. He sees [the spout] on the front in kettles, so he draws a kettle there right away. I mean you have to make him move [the spout] then. A foreigner designer doesn't look at it that way. [7]

As the story shows, designers can be expected to possess cultural knowledge and

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13 Michel Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network: the Case of the Electric Vehicle', in *Mapping the Dynamics of Science and Technology*, ed. by Michel Callon, John Law and Arie Rip (London, Macmillan Press: 1986), pp. 19–34 (pp. 20–26); see Section 4.1.2.

experience on certain subjects as their nationality demands. Product features such as wooden handles or the placement of the spout are assumed to be already known by the Turkish designer, whereas by the foreigner, these need to be learnt. In another interview, one designer narrated to me how the producer decided to give him the project:

> They buy their electric elements […] from an English company. Actually this company has so far given [them] the support they've required, including design support. […] Although this worked with toasters and kettles, when it came to electric coffee pots … They first received an offer from [that company], I mean, they received product designs, umm, [but] since the English don't know Turkish coffee and the way it's cooked, the forms they had come up with were, you know, more like the forms we design in product design. You know the way we search for forms in standard product design—It had turned into that kind of a form. […] I mean, they had come up with forms that are different from the coffee pot form, more appropriate for heating water, or more like a kettle. They had designed things like small plastic kettles, only with a handle. That's why they found me. [8]

In this story, the English designer is contrasted with the Turkish, incidentally the participant himself, drawing attention to the asymmetry in knowledge. Furthermore the comparison is mirrored on material objects: There is a difference between Turkish coffee makers and various other kitchen appliances, such as toasters and particularly kettles. Therefore what the designer calls the 'standard' ('*klasik*') design practice is not sufficient for this project, and needs to be somehow complemented by the cultural background of an insider.

That the Turkish has ownership of, even a monopoly on, the knowledge and skills related to Turkish coffee was a general theme that I found throughout my research. However, the discourse on national cultural ownership was not the only way in which the nation appeared in stories of interessement of designers. One of the designers told me the following story about how they got to know the producer:

> It started with an exhibition in which we participated in Genova. They asked us to bring [some earlier projects] and with it, 'something that promotes something from your', umm, 'culture'. So in addition to products such as *salep*, tea and fruit leather, we thought 'What else?', and we said: 'Let's promote Turkish tea culture. How are we going to do this? Let's take products with us.' So, what did we do? We were looking around, and [a colleague] said, 'You see, there's this company [which] made a product that brews tea automatically'. 'Oh really?' So we looked it up the Internet. That's how we found [this company] and wrote to them: 'There's this exhibition we're going to. Could you give us one of your products?' So […] they said, 'OK', and that's how we were introduced. So we took it with us, but that's another story. A year after that episode my phone rang: 'Hello?' 'Yes please?' 'I'm so-and-so. We have this project', umm, 'coffee machine project, but we need its design done.' So, 'OK', 'Would you do it?', 'OK'. [9]

In this case, nation becomes the terms by which the international exhibition mediates the relationship of the producer and the designers. In turn, the designers mediate the relationship of the producer, who has a relatively low profile, and the international

design community, who has an interest in 'Turkish culture'. The result is the articulation of all these actors around the exhibition, and in fact, to 'larger networks'[14] in and through which nation matters.

The following quote complements the previous example by offering a story where the articulation is more traceable. The story starts when one of the executives was intrigued by the modernised hookah design he came upon in a (domestic) design exhibition:

> All the hookah designs I had ever seen were standard, you know, umm, of Middle Eastern design, fussy and brassy, I mean, like, with a *belly dancer design*. Someone has made this design, it has a straight body, it's austere and very modern; a delightful model, I think. I still like it a lot. Umm, so I think that product creates a huge difference in design among [other hookah designs]. I thought then, the mentality who'd designed this [hookah] would be, umm, a good one, a good designer. So I thought we'd better meet this person. [10]

Once again, it is an exhibition that brings the executive and the designer together. The hookah design, another project that attempts to redesign a vernacular product, becomes the basis of the designer's enrolment. When I interviewed the designer, he speculated that it was his 'obsession with cultural things like hookah and so on' [11] that had made the executive offer him the project. This should also be read in conjunction with the designer's self-presentation as a product designer who is interested in the use of national cultural elements in design. During the interview the designer expressed his personal interest in such topics as Sufism and the history of coffee, whilst in design media, he has appeared as part of a network of designers in Turkey who have participated in various projects that involved the explicit use of the vernacular. This includes the 'Turkish Touch in Design' exhibition in Milano, 2007, as well as various other projects.

All of the electric Turkish coffee maker projects that I researched, except for one, started with the initiative of the producer, who then employed designers. That one exceptional project was initiated by in-house engineers as an R&D project:

> So there was no marketing brief or anything. R&D department says, the R&D team, actually a couple of engineers, 'Can we do this? Can we cook Turkish coffee?'. At some point, they probably knocked on the design[department]'s door and said, 'There's this device and we need a design for it', as far as I remember. [12]

According to another participant I interviewed, what triggered the project was the recognition that a special sensor, which had been developed for use in washing machines, could be implemented to design a Turkish coffee machine. And he added, 'For as long as I remember, everyone wants to make a Turkish coffee machine, but for the

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14   Dick Hebdige, 'Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle', in *The Consumer Society Reader*, ed. by Martyn J. Lee (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 125–159 (first publ. in *Block*, 5 (1981), 44–64) (p. 128); see also Section 2.4.

technology.' [13] As soon as they had the technology, the engineers went ahead, enrolling the design department as well as the upper management of the company, often citing what they perceived as the cultural significance of the project. The designer explained their role in promoting the project to executives as follows:

> In order that a productisation decision is taken, of course we are, as the industrial design department, required to contribute. That's because we are aware of the high value of the project and this needs to be recognised by the upper management. And for it to gain that recognition, we have to make all the contribution we can. [14]

To conclude, the analysis of the processes by which designers were enrolled to the projects, above all, confirms that the project was constructed as a national project from the beginning. Methodologically speaking, it also confirms that the way actors are brought together is significant for our analysis of how the electric Turkish coffee maker is related to the nation. The nation does not appear to be mere rhetoric over these projects, but has played an important role as a criterion for interessement. This was most evident in cases where designers were translated to Turkish nationals who knew about coffee and its culture, and were articulated to the projects on that account. A second, similar translation took place when the company with the automatic tea maker was taken to Genova to be presented as a sample of Turkish culture. By the designers and the organisers of the event, the company was translated to a Turkish company, and tea, to Turkish culture, so that these could be enrolled to the event. This latter example also underlines the role of events such as exhibitions and projects as larger networks which put the criterion of nationality into play. Ultimately, in both cases, we observe a translation that is, due to the criterion concerned, a nationalisation in effect.

8.2. Electric coffee pots and automatic coffee machines

Though they were established, especially by the managements, as products of the single project to mechanise the tradition of Turkish coffee making, the designers invariably talked about two distinct subcategories, electric coffee pots and automatic Turkish coffee machines, and often compared these to one another during the interviews. Automatic coffee machines, as their name suggests, automate the process of preparing Turkish coffee, delegating part of the coffee-making process to a mechanical element. A designer I interviewed described another company's automatic coffee machine as follows, comparing it to the electric coffee pot they designed:

> It's good because, you see, it's different. They've made an electric coffee *machine* (*with emphasis*), which prepares [coffee] just as an espresso machine does, untouched by human hands. This is actually very different from our product. I mean it's not comparable at all. [15]

Most designers, of both subcategories, whom I interviewed underlined that the electric

coffee pot is not a machine per se. It is, as one designer put plainly, 'a container and a heating element under it'. Another designer described it as follows:

> That's not a machine. It's actually a kettle. I mean, a kettle without a cap. Put water in it; if it had a cap and you put it on, it'd boil. With that, what you need to do is to put the coffee in, put the sugar in, OK, all right. And you put water in. But you have to stand over it. You have to stir it. Umm, it's not different from a kettle. It's an electric pot, nothing else. [16]

Similarly, another designer described their new design as a machine, whereas their former designs (electric coffee pots) were not:

> For example, now we're designing a full-automatic coffee machine. I mean a *machine* now (*with emphasis*), and no more a coffee pot. That, for example, doesn't have a coffee pot either. […] It makes Turkish coffee but it doesn't have a coffee pot. It pours the coffee directly in the coffee cup, together with its froth. [17]

Despite the strictness of the way they formally define the two subcategories, designers did occasionally use the term 'coffee machine' during the interviews to mean the category as a whole (which I chose to call 'electric Turkish coffee makers' in this study). Furthermore, the term 'machine', and even 'robot'—as in 'Turkish coffee robot'—have been used in the marketing of some electric coffee pots. According to the designer of an electric coffee pot, it was a deliberate decision of the marketers to name their product 'a machine' in order to be able to compete with automatic Turkish coffee makers on the same ground. In fact, more than one designer I interviewed pointed out the inaccuracy of such naming. (However, it would be incorrect to accept the designers' implied claim to authority over the object's insides, as contrasted to the elaborations of marketing, which are cast as superficial to the object. Strictly speaking, what constitutes a machine, as well as what constitutes the insides of the product and who talks about it, are defined in interdisciplinary contestation.)

Nevertheless, as the quotes above show, in the design setting the distinction remained rather strict. Moreover, the existence of, and comparisons between, the two subcategories have played a crucial role in determining how each design will be related to the nation. In fact, the marketers' insistence to call their electric coffee pots 'a machine' already hints at the superiority associated with being a machine, as opposed to being 'an electric pot, nothing else'. The construction of these categories with respect to one another will be one of the recurrent motifs in the rest of my analysis below (and thus cannot be exhausted in this introductory section).

8.3. Affordance of authentic practice

So far, my focus has been on the beginnings and terms of the projects. From this section on, I look more closely into the design processes that shaped the products themselves. I do this in two parts, describing two different ways in which the project

was approached by the designers and engineers involved. These are, as the section titles indicate, making the products afford authentic practice and delegating the authentic technique to them. Moreover, each of these practices correspond in large part to either one of the subcategories—the first one to electric Turkish coffee pots, and the second, automatic Turkish coffee machines. Below I start with an analysis of the former.

8.3.1. The coffee pot typology

Electric Turkish coffee pots are characterised by a curvilinear profile, which may or may not be conspicuous in particular products. Typically, the container narrows towards the middle, and once again widens towards the mouth (see for instance, Figure 3). Whilst there are many exceptions, this appears, at the very least, as a typological principle. In her book on the cultural history of coffee, Ulla Heise indicates the existence of 'Turkish-style' coffee pots with a conic body, often made of copper, and a wooden handle from the seventeenth century onwards. She notes that the conic form has remained unchanged even in versions that are used on the electric stove, speculating that it is the most appropriate form for cooking coffee since it keeps the aroma inside the pot.[15]

Figure 3. Coffee pots on the windowsill in the DesignUm office. The first six pots from the left were used in research, the seventh is the final product designed for Felix, and the eighth, its earlier prototype. (photograph by the author, courtesy of DesignUm, 2010; original in colour)

The designers, too, extracted such 'a general form' from existing traditional coffee pots:

> In the end, it's a traditional coffee pot. I mean, it appears in different forms in different regions. In some, the mouth part is wider; in some, it doesn't even exist. In some, the handle is very long and vertical; in some, it's much more horizontal. I mean, these change according to whether the pot is used on the brazier or on the stove. […] I made a general product analysis, I put all the coffee pots in front of me. And there's a general form, I mean, there's a form

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15   *Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, trans. by Mustafa Tüzel (Ankara: Dost, 2001), p. 81.

that emerges when you put these one upon the other, layer by layer; a form which widens at the top, and the [final product's] form was influenced by this. [18]

In the project briefs delivered by the management, designers note that there was no explicit request for the use of such a form. In all cases, it was the designers' interpretation of the brief which led to the application of this typological principle in electric coffee pots. One designer I interviewed stated: 'Actually it was me to blame for the product's becoming a coffee pot' [19], since the original brief only asked for a good-looking electric coffee pot made of metal. The junior designer in the same project narrated to me how the senior designer had produced an alternative design that bore no relation to the traditional form, in case the management is not interested in a product that looks like a traditional pot:

> In the [first] meeting, the company hadn't told us to make something Turkish. They had told us to design something made of metal. When [the senior designer] went to the meeting, he wanted to tell them: 'If I'm making a Turkish coffee pot design, I think that its identity should be Turkish identity.' But [he]'d rather not go there unprepared. In case they say 'no', he took [the alternative design] with him as plan B. [20]

I will return to the connection between Turkishness and the coffee pot form below. For now, I would like to underline that it was due to a design decision whose responsibility was taken on by the designers during the interviews that the coffee pot form was abstracted and reproduced in the final products.

In an interview he gave to *TurkCADCAM.net*, another designer, Ümit Altun, described the project brief they received from the company, and their approach to it as follows:

> About the electric coffee pot we designed for the brand, Felix, the main demands were that the product would be used in households, have a capacity of four cups, and be manufactured of plastic material. Besides these, once we had received the constraints regarding the technical elements to be used inside the product, such as the heating element, the switch and the connector, we started to investigate examples of coffee pots—classic and new—that have been produced so far.
>
> […]
>
> In the light of the knowledge and findings we have obtained through our research and observations, we decided to make a coffee pot design without changing the traditional form of the coffee pot much, but with contemporary details, materials and manufacturing methods.[16]

In light of the story I cited above of how the management did not approve of the designs developed by 'the English',[17] it is possible to speculate that the managements had a vague expectation from the product form to relate to the traditional coffee pot.

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16 'DesignUM ve Örnek bir Ürün Geliştirme Çalışması', *TurkCADCAM.net*, December 2006 <http://www.turkcadcam.net/rapor/umit-altun/index2.html> [accessed 11 January 2010], p. 3 (my translation).
17 See Section 8.1.2 above.

This can be related to that, as I noted, their interest was in the successful commodification of the vernacular practice of coffee making as derivative of the liberal neonationalist discourse. Though similar, designers' position was more complex and their arguments more varied, possibly since they were the ones doing much of the interessement work in the design process, trying to convince the other actors of the virtue of their designs. They had to define what each actor expected, including above all the management, and translate their diverging interests to verbal argument and visual form as part of a process of interessement.

8.3.2. Authenticity and traditional practice

The question is, then: How and, according to the participants, why did the designers of electric coffee pots end up reproducing the traditional coffee pot shape, at least to some degree? One designer mentioned the lack of complete freedom they felt:

> We don't generally use [traditional elements] in our projects, but—I'll put it this way—in this sort of projects, of course we are concerned. We don't feel completely free. You know, coffee machine, tea machine sort of projects. [21]

Another designer was more specific in this regard, exhibiting a more explicitly traditionalist position as he explained why they implemented the general form in their design:

> Out of respect! This product is 600 years old. And it has ended up with such forms as a result of several centuries of experience. We cook [the coffee] on the brazier, we cook it slowly. It needs to be frothy. They've discovered that, in order for [the coffee] to be frothy, and to preserve the heat, [the pot] requires a narrowing neck. So it's not only because it's a visual element, a Turkish curve. It's out of respect for the coffee pot typology, which is both functional and visual-perceptual, hardened and set in the cultural DNA. I'm required to share that. [22]

The use of first-person plural deixis while talking about the coffee-making practice, and the argument for 'the cultural DNA' are significant as nationalist identifications for they imply cultural ownership and historical permanence.[18] What is more important is the argument that the form has a history of its own, through the course of which it has emerged as bound up with the practice of coffee making. Accordingly, the form is presented as a good solution to the requirements of the coffee-making process. The development of froth, which is usually cited as the measure of good Turkish coffee, is supported by—'requires'—the overall form. Therefore it is not a 'mere' formal element, a curve symbolically associated with Turkishness, but a functional element, whose efficacy is justified by its history.

The designer continues:

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18   For use of deixis in everyday talk as banal nationalist practice, see Billig, Michael, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), p. 175; see also Section 5.3.1 above.

> [The coffee pot] lives on with the new technology, adapting itself to today's conditions. Once there was no stainless steel, too; there was only copper. There was no rivet, they used to attach the wooden handle in a different way. And so on, step by step … What would happen if it were renewed by today's technology, the way it's requested from me, and it became cordless, electric, or whatever? I mean, if it kept on living in this manner, perceptually not changing much, without interruption … It was this sort of a search. [23]

So, this history presents an evolutionary line, which connects the coffee pot to the national past. It positions the electric coffee pot at the end of a series of evolutionary steps (from copper to steel to electric pot), via which the tradition is transferred.

Within this general framework, the designers felt the need to collect traditional coffee pots and study them in order to achieve a better understanding of the tradition (see Figure 3). This meant, above all, analysing coffee pot forms and establishing what they afford to their users:

> We made conversations with coffee masters regarding what a good Turkish coffee pot should be like. We observed them as they cooked. As a result of all these research, observation and conversations, we obtained some findings. It was thus clarified that the traditional coffee pot form had got its current shape completely because of its functionality.
>
> We've found that coffee pots have the large base to be able to stay steady when in the past they had been used on embers; the narrow neck, to produce more froth; the wider section above the neck, to be able to control the rising froth; and the beak form, both to control the pouring, and to be able to pour without killing the froth.[19]

This systematic practice of reading affordances[20] off objects can be summarised as follows: As part of design research, designers collect Turkish coffee pots that are currently in use, as well as obsolete examples. From these a form is abstracted, which is perceived as the latest step in an evolutionary process. This generalised form is analysed for what it affords to coffee making. Analysis may include sketching, reading books about coffee and its history, observation of coffee-making practices and interviews with coffee makers. As the outcome of analysis, the generalised form is broken into smaller, isolated elements, such as the beak, the widening mouth, etc., each of which is defined via its correspondence with a particular practical application: The beak affords pouring without killing the froth, the widening mouth affords better control of froth development, etc. Observed and isolated as such, these affordances later became the basis for design decisions, being used selectively to construct the new design.[21]

Most importantly, these affordances refer not to functions per se (such as how

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19   Altun, p. 3 (my translation).
20   For a discussion of affordances, see Sections 3.3.3 and 4.2.1 above.
21   Analogues of this practice of reading affordances off objects and reassembling them into a functional system have been formulated as design methods. See John Chris Jones, 'Method 5.6: Functional Innovation', in *Design Methods: Seeds of Human Futures*, 2nd edn (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1992), pp. 331–340.

hammering is afforded by a hammer), but to ritualistic instances of a nationally charged, traditional practice, whose veneration and preservation are presented as national responsibilities. The traditional practice of coffee making thus assumes a degree of primacy in design decisions: Does the new form afford cooking and serving coffee in the traditional way? This key affordance emerges as a guarantee of 'authenticity' for the designed form, so that the new form can be posited as the next step in the evolution of the coffee pot form, yet true to the original.

Before I proceed further, the term, authenticity, warrants explanation. The term has been much-debated in literature, particularly in the study of tourism. MacCannell famously suggested that tourism is the search for the authentic in an increasingly inauthentic, modern world, which nevertheless can only provide a 'staged authenticity', an empty representation.[22] Later critique revealed the limits of this way of thinking, which posits the concept of authenticity as an objective quality rather than socially constructed.[23] Parallel to my methodological point of view, I use the term 'authentic' here in the latter sense, in what has been called the constructivist sense of the term.[24] The authentic is that which is constructed in discourse and practice as 'historically accurate and true' to some original (object, practice, taste, etc.).[25]

The way designers justified their decisions to replicate the general coffee pot form, and the ensuing practice of reading affordances off objects are strongly connected to a specific sense of tradition as 'a sort of umbilical cord stretching from the present […] to some point of origin in the dim, distant past',[26] and via that, a specific sense of authenticity as accurate connection to past origin.

8.3.3. Prescriptions: handle and spout

The designers engaged in this practice of extracting and then selectively utilising affordances which are associated with the tradition not only in giving form to the body of the coffee pot, but also in the design of its other elements, namely, handles and spouts. A designer narrated to me one of their meetings with the management, where they had talked about the inclined handles of traditional coffee pots:

22 Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999; first publ. 1976), pp. 2–3, 94.
23 Eric Cohen, 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15.3 (1988), 371–386; Kjell Olsen, 'Authenticity as a Concept in Tourism Research', *Tourist Studies*, 2.2 (2002), 159–182; Ning Wang, 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26.2 (1999), 349–370.
24 Wang, p. 351.
25 Edward M. Bruner, 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: a Critique of Postmodernism', *American Anthropologist*, 96.2 (1989), 397–415 (p. 399). Judy Attfield's seminal account of authenticity in design practice depends on a different sense of 'authenticity': authentic as the singularly original, or in Bruner's terms, 'original, as opposed to a copy'. Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: the Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), Ch. 4; Bruner, p. 400.
26 Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Hugh Mackay and Keith Negus, *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman* (London: Sage, 1997), p. 71.

> We talked about … handles. […] Why it's inclined, why it rises vertically. It has to be like that, because if it's straight, you can pour like this (*keeps his arm perpendicular to his body and pretends to pour coffee into cups*). But if it's inclined, the pot turns towards you (*he bends his arm, and pretends to pour*). You cannot use the inclined handle the other way. So you see the froth. […] The more inclined it is, [the more the inside of the coffee pot] faces me as I pour. The cup is between [me and the coffee pot]. So you divide the froth first, then slowly let the rest of the coffee go under the froth as you fill the cup. So it needs to be inclined. [24]

The story is an example of abduction.[27] Having encountered an unexpected feature (an inclined handle), the designer attributes intentionality to it, and seeks an underlying rule (an affordance). In this case, the inclined handle is taken to prescribe a certain bodily posture (holding the coffee pot parallel to one's body) and a certain material configuration (the coffee cup between the user and the coffee pot, with the pot's interior facing the user) through a negative affordance (not affording the user to hold the coffee pot comfortably in any other manner). By analysing a 'traditional' handle, reading its affordances and replicating it in their own electric coffee pot design, the 'traditional' manner in which the coffee pot is held is inscribed in the product form, aiming to ensure correct, authentic, embodied practice.

In one instance, such a prescription was considered a handicap rather than a source of authenticity. Since Turkish coffee pots tend to have a spout only on the left side, they do not afford left-handed use. In response to this, designers have suggested solutions:

> One of [our alternative designs] had a double spout, which originated from the form itself. I mean, it would be poured from there. You see how the form goes upwards? (*drawing at the same time*) It would be poured from where the form goes upwards. (see Figure 4) [25]

But the design is not produced:

> When we went to the first meeting, they said this: 'The public doesn't believe that such things can be used to pour [coffee]. They believe it'll be dirty, that it'll drip. That's why it needs a spout.' [26]

Regarding the same project, another designer notes:

> It didn't happen, we didn't prefer it, because it's not a novelty. It's not indispensable and [coffee pots] have generally, always been made for right-handed use. And it's an old thing, I mean. We know that left-handed people can use it like that when necessary. [27]

The expectations of the projected user,[28] and specifically, that the users would perceive the form as incompatible with their embodied practice, is used to argue against the

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27 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: an Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 13–15; see Section 3.3.2.

28 As opposed to real or represented users; see Johan Schot and Adri Albert de la Bruheze, 'The Mediated Design of Products, Consumption, and Consumers in the Twentieth Century', in *How Users Matter: the Co-construction of Users and Technology*, ed. by Nelly Oudshoorn and Trevor Pinch (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. 229–246 (p. 235).

design. Furthermore, the user is defined as dexterous with the right hand when cooking coffee, and this presumption is inscribed on the product. Rather than making the coffee pot 'learn' to submit to both hands, the user is delegated the responsibility to learn to use their right hand. In this respect, the argument that 'it's an old thing' is not a mere rhetorical justification, but a definition of a national profile of users, which is constructed as the design decision is made. In other words, a particular user— together with their embodied practices that involve material relations with froth, handles and cups—is read off the 'traditional' form, which may or may not be included in the final design as a prescription.
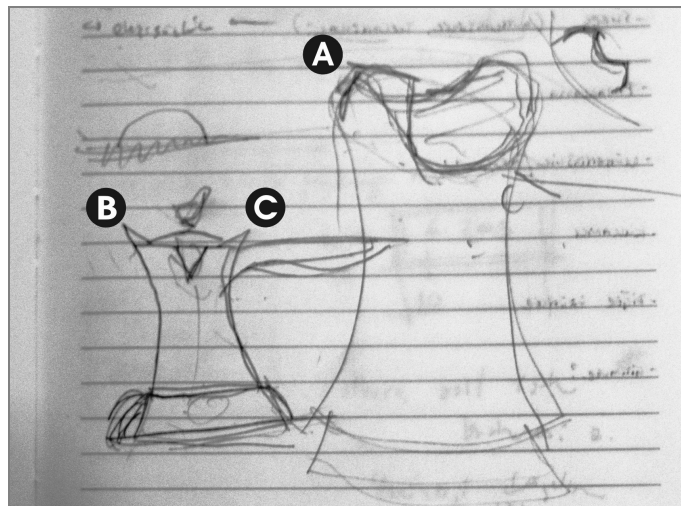
Figure 4. Sketch produced by the designer on my notebook during interview, which depicts an alternative design that was not produced. *A* shows the design feature that would replace the spout. Having it on both sides (*B* and *C*) would make the coffee pot usable for both right-handed and left-handed users.

In any case, there are examples of double-sided coffee pots in the market, electric or otherwise.

8.3.4. Recognisability, distinction, and form as closure

I have so far shown that the designers refer to whether the object's certain parts and qualities afford traditional practice as one reason why they chose to replicate the traditional form. A second argument they made was that they wanted their product to have a symbolic association with coffee pots *in general*, rather than with reference to particular affordances. One designer put this in terms of a form-function duality:

> Of course, not only on the functional side, umm, also for formal coherence, too, we specifically wanted our design, with its handle, its poise, its shape, when you look at it, to convey a sense of old coffee pots, or more correctly, the concept of coffee pot. Otherwise, something completely different could be substituted for the coffee pot. We specifically didn't want to do that. [28]

However, thinking in terms of form and function cannot fully account for the role of

such symbolic associations. This can be seen in Şekercioğlu's arguments, who stated as follows in an interview he gave in November 2004 to a research project on design briefs:

> The form of the coffee pot I designed for Arzum was important to me. I think for us, there is a historical process in coffee making. The way Turkish coffee is cooked carries on in exactly the same manner as my grandmother taught my mother, and my mother taught my sister. The coffee pot must have a form that looks familiar when you look at it, it must have a handle, it must be made of metal; when people look at it, they must instantly say, 'That's a coffee pot'. For example, [another company's automatic] coffee machine is not like that. Without its promotional material or advertising films, nobody would understand that it is a coffee machine.[29]

Figure 5. Excerpt from printed advertisement for Arzum 'Cezve', the electric coffee pot. On the ad, the product is juxtaposed with a traditional, copper coffee pot. The caption translates as follows: 'The past … is the future. This is why we get inspiration from the past as we design the future.' (image courtesy of Arzum, undated; original in colour)

According to the designer, there exists a historical process via which coffee-making practice is transferred—a matrilineal transfer of coffee-making knowledge and skills[30]—which complements the evolution of the coffee pot mentioned above. The significance of the recognisability of the coffee pot form follows from that. The authentic practice, carried through generations matrilineally, is bound up with the coffee pot form whereby the form becomes a necessary part of that practice, not only because of the series of affordances it carries, but also as a whole. So, by comparing his design with an automatic coffee maker (see Figures 5 and 6), his argument involves an attempt to mark electric coffee pots as more authentic than automatic coffee makers with reference to whether they sustain the original coffee-making practice. The deviant, unrecognisable form of the latter is testimony to its inauthenticity.

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29 Özgür Kayhan, *Yeni Ürün Geliştirme Sürecinde Tasarım İş Tanımı: Türkiye'deki Uygulamaların İrdelenmesi*, unpublished MSc Thesis (Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, 2005), p. 160 (my translation).

30 I will discuss this in more detail in the analysis of the use setting; see Section 9.2.1.

In his interview with me, Şekercioğlu's emphasis was slightly different, as he emphasised the role of the coffee pot form in defining and delimiting the product category[31] of coffee pot:

> [We wanted] the potential customer to recognise it as a coffee pot the instance they look at it, and only then to say 'Oh, there's a cable here. It's electric!' (*pretending to be surprised*). So that they never see it as, 'I can make Nescafé in this, I can heat baby food, I can boil water, etc., I can make hot drinks', and so on, never see it like a kettle. So that they recognise it as a coffee pot instantly, even if they don't see its name; by its form, too. So that, directly as a pictogram, as a shape, it gives this sense. It was very important for me to be able to capture this. [29]

Figure 6. Arçelik 'Telve' automatic Turkish coffee machine, with which Şekercioğlu contrasts his design. (image courtesy of Erdem Büyükcan, 2005)

The same observation can be made as regards more superficial design features, such as ornaments, that have been used in electric coffee pots (see Figure 7). In the following quotation, one designer explains what he calls 'identity elements', i.e. visual references to Turkish—'our'—historical material cultural forms:

> You can make a design like the Philips Senseo. But then it won't have a distinction any more, it will even fade out among [such products]. This is why we added something to [the design] from our cultural identity elements, but only in the main form. And we placed a pattern. […] We (*meaning the nation, not the design team*) have many patterns, I can use one of them, and make a difference with it. I mean, when you look at it, I thought I can transfer those […] details that we have in our old products, our architecture onto this product somehow . That's what we (*meaning the design team*) did.[32] [30]

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31 See Section 4.2.2 for Don Slater's discussion of stabilisation and destabilisation of market categories; 'Markets, Materiality and the "New Economy"', in *Market Relations and the Competitive Processes*, ed. by Stan Metcalfe and Alan Warde (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 95–113.

32 The parts where the designer describes the design are omitted from the quotation, since my confidentiality agreement with the participant does not allow me to give more information on this particular design feature.
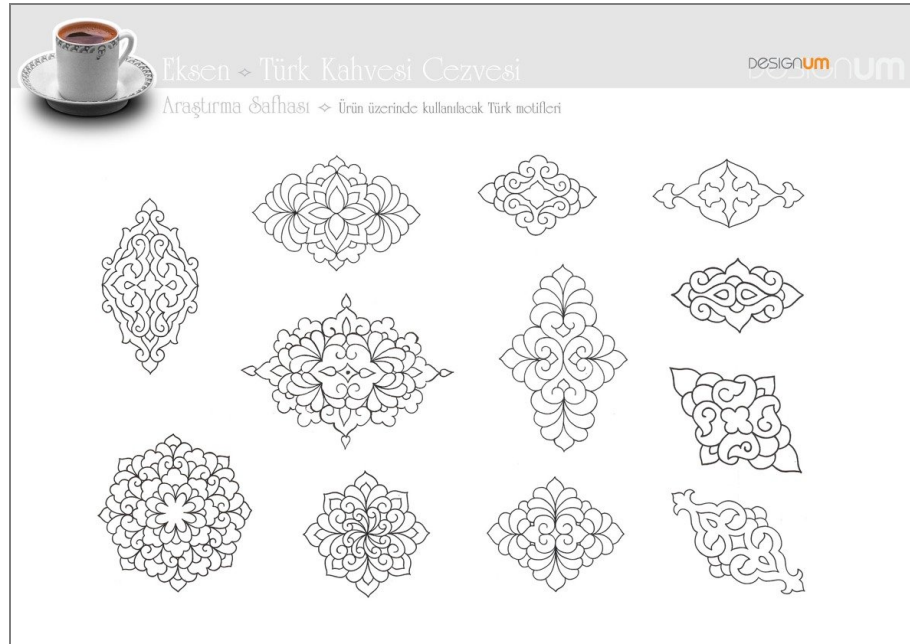
Figure 7. Presentation sheet used by DesignUm in a meeting with the producer, depicting various ornament sketches derived from research. (image courtesy of DesignUm, 2005)

In this case, the issue of recognisability is complemented by an attempt at distinguishing the product from competition by applying 'national' forms on its surface. For instance, another designer speculated during the interview whether it is possible to produce a copper electric coffee pot as a high-end alternative:

> For instance, copper isn't currently used in any product. It isn't used maybe because of certain issues regarding mass production, or maybe because of the costs. I mean, you can prefer copper, and make a special engraving on it. Even by hand engraving: You can find a producer from Anatolia, a craftsman, and produce a limited number of coffee pots and sell it for 250 liras,[33] then you can maybe find a market for it. [31]

Both the material and the engraving, which links the design idea with the discourse on workmanship and the visual iconography of Anatolian craft traditions, are suggested as traditional resources which can be used to distinguish a product, in a way that is similar to the role ornaments play in the previous example.

Another designer commented on the possibility of devising a design solution that would cook the coffee on sand, with reference to the traditional practice of cooking coffee on embers. When I visited his studio the following year, they had designed a product that gave the impression that it cooked on embers via a circular part that glows red when the coffee pot is on (see Figure 8).

As one designer I interviewed commented:

> Otherwise, they all look similar, all coffee pots are the same. I mean it's

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33   In 2010, at the time of the interview, low-end electric coffee pots were sold for as low as 25 liras; Arzum 'Cezve', representing the most high-end electric coffee pot in the market, for about 100 liras; and Arçelik's automatic coffee machine, 'Telve', for around 350 liras.

difficult, it's difficult to open up elbowroom. When you look at it superficially, like, metal or plastic, there's a container and a heating element under it. When you look at it this way, and say that's all there's to the coffee pot, it's over. Everything is the same, then, only the price. [32]

Be it for recognisability or distinction, design practice puts the object in relation to coffee making as a national tradition, and imposes a closure that marks the object as a Turkish coffee machine, as opposed to, for example, a kettle.

Figure 8. Prototype electric coffee pot by DesignUm for Kahve Dünyası. When it is on, the circular plastic element on the bottom part glows red to convey the sense that the coffee pot is placed on embers. (photograph by the author, courtesy of DesignUm, 2010; original in colour)

To summarise, the generalised coffee pot form is significant in two ways. First, it acts as an *index* of traditional practice. The designers translate the generalised form to a series of affordances, and assign these as instances of the traditional practice. This amounts to defining (or enacting) at one stroke both what essential features a Turkish coffee pot is required to have, and what the tradition comprises, which includes the indispensable steps of the technique, the material relations among various actors involved, and the users' knowledge, skills and embodied practices. Secondly, the coffee pot form acts as a *symbol* of tradition and its continuance. Even then, it is not a pure symbol, for it becomes again an icon of the traditional coffee pot and an index of the traditional practice, and participates in the closure of the product category and function. In the light of Şekercioğlu's arguments, we can argue that the coffee pot form as symbol can be understood as an affordance, too, for it matters whether the form affords instant recognisability and instant association with the traditional way of cooking coffee. Ultimately, a product is selectively synthesised out of the abstracted elements, so that it can be inserted, without friction, into what is defined as the

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authentic way of cooking coffee.

8.4. National iconographies

Thus far I noted that during this work of synthesis designers extracted, isolated and utilised elements from earlier 'versions' of the coffee pot, or of the coffee making practice, such as the copper material, the handle, the practice of cooking coffee on the brazier, and so on. However, the variety of resources designers make use of in this manner can go beyond the boundaries of these earlier versions, or what we could call the Turkish coffee culture. In one example that is worth quoting at length, a designer narrated to me how they chose a motif to use on the product and how they went ahead with its implementation:

> Actually it was mostly due to my insistence. Why? Because we thought that we are designing a Turkish coffee machine, a coffee pot. […] There were a couple of design alternatives, and some of these alternatives had an abstracted motif, a Turkish motif, on them. Others were plain, without the motif. About this, the management told us that they didn't want a Turkish motif on it. So I said, in another product, say, a food processor or so on, of course there wouldn't be such a thing. But this is a—its name is 'Turkish coffee pot', 'a Turkish coffee machine'. In this design, I want to use [a motif], and without exaggeration. I persuaded them somehow, and we used the motif that way. I mean why did I use it? Actually I don't like ornamentation, I mean, in the [designs] I make, it's very rare that I use such things (*chuckles*). But here, because of the nature of the product, we thought it wouldn't be out of place, and even that it could go well with it, so we insisted. And for this, we made a serious research on Turkish motifs. […] I bought architecture books about these motifs, you see, about decorations on stone carvings in certain *madrasa* and mosques, and one about Turkish motifs in ornamentation, and another one that had only motifs in it. In the course of that project I guess we bought four or five related books (*chuckles*). [33]

The narrative goes neatly parallel with what we have established so far. The designers, mostly of their own initiative, research, select and recreate traditions. In this case, however, it is significant that the resources from which the motif is derived are not strictly related to Turkish coffee. It is rather books on Turkish Islamic architecture and Turkish ornamentation.

Another such reference is to mosque domes, whose spherical form and the *alem*—the brass crescent that adorns their tops—are alluded to in the form of the cap. I encountered one such formal reference in a sketch (see Figure 9). And in an interview regarding another project, a designer mentioned domes as he described to me one of the design alternatives they produced for the project. According to him, they had started with a spherical cap form, then moved onto the idea of a dome with the *alem* on top:

> A: It had almost a spherical form. Like the dome of a mosque. […] I mean we were inspired by the mosque domes.

H: Why is that? What's the relevance?

A: It's like a quarter moon, like an orange slice, like a crescent, the crescent moon … […] You know the *alem* on top of the mosque domes … Actually we decided to make it like a mosque dome because it was spherical. […] The spherical form, it's like a dome, and it's a starting point for designing a handle for the cap. [34]
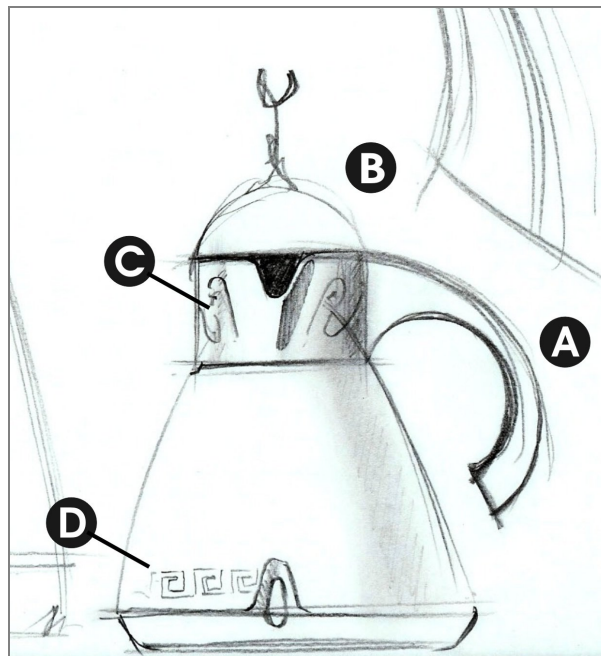

Figure 9. Detail from a sketch for design alternatives. It features (*A*) a handle that is shaped after, according to the designer, older versions of coffee pots that precede the long, inclined handle; (*B*) a cap that is shaped like the dome of a mosque; and (*C*, *D*) two sets of decorative figures. The partial sketch for a pattern (*D*) is an example of the meander, which is often associated with classical Greek architecture. (image courtesy of DesignUm, 2005)

A third such reference is the tulip. In general, tulips are used as a national symbol, for instance on the logo of Turkey's Ministry of Tourism and Culture. This is partly due to, as one of my participants said, its evocation of the Ottoman Empire and its Tulip Period.[34] The designer quoted above refers to tulips as he goes on describing another design alternative:

In that one, too, we wanted to use Turkish forms. I mean the *tulip*. I mean the tea glass. But more *tulip* than the tea glass. (*italics originally in English*) [35]

The tea glass the designer refers to is the '*ince belli*' (see Figure 10).[35] The literal

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34   The Tulip Period (1718–1730) is a period of Westernising reforms and consumerist trends in the history of Ottoman Empire, particularly known for the 'tulip craze' amongst the Ottoman elite. For a detailed study of Tulip Era, the tulip as an early modern commodity, and its later association with Ottoman decadence, see Ariel Salzmann, 'The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550–1730)', in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922: An Introduction*, ed. by Donald Quataert (Albany: State University of New York, 2000), pp. 83–106; see also Dana Sajdi (ed.), *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tauris, 2007).

35   For a study of the glass as a local tradition, see Şebnem Timur Öğüt, 'Material Culture of

translation of the Turkish word would be 'narrow-waist' tea glass, owing to the narrowing middle section. It is thus similar to what the designers have designated as the generalised form of coffee pots. Secondly, the '*ince belli*' is called in English the 'tulip-shaped' tea glass. These two terms constitute the conditions of the designer's comparisons. Here the connection with the tea glass is further significant for it is another object that has been redesigned and presented with emphasis on its connection with traditions. The product designer, Erdem Akan's remark on his own redesign of the glass is telling of this connection: 'Maybe no form is as "Turkish" as the tulip shaped tea glass.'[36]

Figure 10. Tulip-shaped tea glasses by Paşabahçe. (photograph by the author, 2007; original in colour)

In another interview, I spotted the word 'tulip' on a sketch and asked the designer what it meant (see Figure 11):

> H: And this 'tulip', what is it? Is it a name for the product?
>
> A: No, it's the form. We derived the form from the tulip, that's why. You see, [we were investigating] what we could do, what can be done, if we got more traditional. [36]

The difficulties of verbally describing three-dimensional forms notwithstanding, the tulip seems to be marked as Turkish, and placed together with other forms which are also considered traditionally Turkish. The significance of this is that the extension of the breadth of references to incorporate mosque domes, stone carvings on medieval *madrasa*, and the tulip form enacts the coffee tradition as national, since the use of such references automatically relates Turkish coffee to other nationally charged forms, and constitutes through this semiotic gesture a national iconography.

The existence of such iconographies can also be seen in how designers can use

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Tea in Turkey: Transformations of Design through Tradition, Modernity and Identity', *The Design Journal*, 12.3 (2009), 339–363 (pp. 349–352).

36   Erdem Akan, 'Tasarımın İzini Süren Dergi', *Art+Decor*, 140 (November 2004), p. 64 (my translation); see also Harun Kaygan, 'Evaluation of Products Through the Concept of National Design: a Case Study on *Art+Decor* Magazine' (unpublished master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2006), p. 66.

nationalities as shorthands in discussion. In the following quote, in addition to the reference to a Turkish style, 'Chinese' is used to mean low-end, 'German', geometric, and 'Italian', unconventional:

> [The senior designer] came from the meeting, and he told me, 'They think [their earlier product] is too Chinese; let's do something more highbrow, something that looks more high quality.' It was determined from the beginning that it would be made of metal. So we decided, from the beginning, let's make it more Turkish. I mean, you can do something more German, too, you know. […] The final alternative was really heavily German, which went like very cylindrical, with the handle and all, in a different style. [37]

Similarly:

> We could have done very, very different stuff, we could have gone to the extreme in terms of form. Umm, we could stick with the German-style box, or we could go off the wall like the Italians. Umm, we could draw a lot of unnecessary lines on it. [38]
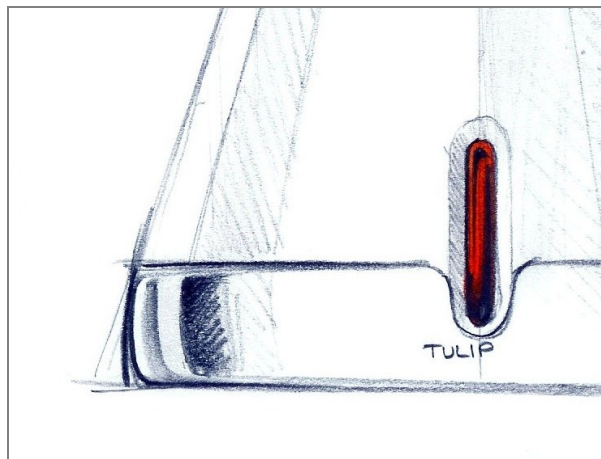
Figure 11. Detail from sketch, with the word 'tulip'. The designer explained to me that it was a reference to the inspirational source for the general body form. (image courtesy of DesignUm, 2005)

The organisation of certain forms and concepts into iconographies as such is selective, and consolidates certain imaginations of the Turkish nation more than others. This is parallel to other discussions in the literature about the reductiveness of singular definitions, which I reviewed above.[37] Turkish coffee is related by the designers to mosque domes, stone ornaments and tulip, and not, for instance, the flag of Turkey or the wolves of radical Turkist iconography. It is not just any Turkish iconography, and therefore not any definition of the Turkish nation, that is enacted by such references, but one that is related to, what we could call following my review of the Turkish setting above,[38] a Neo-Ottomanist iconography.

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37 For instance, Artemis Yagou, 'Metamorphoses of Formalism: National Identity as a Recurrent Theme of Design in Greece', *Journal of Design History*, 20.2 (2007), 145–159; Simon Jackson, 'Sacred Objects: Australian Design and National Celebrations', *Journal of Design History*, 19.3 (2006), 249–255; see Section 5.5.1.
38 See Section 7.1.4.

8.5. Delegation of authentic technique

Above I demonstrated how an authentic, national traditional coffee-making practice was defined and inscribed on the product. In the first design practice I described, inscription was achieved by controlling, both discursively and materially, whether and how the products afford authentic coffee making, so that they can be seamlessly integrated to that which has been going on as a national tradition since time immemorial. In the following, I will look at automatic Turkish coffee machines, and derive a second practice from their design processes, whereby the products are made continuous with traditions by abstracting and delegating an authentic technique.

8.5.1. Technique in traditional practice

As I showed above, the description of an authentic coffee making practice in the form of affordances simultaneously describes a ritualistic, national traditional practice, transferred from mother to daughter. It includes embodied practices of the user (e.g. the way they hold the handle, the way they watch over the froth as it rises, etc.) and requirements of the coffee itself (e.g. cooking slowly as on embers, need for a space to expand as it rises, etc.). It also includes a technique, that is, a series of abstracted steps, such as that the user adds coffee, sugar and water into the coffee pot, waits for the froth to rise, and then takes the pot away from the heat source. The two quotes below from two designers of electric coffee pots underlines how their products conform to that 'normal' or 'old' technique:

> It's quite a simple product, […] its working principles are quite simple, too. Say, there's an electric heater, it has certain levels, it gives out heat at a certain level so that the coffee can cook rather slowly. […] Its working principles are the same as the normal coffee pot, only that you don't put it on the stove, but it has an electric base, so you put it on its own mechanism. [39]

> Umm, so the design is actually a coffee machine which was designed by using contemporary materials and technologies, but which, since the cooking method is again the old method, is faithful to the old in terms of cooking method and form. [40]

In a TV advertisement, the same argument was used to imply a comparison in terms of authenticity with automatic Turkish coffee machines. In the said advertisement, protagonist commented: 'The difference is, in this, you make the coffee yourself, by stirring, properly (*usulüyle*)'—the word '*usulüyle*' meaning literally 'following the proper technique'.[39] But what does the proper technique comprise? Or, following the second quote above, how do you remain faithful to the old cooking method? In the above discussion of electric coffee pots and the generalised coffee pot form, I

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39 In original Turkish, '*Bunun farkı, bunda kahveyi kendiniz yapıyorsunuz, karıştırarak, usulüyle*'. Arzum, 'Yılbaşı Akşamı: Arzum'un Sevimli İhtiyarları Reklamcılık Oynuyor: 4', TV advertisement, December 2004 [on CD] (my translation).

demonstrated that one way to define and delimit the proper technique was to read affordances off objects. Accordingly, in the design process of the electric coffee pots the proper technique was extrapolated from the analysis of coffee pots, and therefore included stirring and watching over the coffee as required steps of the technique.[40]

With the automatic coffee makers, the design practice followed a different course and defined the proper technique differently. In this regard, I will be discussing two automatic coffee makers, which I will henceforth call Product A and Product B.[41]

Figure 12. The brown pot inside the automatic Turkish coffee machine tips forwards to pour the coffee once it reaches a certain temperature. (photograph by the author, 2010; original in colour)

8.5.2. Product A: The coffee pot inside the machine

The first product I analyse includes a container, called a 'coffee pot' by my participants, which is accessed by a lid on top of the machine. The user is expected to put coffee[42] and sugar into that container, and the container is programmed to tip over when the liquid inside it reaches a certain temperature—which is preset but adjustable from the product's menu—and thus to pour the coffee through the four nozzles into cups (see Figures 12 and 13). Its designer, who was approached by the company only after the system was functioning commented as follows:

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40 Cf. Şekercioğlu's critique of electric coffee makers in Kayhan, p. 160; see Section 8.3.4.
41 In this analysis I will not include the third automatic coffee maker that I researched due to issues of confidentiality.
42 When I visited the company R&D, an implement that will automatically add coffee was under development to be included in the following version of the product.

> Umm, I was interested in it because it [preserves] the usual coffee logic. […] You know those vending machines, [they're] closed boxes, and [coffee] comes out of them. But I mean it's a very old-style thing that takes place inside them. [In this product, too,] a coffee pot rotates inside it. Actually I find it funny that it rotates and does its thing (*chuckles*). It's, you know, a complete robot. [41]

The product's robot-like quality is further complemented by the moveable 'tray' that is integrated to the product, which aimed to replicate a part of the traditional way in which coffee is served, 'how we serve the coffee':

> Once it pours [the coffee] out of the coffee pot and divides it between the cup[s], then—you know how we serve the coffee—to create that effect, a small tray—let's call it that, it's a part of the product—would come out on a rail under the machine, and it would serve the coffee cups. [42]

With a container that, according to my participants, works like a coffee pot and a tray that involves an attempt to create the 'effect' of serving coffee in the traditional manner, the product can be considered to be derived from, and thus replicating, traditional practice.
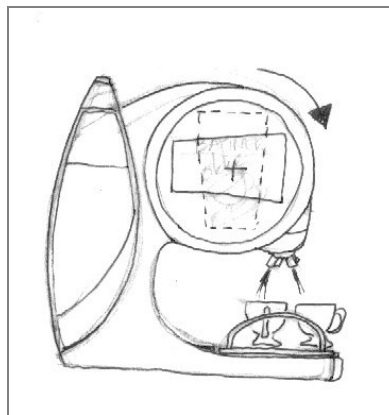
Figure 13. Early sketch of Product A showing the rotating movement of the pot inside the machine. (image courtesy of Şebnem Timur, 2006)

Despite this, the designer of Product B found the product incompatible with the proper technique:

> It'd pour [the coffee] into the cup. But, umm, two out of every ten times it would spill it. It'd be coffee all over. Also the cooking method, umm … it didn't use to cook the coffee following the usual technique (*usul*) we have with the coffee pot. It's based on a thermostat— (*interrupted as his phone rings*)
>
> […]
>
> Italians have their coffee machine. Is ours worth less? It's not. I mean, because it's really not an easy thing. I don't know if you've ever made coffee, if you make coffee? It's not an easy task. You have to observe, you have to know when to take it off the heat, etc. There's a human being there, you are trying to replicate the human being, it's not an easy task. You know, there are other coffee vending machines and all, you push a button and it gives you Turkish coffee. But it's all the same logic. There's boiling water, the thermostat goes off with its steam, it pours the coffee, so it cooks. That's it. But Turkish

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coffee isn't made that way. [43]

According to the designer, what the machine does is not consistent with the proper technique. The technique involves complex interactions of a human being, which need to be replicated—especially if Turkish coffee is to be dignified by the new machine. Arguing in this manner the designer is, in effect, making an alternative definition of the traditional technique to which their product complies better than the alternatives. So if Turkish coffee is 'not made that way', if that is not the 'proper technique', what is?

8.5.3. Product B: Turkish coffee is the technique

The design process of Product B was dominated by the research and development work to automate coffee making. The engineers put much emphasis on the significance of the technique they developed, rather than on the product in general:

> Instead of seeing this project […] as one or two different products, we should think of it as 'the presentation of the technique which describes the ideal way of cooking Turkish coffee by means of an ideal machine'. This is because once you determine the correct technique, you can design countless products that are based on it to address a variety of uses, objectives and markets. (Note: I'd also like to say that we protect this technique by more than sixteen international patents.)[43]

Consequently, there was an unmistakable emphasis in the designers' and engineers' accounts on the technique as the unique aspect of Turkish coffee:

> Turkish coffee is not a quality of the coffee itself. It's about the technique. […] Nor is it the aroma. […] Just as espresso works under pressure, Turkish coffee has its own technique. […] Change the espresso machine as much as you like, you can't make a Turkish coffee machine out of it. You can't get this taste, this texture. You can't make a bulb out of a candle. [44]

In response to a question about the ideal temperature at which Turkish coffee is done, one of the engineers of the project wrote:

> In [this product], cooking is not controlled by temperature. […] It is achieved in a completely different manner, which is nevertheless the most consistent way with the traditional cooking technique: with infra-red eyes reading the coffee level as it rises and, once it rises sufficiently, judging that it is ready. Isn't it how we do it when we do it in the coffee pot? This is the most direct method to capture the moment when Turkish coffee is done. Regardless of initial and environmental conditions, it's about the cooking process itself. (As a note, it's theoretically impossible to derive from temperature data alone whether Turkish coffee is done.)[44]

Leaving the particular manner of replication (i.e. infra-red eyes, etc.) to the discussion below, three things come across as significant to the participant. Firstly, there is an

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43 Alehar, 'Türk Kahvesi Makinaları: "Telve"', in Kiva Han Forum, 5 October 2010 <http://www.kivahan.com.tr/forum/showthread.php?t=978> [accessed 4 January 2010], p. 1 (my translation).
44 Ibid., p. 2 (my translation).

idea of faithful replication ('Isn't it how we do it when we do it in the coffee pot?') which cannot be captured in thermostat-based Turkish coffee makers, such as Product A or the vending machines mentioned by the other participants above. As another participant noted: 'It's the name of a method, Turkish coffee. The only solution is to mimic the human being.' [45]

Secondly, any considerations such as achieving an appropriate taste or a particular degree of froth are deemed secondary to the attempt to replicate the technique, which is, as established in the other quotes above, *the* unique aspect of Turkish coffee. Or more precisely, as the discussion below will further demonstrate, replicating the technique is considered the only way in which the propriety of taste and frothiness can be achieved.

Thirdly, as the engineer's use of 'we' implies, there is more to this technique than an abstract series of steps: It is also a national tradition. As the designer explains,

> You need a technology, because the method by which you cook Turkish coffee is, umm, quite interesting. It isn't anything like other coffees. We cook the coffee, umm, I mean in Turkey, we literally cook the coffee in the pot, on the stove. Umm, normal, I mean, espresso-style coffee is, umm, prepared by passing the water through coffee. So there's a difference in cooking method. Now, it's not that easy. Umm, there's also the human factor, because you know, when you cook the coffee, umm, there's this culture that is transferred from mother to daughter—let me put it that way, not so much the men, but from mother to daughter in that family, in that extended family. It's a culture that's passed from the older generation to the younger, I mean, the next generation. So what you are required to do is that you're trying to replicate what that human being does. It's not an easy task. [46]

The designer thus establishes that this unique aspect of Turkish coffee is related to what I have called above the matrilineal transfer of coffee knowledge and skills. What is being replicated is not so much a technique as a technique-qua-tradition, which is handed down through the generations.

8.5.4. Process of abstraction and delegation

Then, what is this technique and how was it replicated in the final product? The engineers have researched the problem extensively, including, according to an engineer I interviewed, sending researchers to other countries where similar coffee is prepared, such as Lebanon and Greece, and contacting coffee masters. Another described that they 'made countless surveys from company questionnaires and tours in the market to focus groups in collaboration with professional companies, from cooking tests within the company to on-site tests'[45] with the aim to produce a mechanised technique for preparing Turkish coffee. Effectively, the process involved the abstraction of the various observed practices, then their replication by mechanical

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45   Ibid., p. 1 (my translation).

means. This can be seen in one engineer's concise description of how the final product cooks coffee:

> [With the regular coffee pot] human eye sees the froth, decides and […] removes [the coffee] from the heat source. […] [The machine] makes [coffee] just as if it were a robot with a coffee pot in its hand. […] It makes it just as how the human being does, that's where its success lies. [47]

So the project was to design a machine that mechanically replicates all of the essential steps in coffee making—'just as if it were a robot with a pot'—thus replicating the 'how we do it when we do it in the coffee pot'. The following is a list of these steps, as narrated to me by my participants.

As the first step, the user puts ground coffee and sugar in the product's container, places the container in its slot and presses the button. The machine pumps the water from its tank. After that,

> [A] pump connected to the water tank sprays water into the coffee-sugar mixture by means of a series of nozzles placed at specific angles, and thus produces a vortex. Its counterpart in the traditional method is to stir with the spoon after adding coffee and sugar.[46]

Even at this first step the process of abstraction and delegation is clear, whereby the observed practice is divided into steps, each of which is delegated to an actor. Putting coffee and sugar into the coffee pot is delegated to the user of the machine, and stirring, to a water spray. In this manner, that the coffee needs to be stirred is established as part of the traditional practice, and inscribed in the product irrevocably.

In the second step, a person who is making coffee manually would put the coffee pot on the heat source, most typically the stove. Inside the machine, this is achieved via a rising platform that carries the heater upwards until it touches the bottom part of the container. The movement literally replicates the coffee pot's transfer onto the stove. The importance of this will be evident in the fourth step.

In the third step, the person would watch over the coffee and wait for the froth to rise. Inside the machine, this action is delegated to the above-mentioned sensor, which 'watches the froth develop […] hundreds of times each second' [48].

In the fourth step, the person would decide that the froth has risen sufficiently, that is, reached the brim, and take the coffee pot off the stove. Inside the machine, it is the processor that makes the decision and activates the moving platform to remove the heater from the container.

> There's a sensor on the top. That sensor keeps measuring the height of the coffee. Once it [reaches] a certain height—here the goal is to simulate the way in which coffee is made on the stove. Other coffee machines actually just boil the coffee. But what do you do on the stove? You take it off the [stove] just before it brims over. In this one, there's a sensor that keeps measuring

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46   Ibid., p. 3 (my translation).

its height. Once it reaches a certain height, […] the thermal base is pulled down by a mechanism. So it's as if you take it off the stove. [49]

The emphasis on replication and the comparison with thermostat-based products can once again be seen here. It is the very same traditional technique, only delegated to the sensor and the processor rather than the user's eyes and their decisions. On the other hand, the processor is not a decision maker per se, but an objectification of the decisions made by engineers in the past—who, according to one, 'made 500 litres of coffee to find out the correct parameters' [50]. The decisions are already made in the design process, and black-boxed[47] together with the product.

Once cooking ends, the moving platform moves away from the container once again, replicating the person taking the coffee pot off the stove. This is, according to my participants, to make the boiling stop at the exact moment that the froth reaches sufficient height:

> You also need to integrate the system with a moveable heating mechanism. If there's anyone amongst you who've boiled milk in a steel pot, they'd understand the issue here that milk keeps boiling over even when you turn the stove off right at the moment of boiling.[48]

As the fifth, and the final, step, when the coffee is ready, the alarm sounds and the user can take out the container to divide the coffee into cups.

To sum, what the design team achieved is a rearrangement of the actors in the assemblage of cooking Turkish coffee. Replacing the pot-on-the-stove with an automatic alternative, the design redistributes the agencies, i.e. roles and skills, to various actors in the kitchen, including the user, coffee, sensors, water jets, etc. In the process some of these are made obsolete, such as the spoon or the stove, while others remain as they are, such as the role of coffee particles in water. A significant part of the user's coffee making skills and experience are also made redundant, being disembodied and distributed to a number of actors: Stirring is delegated to the water jet; watching, to the sensors; and their judgement, to the engineers via the processor. On the other hand, they still retain the responsibility to measure the coffee at the beginning and to divide the froth into cups in the end; in fact, they will also need to develop new skills as to the operation and cleaning of the machine.[49]

8.5.5. Enrolling represented users

For the success of the new assemblage, then, users are required to consent to their

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47 For the term, see Michel Callon, 'The Sociology of an Actor-Network: the Case of the Electric Vehicle', in *Mapping the Dynamics of Science and Technology*, ed. by Michel Callon, John Law and Arie Rip (London, Macmillan Press: 1986), pp. 19–34; see also Section 4.1.2 above.
48 Alehar, p. 2 (my translation).
49 See Section 9.5 below.

newly prescribed roles and skills, too. Within the design setting in general, one way to achieve the enrolment of users was via projected users, that is, the capabilities and expectations of the real user as imagined and invoked by the professionals involved in product development. I referred to an example of this in my discussion of the two-sided coffee pot above.[50] As a second way, actors can be designated to represent the future real user. In the case of electric Turkish coffee makers, this role was often left to company workers, mainly in drinking tests within the company:

> There were these, umm, prototypes which were fully functional, but whose external shells were put together in the R&D. For days we drank coffee with that prototype, you know, to test it. One of them was placed in our kitchen in the design department. They'd constantly make adjustments and bring coffee to the people there. And the people would then express what they thought about [the coffee]. [51]

Or, there were informal conversations with women caretakers in the workplace, who were taken to represent the user:

> In the company we already drink tea and coffee. Umm, now we have three ladies who, umm, are working in the cafeteria and thereabouts. These are the people who provide us with tea and coffee here. They're the most live and the best [participants] that we have here, because they aren't [particularly loyal to the company] either. [52]

It was only in the design process of Product B that I encountered systematic user tests. According to the designer, one of the crucial issues in these was whether the users would accept the idea of a machine that makes Turkish coffee. He narrated the focus groups they organised as follows:

> We'd prepared the list of questions: 'Do you think Turkish coffee can be made by a machine?'. So, the response was mixed […] and not entirely clear, but the number of those who say 'no' was generally higher. Umm, when you ask 'Why not?', they'd explain: 'But it can't make it!', or 'But we watch over it carefully, we take it off the stove before it brims over', and so on and so forth.
>
> […]
>
> As I say, we enter the match with a 1–0 deficit. There's the coffee pot as the alternative, the price is high, and then the question, 'Can a machine make coffee?'. [53]

Concisely, a resistance to Turkish coffee machines was projected by the team during the design process onto future users, then translated into the questions they prepared for the tests, and finally confirmed in the responses of the represented users. Nevertheless, this did not stop the team from concluding the project. The resistance which was constructed in the focus groups was taken as a mere deficit, a

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50   See Section 8.3.3 above. On the differentiation between projected, represented and real users, see Schot and de la Bruhese, p. 235. For a network approach to user tests, see also Steve Woolgar, 'Configuring the User: the Case of Usability Trials', in *Sociology of Monsters? Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*, ed. by John Law (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 57–102.

disadvantage, rather than a ground for termination.

Once the prototype was complete, another focus group was organised. The designer continues:

> A: Then to make the last optimisations both on cooking, I mean the taste of the coffee, and also visually, we made some focus groups again. [Researchers] would bring in groups of seven to eight women, and we were watching behind the one-way mirror. Umm, again they ask these questions [to the women]: 'How do you think best coffee is made?'. That's very interesting. Every woman describes it differently. It's odd, you see. One says, 'You make coffee like this: You put it on ice, then put it aside', or I don't know, 'You make it boil three times', or 'You make it in a copper pot, you stir it', then another one goes 'No, don't stir it! You should never stir it!' and so on. So, as I say, everyone considers whatever they've learnt from their mothers or grandmothers to be correct and keeps doing it. Now this is what happened in the test we did, the cooking test: There was a lady inside, making coffee manually, in the coffee pot, and we'd serve that and make them drink it. Of course not all of it, but a sip … Then we'd serve one made in our machine, but wouldn't tell them that. So which one is more … In general, […] around 90 percent favoured the coffee from our machine. So, umm, it's interesting that all these people who describe coffee differently liked the same coffee. Then it's not that important to put ice, or I don't know, to make it in a copper coffee pot …
>
> H: To stir it or not …
>
> A: Yes, these are more like, umm, how do I put it, they're like myths then. [54]

Essentially, what the blind taste test does is to posit the represented user's taste as the definitive criterion in evaluating whether they consent to their prescribed role. If they like the taste of the coffee, they are considered to have subscribed to the new assemblage; and by extrapolation, the same is assumed for the future real user, too. The key point is that enrolment is ensured by defining the user solely in terms of their gustatory expectations—excluding their experience, practical knowledge, etc.—so that their voiced opinion against automatic Turkish coffee machines can be circumvented.

One practice that the designers encountered among projected and represented users' practices, but eliminated as inessential was the option to cook slower, an alternative mode found in the first prototypes of Product B. One engineer called it the 'brazier mode'—after the idea that Turkish coffee is best cooked slowly, e.g. on a brazier[51]—but dismissed its effect as 'psychological':

> As for the 'brazier mode', we weren't able to prove that the coffee prepared in that mode was any better. But it has a psychological effect! :)[52]

All in all, the reductive way in which the user is defined as part of their interessement makes it possible for the designers and engineers to dismiss users' alternative

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51   See Section 9.2.2 below.
52   Alehar, p. 1 (my translation); I kept the 'smiley' icon at the end of the quote for it represents a tongue-in-cheek remark.

definitions of traditional coffee-making practice as mythical or psychological.[53] In contrast, the propriety of the technique which was abstracted and applied by the engineers is sanctioned. In effect, this rendered the final assemblage more real[54]—not only because it came closer to completion, but also in the sense that the translations and connections that make up the assemblage were further strengthened.

8.5.6. Authenticity delegated

In fact, the final assemblage was 'proven' to cook not only as good as manual practice but better:

> When the coffee is made manually, sometimes it has froth, sometimes it's all over the place, sometimes something else. But the coffee from the machine is usually consistent in both taste and froth. That's because handmade coffee is incidental to the maker's skills. [55]

The implication is that when Turkish coffee is defined as technique-qua-tradition, and the user, the deskilled judge of traditional taste, the machine appears to make coffee by itself, without or with very limited input from the user. It is no more 'incidental to the maker's skills'. Therefore the deskilling of the user who switches from the coffee pot to the coffee machine enables the skilling of those who had never had the necessary skills in the first place:

> The man wants to drink Turkish coffee but doesn't know how to make it. At home a mother tells her son, 'Go and make me a coffee' … She can't (*chuckles*). Or to her partner she can't say, 'Go and make me a coffee'. Or a man says to his partner, 'Can you make me a Turkish coffee?'. Umm, actually, the problem is the same. With us, it's the women who know it—OK, of course there are men who make [coffee], but to speak generally … [56]

Or, following the discourse on the national ownership of Turkish coffee knowledge and skills, this includes the 'foreigners', too:

> It can also be bought by foreigners. Actually it's even more probable that foreigners will buy it; because they will be able to make [coffee] now. Previously they couldn't. I mean, give the coffee pot to a foreigner, what are they going to do with it? They wouldn't know how to cook! This is why we say it's something that comes to us via generations. [57]

Put differently, it is not only the skills of the Turkish woman user, but that which

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53 Even though the question of gender falls outside of the focus of this study in favour of a focus on the national, it is necessary to state the gendered construction of this asymmetry as the engineer and his rational methods of abstraction and experimentation are placed as superior against the woman user and her domestic practices: 'The superordination of engineering, the subordination of home economics, is another face of the public/private split and the denial of significance to the daily reproductive activities of the home, characteristically women's concern. The industrial world literally feeds off the private world, uses it as a resource (cheap female labour) and as a market (for its consumer durables), but otherwise appears to need to keep it at a distance.' Cynthia Cockburn and Susan Ormrod, *Gender and Technology in the Making* (London: Sage, 1993), p. 97.

54 Bruno Latour, *Aramis: or the Love of Technology*, trans. by C. Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 85.

'comes to us via generations', i.e. authenticity itself, that is delegated to the machine. The automatic Turkish coffee machine is constructed as the objectification of the technique-qua-tradition.

To summarise, my analysis of the design processes of two automatic Turkish coffee makers—albeit with an emphasis on one—reveals a second way in which electric Turkish coffee makers are related to Turkish coffee as national tradition. In the first practice, the products were designed to afford authentic coffee making, from the embodied practices of the user to the established principles of froth development and control. In this second practice, authentic coffee making is defined in a more limited manner, without recourse to a complex, embodied and material practice, but to a series of abstracted steps which was presented in the interviews as the most correct technique to cook coffee. Extensive delegations follow, including thermostats, rotating pots and retracting trays in one example, sensors, water-jets and moving platforms in the other. In the end, much of user's skills are delegated to mechanical elements, and the rest is downplayed in discourse, so that the final product is presented as the very objectification of authenticity.

8.6. Negotiation of tradition

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to catalogue all the concerns and constraints voiced by the participants I interviewed. Instead, and as my focus demands, I described the two practices of dealing with national traditions in the design setting: ensuring that the material object affords authentic practice, and delegating the authentic technique to an electromechanical assemblage. I argued that these had a common objective; namely, to posit the object as keeping with the traditional, and thus to black-box it as authentic. I suggested that, as such, it is a national cultural project that derives from, and in turn, contributes to the liberal neonationalist discourse and a Neo-Ottoman iconography. Still, the project is multifaceted and complex in that it is articulated at once to multiple projects as actors invest in it differently, and, however major, nationalism is only one amongst these.[55] The coffee maker is in this sense akin to what Star and Griesemer termed 'boundary objects'—'both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust to maintain a common identity across sites.' Interessement requires consent, which requires flexibility and compromise.[56]

Before concluding my analysis of the design setting, in this section I will discuss the

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55 For a discussion of how different politics are intertwined with everyday nationalisms, see Section 5.3.2 above. For methodological aspects, see Section 4.1.2 above.

56 Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer, 'Institutional Ecology, "Translations" and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907–39', *Social Studies of Science*, 19.3 (1989), 387–420 (p. 393). See also Latour, *Aramis,* pp. 287–288.

overlaps, negotiations and compromises that the project to render the product authentic was subjected to.

8.6.1. Innovation versus preservation

As hinted at the previous section, there were instances in the design process when there was significant emphasis on technological betterment of the original practice, especially ease-of-use and standardisation of taste and frothiness. An executive explained to me their concerns as follows:

> A: You have to both make coffee as it's done at home, and be more appealing than what's usually done at home, so that you can present the customer with a product.
>
> H: Appealing in what way?
>
> A: For one thing it must be more practical. Why should they give you money if they can do it on stove at home? Or if they spend the same time making the coffee? Or if the coffee has the same consistency? Also for example at home, umm, no two people [can make the same coffee]. Even a single person can't make the same coffee twice. But with the machine we are trying to present a standardised coffee. […] In other words, my product needs to produce added value, so that it comes back to me somehow, comes back as a surplus. [58]

This interest in surplus was echoed by the designers, too, however in aesthetic rather than monetary terms:

> When I designed 'Cezve' for Arzum, the difficulty was that […] I didn't want people to say: 'They just put the standard coffee pot on top of a pedestal.' There was the difficulty that the new design shouldn't look like a kettle […] yet formally shouldn't wander too much away from the classic coffee pot form either. It should be both contemporary and new, both historical and modern … We tried to capture a difficult concept.[57]

Put in this way, the designer's point of view may be considered at the first instance as distanced towards national traditions. However it is also possible to understand the tension between innovation and preservation as an instance of the 'Janus' face of nationalism, looking simultaneously to the nation's past traditions and its progress onto the future, which is thus one of the constitutive dichotomies of nationalist discourse and projects.[58] Far from paradoxical, being both innovative and traditional, historical and modern, means a moderated interpretation of the 'traditional' design. In other words, the design process involved not only selection and application, but also moderation of the 'traditional'.

This way of managing the tradition is reminiscent of what Outka has termed the 'commodified authentic'. She uses the concept to describe early-twentieth-century

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57   Interview with Kunter Şekercioğlu, in Özgür Kayhan, p. 161 (my translation).
58   Tom Nairn, 'The Modern Janus', *New Left Review*, I/94 (1975), 3–29 (p. 18); Robert J. Foster, 'The Commercial Construction of "New Nations"', *Journal of Material Culture*, 4.3 (1999), 263–282 (p. 273).

marketing trends that offered authentic values in the form of commodities, as in interior decoration styles that evoked 'the English rural past'. According to Outka, such marketing practices did not present the authentic as such, but instead brought forth 'a sustained contradiction' which made it possible for the consumer 'to be at once connected to a range of values roughly aligned with authenticity and yet also to be fully modern'.[59] This is similar to my observations. The design processes display not a preference of innovation over tradition, or vice versa, but a careful juxtaposition of the two. In any case, if the product is to be placed at the end of the evolution of coffee pots, it has to be made not only authentic, but also progressive.

The standardisation of taste and the use of moderate forms are two examples to such moderation. A third regards the speed of cooking. Speed had to be adjusted to an optimum level at which the grounded coffee could be persuaded to produce sufficient froth whilst keeping at a certain consistency. One designer told me how this was one of the primary problems for the R&D engineers:

> We want it to cook fast, it must have an advantage. But that remains to be tested. That's the R&D side of the project, because it must cook fast but can't be without froth. Else, it won't serve its purpose. [59]

The engineer of another product described what they achieved with the product in these terms:

> We have achieved the highest possible cooking speed without compromising quality. Any faster and the coffee particles don't dissolve well enough and the oils don't mix into the water.[60]

Speed and frothiness then emerge as contrasting terms, whereby speed is innovation —as follows from the idea of making it easier and quicker for the housewife—and taste and frothiness, the litmus test of authenticity—as I have shown in my discussion of automatic Turkish coffee machines above.[61] Of course such an optimisation needs a process of adjustment and trials. A designer remarked:

> Funny thing is, the product came out later than we expected; because they wanted to make the heating element weaker. It cooked too fast, like crazy. The coffee didn't dissolve well in the water, both in terms of froth and taste. Then they had to reduce the size of the heating element. The only thing that we weren't allowed to change [at the start of the project], the heating element, had to be produced again. So they made a weaker heating element, but of the same size (*laughs*). [60]

I observed a fourth example in product names. One of the strategies was to use elements from English language to transform a Turkish word or a concept related to Turkish coffee. For example the electric coffee pot by Homend is called 'Pottoman', a portmanteau term that combines the words, 'pot' and 'Ottoman'. Bayındır's coffee

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59 Elizabeth Outka, *Consuming Traditions: Modernity, Modernism and the Commodified Authentic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 4.
60 Alehar, p. 1 (my translation).
61 See Section 8.5.5.

machine is named 'MacBlue', a word that is almost homophonic with the Turkish female name, Makbule—which was, according to one of my participants, named after a character in a Turkish TV series who often served coffee. A case in point is Arzum's electric coffee pot, 'Kahwe', whose name was formed by replacing the 'v' in '*kahve*', the Turkish word for 'coffee', with a 'w', a letter not found in Turkish alphabet. In all three cases, vernacular or traditional concepts are combined with English language, which seems to be expected to connote being Western and modern. With the name 'Kahwe', however, there was significant backlash from the consumer. It was considered a pretence of foreignness and a disrespect to Turkish language. This fact was reported to me during my interviews, and it can still be observed in Internet forums, where the topic had created heated discussion at the time.[62] That the consumer did not 'subscribe' forced the company to compromise. The next product was released without the letter substitution, that is, as 'Cezve'—the Turkish word for 'coffee pot'—and not 'Cezwe'.

8.6.2. Manufacturing and costs

Other cases where the designers' claims to authenticity were compromised and had to be moderated resulted from interdisciplinary negotiations.

An example is the overly curvaceous form of Arzum 'Cezve' (see Figure 5 above). Since it is also one of the first few commercially successful electric Turkish coffee pot designs,[63] designers of other electric coffee pots made explicit comparisons to the product during the interviews. For instance, one designer expressed that their intention was to design 'something Turkish' like in 'Cezve', 'but without too much exaggeration' [61].

Sometimes moderation was a compromise to the interests of engineers and executives. A designer mentioned to me that the production engineer had suggested specifically against a form which narrows in the middle on the grounds that it would be unnecessarily expensive to produce. In my interview with an engineer, he made a comparison between an older model they used to outsource to China with a newer one that is being produced in their own facilities. Our discussion is worth quoting at length, for it describes in detail the manufacturing techniques and related costs, highlighting the wider context of production:

> A: Well, when you are stuck on whether the product is producible or not, you can't have that product. For example, here's a tea machine (*showing me a*

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62   See for instance 'Arzum Bildiğimiz Kahveyi "Kahwe" Yaptı', *Dilimiz Forum*, 18 January 2005 <http://www. dilimiz.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=559> [accessed 11 November 2010]; 'Arzum Kahwe', *Ekşisözlük*, 30 December 2004 <http://www.eksisozluk.com/show.asp?t=arzum+kahwe> [accessed 11 November 2010].
63   Fadime Çoban Bazzal, 'En Başarılı 20 Yenilikçi Ürün', *Capital*, March 2007, 124–127; see also Table 2 above.

computer-rendered image), we worked on it really hard, we found the most suitable manufacturing method for the conditions in Turkey, but then we saw that it goes towards a different direction.

H: Do you mean, form-wise?

A: Form-wise, it goes towards a different direction. […] In China, say, you're producing the container of this one (*pointing at an earlier electric coffee pot model*)—let's talk about this one—say, you are producing its container. Think of a plain paper (*picks up a paper*), they bend a grade-304 stainless steel plate like this one, they sew it in the middle by stainless steel welding, make it into a pipe, and then create these forms. After that they cut its mouth separately. To do this in Turkey, it'd cost three times, four times more. […]

H: So it's because there are extra steps involved. And this one (*pointing at the new model*), does it come out of a single operation of spinning?

A: This comes out of single spinning. Then, you see, you think of costs, you think of the competition with China. You have to. […] It's costs. It's all costs. Otherwise, there's nothing that can't be done. [62]

Sometimes, it was the capacities of the manufacturer defined the limits:

[In the meetings] we talked about the material. Since it'll be made of stainless steel, [it was paramount] that the form is producible, easy to produce. The simplicity of form is to some degree because of that, so that the product's manufacture is error-free. I mean if you design a livelier form, for example, like in Arzum's electric coffee pot, a design with a more animated top part, it's a little bit more difficult to produce it. Arzum can do this, because its product has a price that is almost two and a half times more than that of ours. I mean because they can use better moulds, more powerful forges, they can manufacture those products. [63]

Put simply, more complex forms require extra manufacturing steps and workmanship; and ultimately, how complex a form can be designed depends on negotiations between designers, engineers, managers, and available materials and manufacturing technologies. What is enacted as traditional form depends on this process of interessement. And this is how some manufacturing techniques, such as hand-graving mentioned above,[64] which are expensive to implement in mass production and therefore can be used only in high-end products, are associated even more favourably with handicrafts and thus with tradition.

8.6.3. The cap as a compromise

A last example where claims to authenticity had to be compromised regards caps, which were included in most of the electric coffee pots. One designer explained why they designed a cap as follows:

It's all because of the regulations that you need to have [a cap]. Because it boils water, it needs to have a cap. Otherwise you can't sell it to Europe, it can't even enter the TÜV [product certification] test, etc. [64]

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64   See Section 8.3.4 above.

One executive commented that this is so, even though it is not the norm for coffee pots to have caps:

> The standard for these products is to have a cap, so that water doesn't splash while boiling, and doesn't burn your hand, or anywhere else. That's why we provide a cap. Normally coffee pots don't have caps. [65]

My findings in user's manuals for electric coffee pots with caps are in line with the participants' explanations.[65] I did not find any mention of the cap in the sections where the steps for cooking Turkish coffee were described, including any mention whether the cap needs to be removed or closed while cooking coffee. The lack of information further underlines a discrepancy between what is considered the normal practice (to cook coffee without the cap on) and the regulations.

In another interview, the designer was not aware of such standards. So his explanations for the producer's motives was different:

> A: I didn't design a cap. That's because the cap isn't functional in electric coffee pots, even though these companies do provide caps. [The manufacturer I was working with], too, added a plastic cap just before it entered production. The design of the cap isn't mine, I mean, I wasn't made aware of it. But I guess they do it to stop the product from collecting dust in the package or when it rests idle in the kitchen, but it's not functional at all. When you put it on, the electric coffee pot becomes non-operational.
>
> H: As far as I know, you need the cap to sell abroad. It's a regulation.
>
> A: But that's wrong, because if the user tries to use it that way, they'll meet a lot of trouble. I mean it's wrong, not correct at all. As I say, maybe it's for use when it's idle; maybe because the container is open, the cap is made to close it. [66]

In other words, the cap is opposed to the normal technique of cooking coffee to the extent that it would hinder the product's effectiveness. So the designer speculates that its function is otherwise, that is, about cleanliness. In fact, some of the electric coffee pots in the Turkish market do not have caps. The below quote from an interview with an engineer shows why some of their designs have caps and others do not:

> A: So when [the companies we were expecting to sell the designs] changed their minds, we put a cap on it, plus we put a spoon in it—
>
> H: Why a cap and a spoon?
>
> A: To differentiate. Why a cap and a spoon? Now this [first design] is already quite different. 'So,' we said, 'let's not spoil its beauty'. This [second] one, we thought, doesn't have any aesthetic qualities, so, you know, if we add a cap and a spoon to this, it will be different. [67]

In sum, the cap was a compromise from the normal, the authentic, for a variety of reasons, one of which was that the electric coffee pot is by regulation a kettle. This seems to have been supported by arguments for staying clean on the kitchen counter

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65   I examined the user's manuals of four electric coffee pots for this purpose.

and the opportunity to use the cap as an accessory to support product differentiation.

8.6.4. The final design as an obligatory passage point

While one of the main objectives of the design process was to sustain and moderate a relationship with authentic Turkish coffee, this was not, as I have shown throughout this chapter, a purely representational practice of managing connotations within an intertextual universe, but a practical endeavour that involved managing of multiple actors and their interrelations towards the construction of a relatively stable network. The various associations, definitions and interests suggested by designers and other actors are not unanimous, but contested within and after the design process, among the designers of different products and between designers, managers, engineers, users, etc. In this context, participants' justifications—such as those I have discussed above—represent neither 'real' reasons behind design decisions nor retrospective elaborations. They indicate various strategies of translation, where the participants defined and redefined, stabilised and destabilised the product category and its materiality, as well as the tradition, the nation, and others' and their own interests in the project. I have already shown these in several examples in the above discussion: for instance, the designer's insistence on the 'Turkish' motif, or the fourth alternative developed as a plan B for the negotiations with the producer, or the way the designer extracted affordances to justify the upright handle design, or the way users were defined as experts of the traditional taste.[66] The form is bound up with the process of interessement, of which it is the product.

In order to make this further clear, it is useful to look, from the point of view of the designers, at how designs were constructed as 'obligatory passage points'.[67] Doing this involved translating other actors' (the company, coffee, users, Turkey) interests in accordance with one's own, then attempting the stabilise them, in this case, in the form of the material object.

Designers, first and foremost, negotiated with the management, who was their principal customer. This was most visible in struggles over formal decisions. If the general coffee pot form was to be established as an obligatory passage point, the management needed to perceive it as necessary in the face of other considerations which worked against it, mainly that it is difficult and costly to manufacture—as I discussed above. Designers read the management's and engineer's positions, defined what they asked for, and translated those definitions to material form. One designer's point of view of the companies they worked with is illustrating:

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66   See Sections 8.4, 8.3.1, 8.3.3, and 8.5.5, respectively.
67   Michel Callon, 'Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay', in *Power, Action and Belief: a New Sociology of Knowledge?* ed. by John Law (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 196–233 (p. 204); see also Section 4.1.2 above.

> I know this very well: If the company is a manufacturing company, it would question [your design about] costs and convenience of manufacture. If it's a marketing company, it goes along customer expectations and the expectations of the sales representatives. If it's a brand, a company that does both manufacture and marketing, they address both sides. [68]

There are, of course, similar views of designers by manufacturers, among which a common theme is that designers need to be briefed and constrained by their customers or managers. I encountered such views twice during my interviews, once from an executive and once from an engineer, however subtly.[68] Such contrasting views give rise to a negotiation, the product of which is the final form or one aspect of it. This can be illustrated by one case where the designers had to negotiate a highly curvaceous form, which was particularly difficult to manufacture. Highlighting illegal copying of products as a problem for all companies investing in research and development and design, the difficult form was offered by the designers as a guarantee against copyright infringement: If the company wants to protect its investments, the form is indispensable.[69]

In another example, the designer indicated how the instant recognisability of the design was influential on the marketing department's perception:

> The most critical statement was this, I think: 'My grandmother should realise it's a coffee pot the moment she looks at it: "How different! But it's a coffee pot!", and then say, "Oh, there is something with the cable under it. Is it electric, daughter?". It was something like this. And they were excited, because this means that you'll reach many people very quickly, umm, for marketing, for advertising in general, I mean, visually. Even if you can't reach [the consumer] with your ads and so on, when they see it somewhere, you can reach them much more easily. So this sort of an option was preferred: 'Yes, true, let's invest in this.' [69]

The suggestion for double-sided coffee pots was another such example where projected users and the traditions to which they submit were defined as part of the negotiation for the material form. Accordingly, what the projected users expected to see also mattered. The user tests, too, posited the final design as an obligatory passage point, implying that represented users had to 'pass through' the design if they wanted the better coffee.[70]

Thirdly, in so far as we consider coffee particles as one of the actors, coffee was

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68 Prescriptive accounts of such interactions can be found in design management literature. See for instance, Jonathan Cagan and Craig M. Vogel, *Creating Breakthrough Products: Innovation from Product Planning to Program Approval* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), Ch. 6.

69 In June 2012, as I am making the final corrections before submitting the thesis for examination, the design studio concerned posted to the social networking site, Facebook, a photograph of an allegedly illegally copied version they have recently acquired in the UK. The image has the following caption, which turns the argument on its head: 'Turkish coffee is an invaluable drink that is spread worldwide, so is [our design] in which you cook it.' In original Turkish: '*Türk kahvesi dünyanın dört bir yanına yayılmış değerli bir içecek, pişirdiğiniz [tasarımımız] de öyle.*' (my translation).

70 See Section 8.3.3 and 8.5.5 respectively.

considered to require the curvilinear profile to cook properly: a wide base for the heat, a narrow neck for froth development and a wide mouth to prevent overflowing. Similarly, the management of cooking speed versus taste and frothiness was in fact a negotiation with coffee particles.[71]

Finally, in the interviews and in marketing, the companies and designers put across the same message for Turkey in general, too. If Turkey (that is, Turkish companies, Turkish designers, Turkish economy, etc.) is to successfully commodify Turkish coffee, just as the Italian coffee was commodified, it needs to ('we need to') pass through the design, which thus emerges as an obligatory passage point.[72]

8.7. Conclusion

To summarise my findings in this chapter, the electric Turkish coffee maker projects were from the very beginning constructed as a national project. This was observed in the form of two conditions of emergence. Firstly, the project was a derivation from the discourse on and the commercial practice of mechanisation of household chores. In this respect, Turkish coffee is a vernacular practice that is eligible for mechanisation and commodification. Secondly, there was a sustained comparison with espresso, 'the Italian coffee', which played a role in the transformation of this process of mechanisation into the liberal neonationalist project of commodification of Turkish coffee culture. This effected the translation of coffee to national culture, designers to nationals, vernacular customs to national traditions. In this, the first-person plural deixis played a significant part in fostering national ownership, pride and responsibility.

A general definition of the project can be given as follows: Turkish coffee, as a national tradition, constitutes a linear path from its origins in distant past on which knowledge, skills, practices and material objects travel. The origin in the past is often associated with the Ottoman, and the travel is considered to happen via a matrilineal transfer, 'from mother to daughter'. For the material objects, this implies an evolution whereby national culture (forms, practices, techniques, etc.) is transferred and gradually improved. It is therefore a mix of preservation and betterment that is supposed to characterise the next step in the evolution of the material culture of Turkish coffee.

In designing that next step, there were two general strategies of design which were employed during the project. The first one involved reading affordances off traditional objects, and their selective application on the final product. These affordances index various customary practices, physical requirements, steps of technique, etc. and prescribe certain material and embodied relationships between various actors. Authenticity is produced by making the final product afford authentic practice. The

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71   See Section 8.3.2 and 8.6.1 respectively.
72   See Section 8.1.1.

second strategy involved isolation of the proper coffee-making technique and its delegation to various actors to create a new assemblage that replicates that technique. Authenticity is ensured by this new assemblage, where it is delegated to the machine.

Two directions can be found in both strategies: one to articulate, the other to isolate. Certain design practices worked by articulating the product to other products and practices, and larger networks. The generalised coffee pot form, when reproduced, connected the product to traditional coffee pots. Architectural motifs linked diverse forms to construct national iconographies. Heating elements were screwed on mechanical arms, which were connected by analogy to human arms moving the coffee pot on and off the stove. Other design practices isolated the products from unwanted connections. Both the generalised coffee pot form and the motif were also utilised to stabilise the product as a Turkish coffee maker and not a kettle. The upright handle only afforded a particular way of holding the coffee pot, thus ensured a singular practice.

In all this, certain links to traditional practice had to be moderated. Innovation in the form of speed and convenience was sought at the expense of authenticity in order to place the product at the end of the evolutionary line. Plus, since other actors had to be enrolled, the process of network building happened via negotiations among designers, managers, engineers, represented users, coffee particles, etc. and via detours through the economy of Turkey, Turkish traditions, projected users, etc.

Eventually, the invention of the electric Turkish coffee maker was above all about the management of various discursive and practical relations. In this respect, it was less a technical innovation than an innovation of designation. It consisted in, first and foremost, the naming of certain material assemblages as electric Turkish coffee makers which enact the authentic, national traditional coffee-making practice.

All in all, the project shows the way in which the nation is made subject to complex practices and negotiations in design settings. It is explicitly or implicitly defined and in the meantime normalised as national ownership, belonging and responsibility. The national past is mobilised in articulation to nationalist and commercial projects in a way that is similar to 'the uses of the past' model which was described by theorists of nationalism in the context of the emergence of nationalisms.[73] Thus it becomes a criterion for, as well as an actor in interessement.

In methodological terms, the findings confirm that it is reductive to start with the premise of a clear distinction between form and function, or between the insides and the outside of products. Via affordances formal properties are interlinked with

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73   Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: a Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 42; see Section 5.2 above.

functional specifications, whilst symbols can also work indexically to create stabilising effects on a product category. When actors engage with the product, the distinction of insides and the outside become irrelevant, since the user becomes part of the object's inner workings.

Before elaborating any further, it is necessary to turn to the analysis of the user setting, to which the design setting as 'long-distance control' is directed. The next chapter will aim to complement and contrast these findings.

Chapter 9. Consuming electric Turkish coffee makers

In this chapter I will investigate the ways in which electric Turkish coffee makers were used and domesticated within a particular sociotechnical setting of consumption: in day-time coffee meetings among housewives. For this purpose I will use the data from my field work with users of the products. As I discussed previously,[1] in the analysis, sessions have priority, while the interviews are used to support or clarify the analysis further.

The chapter starts with an analysis of Turkish coffee practices of housewives and describe the 'regime of value' practised in this setting. I will focus particularly on how Turkish coffee is enacted as a national tradition. I will follow this by looking at electric Turkish coffee machines and what role their consumption plays within the setting thus described.

9.1. Turkish coffee as a national tradition

In this section I will look at the ways and the extent to which Turkish coffee is considered a national tradition as part of the setting. I will first demonstrate the significance of Turkish coffee for the participants of these groups, and then show the extent to which it is constructed as a national tradition by them.

9.1.1. Turkish coffee as a collective practice

The analysis has shown that for most of the participants, especially for housewives who regularly gather for coffee, Turkish coffee is not just another hot drink. It has a different, special status. For instance, one interviewee stated that Turkish coffee is 'a pleasure' for her, 'it's like a hobby; but the others, they're just hot drinks.' [70] Similarly, in one session my question as to what they think of Nescafé[2] entailed the following discussion:

> A: I don't drink Nescafé. I drink coffee, but I don't drink Nescafé.
>
> B: I like it.
>
> C: But Turkish coffee is different.
>
> (*Others make approving remarks.*)
>
> D: Yes, there's no substitute for it.
>
> C: Whatever you drink, Turkish coffee is different.
>
> (*Others make approving remarks.*)

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1   See Section 6.3 above.

2   Throughout the analysis I follow the participants' use of the brand name, Nescafé, as a generic name for instant coffee.

E: Yes, we (*meaning her husband and her*) prefer it, too. But in the evening, for example, we have a [Nescafé].

B: We like Nescafé a lot with [my sister], we have it in the morning. We have one at night, too, if we are up late. But the pleasure of Turkish coffee is something else.

E: The night is too long, dear. You run out of stuff to drink! I'm obsessed with drinking, I have to drink all the time.

C: Exactly! We have to drink something, we have to have that mug in hand.

D: Drink herbal tea, drink sage tea, green tea …

E: Drink those all the time and I'm turning green myself!

(*All laugh.*) [71]

As the discussion demonstrates, participants have regular hot drinks, including Nescafé and teas,[3] whereas they argue that Turkish coffee has a special significance, associated with a distinct pleasure (*zevk*).

To a large extent this significance lies in the fact that Turkish coffee is a collective practice. Here the word, collective, has two mutually reinforcing senses. Firstly, Turkish coffee drinking is expected to be and often practised as a group activity. As one participant commented during a session:

We can't drink Turkish coffee by ourselves. That's what it's about, you drink Turkish coffee when there's someone [to drink with]. But when you're bored, you can have a Nescafé by yourself. [72]

Such an expectation can be to the extent that some participants do not have Turkish coffee at all when they are alone:

A: I don't like it by myself. I love coffee, but I don't like [drinking] it by myself. Personally I never feel like cooking and drinking coffee when I'm alone.

B: You have to have someone else with you.

[…]

A: I love it, I can drink two or three cups a day, but it must be with someone. I have to enjoy it.

C: It's even better if it's someone else that makes the coffee for you.

B: Oh, it's even better, then!

(*All laugh.*) […]

A: I call [my sister]: 'Come and make me a coffee.' Even when she has a stomach ache, she can have just a little bit to accompany me. [73]

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3   See Güliz Ger, and Olga Kravets, 'Special and Ordinary Times: Tea in Motion', in *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life*, ed. by Elizabeth Shove, Frank Trentmann, and Richard Wilk (Oxford: Berg, 2009), pp. 189–202.

Of course the participant's argument cannot be generalised to all participants, since many others explained that they have Turkish coffee every day, even when they are alone. Nevertheless, it points at the expectation to have Turkish coffee with one or more friends or neighbours. This often means any guest, but housewives also organise themselves into more formal groups to meet for coffee.[4] This can be either in the form of what some participants called a 'coffee neighbourship' ('*kahve komşuluğu*'), where two or more neighbours visit each other as often as they like, even every day. Or meetings can be organised in the form of 'days' ('*gün*') or 'groups' ('*grup*'), where a larger group of friends, neighbours or relatives meet in regular intervals, e.g. once a month, to go to each home in turns (see Figure 14). In all these meetings, Turkish coffee plays a central role:

> [With] coffee neighbourship, I mean, when you say, 'I'm coming to your place for a coffee, for a morning coffee', you aren't served tea, only coffee. [74]

Figure 14. Coffee is being served in a day-time coffee meeting among housewives. (photograph by Melike Geçgel, 2010; original in colour)

Turkish coffee thus brings housewives together around a central activity, constructing a collective practice of consumption. The following quotation demonstrates this relation of coffee and sociability:

> A: I have to drink Turkish coffee every morning after breakfast.
>
> B: Our coffee time is around eleven, around half past ten or eleven.
>
> C: We all have [the habit]. We all drink coffee. Actually we certainly enjoy drinking our coffee with company. I mean, instead of drinking coffee alone, we'd rather either have someone come [to our place], or go to someone else's

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4   Similar housewife coffee groups have been noted by Gullestad in Norway and Heise in Germany; Marianne Gullestad, *Kitchen-Table Society* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984; repr. 2001); Ulla Heise, *Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, trans. by Mustafa Tüzel (Ankara: Dost, 2001), pp. 102-106.

to drink coffee. Is [coffee] an excuse [to come together] or rather is [coming together] an excuse to drink coffee, we don't know.[5] The two go together. (*All laugh.*) But we definitely look for company. [75]

This also ties in with the second sense in which Turkish coffee drinking is a collective practice. Even when it is about an individual habit, a collectivity is implied in the deixis of 'we all'.[6] The housewives who participated in the sessions tended to use 'we' quite frequently to explain preferences or describe practices, and often in a way that made it difficult (not only for me but for the other participants as well) to discern whether it is that particular group of friends, the speaker's extended family or the city or region she is from, or the nation in its entirety, that is implied. The following quotation from another session exemplifies the use of such an ambiguous 'we':

> A: It depends on the person. For me, for example, half past ten, or eleven in the morning, is the time for Turkish coffee.
>
> B: … is our time for Turkish coffee. (*with an instructive tone*)
>
> C: Ours, too … Whatever happens, we certainly drink it around eleven, half past eleven. [76]

In this case, for participant A the habit is individual, whereas participant B completes the former's sentence in a generalising manner, which suggests a sense of larger collectivity, such as housewives like herself. However, participant C takes the same 'we' to mean herself and her neighbour.

Among the various identifications performed by the participants in this manner, personal upbringing and familial identification are one that was often drawn upon. The participants often mentioned their families, especially elderly relatives, to evidence how they acquired the habit. An interviewee narrated as follows:

> My father loved it much. He'd surely have a coffee without sugar. Maybe because I loved him so much, I inherited his love for [coffee]. When I was really small, I remember, when I was five or six, or later, the coffee my father used to drink, umm … Until I got married and left the house, I used to cook my father's coffee with love. [77]

Another common identification was with different regions. It was often described to me how a certain region cooks their coffee, including various cities in Turkey such as Nevşehir and Mardin, as well as ethnic groups such as the Tatar. In one session, the participant compared Istanbul with Kayseri, a Central Anatolian city.

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5   With reference to the popular saying, '*Gönül ne kahve ister ne kahvehane / Gönül sohbet ister, kahve bahane*'; literally, 'The heart fancies neither coffee nor coffeehouse / The heart fancies companionship [or conversation], coffee is an excuse.' Translation is from Kafadar, who notes that it is a seventeenth century poem; Cemal Kafadar, 'Janissaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels without a Cause?' in *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World*, ed. by Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Barbir (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 2007), pp. 113–134 (p. 120), cited in Eminegül Karababa and Güliz Ger, 'Early Modern Ottoman Coffeehouse Culture and the Formation of the Consumer Subject', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37.5 (2011), 737–760 (p. 745).

6   See Section 5.3.1 above.

> Now I go to Istanbul for training. There they don't have a coffee habit at all. But when we are going to our training, they make sure that they prepare the coffee and the coffee pot. After breakfast they prepare it straight away, saying 'I shan't leave you without coffee!'. It must be a habit. But in Kayseri once we have our breakfast in the morning, either a neighbour comes, or two, and we have our coffee. Or I go somewhere, upstairs or downstairs. My morning isn't complete without drinking [coffee]. [78]

9.1.2. The national subject of practice

Even though the identity of the 'we' is ambiguous as such, a prominent identification is made with Turkey in general, which is what gives Turkish coffee its national character in its consumption. For instance, having listened to one participant's memories from her childhood, I asked her whether these memories were of Urfa, the city she grew up in. She told me, 'It's in Urfa, too. Everywhere, I mean, it was the same. Coffee was the same.' [79] Similarly, one interviewee explained to me:

> They definitely have Turkish coffee. I mean, both in the most, umm, high-end houses and in the most average houses of the common people, they definitely have Turkish coffee. They have machines and everything. But I believe they all have coffee pots, too. In every Turkish house there's definitely a coffee pot, even in student houses. [80]

By way of such discursive acts, my informants imagined their both past and current coffee consumption practices as ubiquitous all around Turkey. In this manner they expanded the collectivity to all Turkish housewives, and identified themselves with the Turkish nation. This is directly analogous to Benedict Anderson's example of newspaper readers, who imagine other people all around their country reading the same newspaper at the same time as themselves.[7] In that sense, it is an example of 'experiential grounding', whereby observed sameness (i.e. that women around them drink coffee) becomes the ground for the definition of the Turkish nation (as a nation of coffee-drinking women).[8]

This contributes to the sense in which Turkish coffee is different from other coffees:

> Turkish coffee is something different, I mean, it is different from Nescafé and filter coffee, American and other coffees. Originally we don't have these in our culture, they are imports. American coffee, filter coffee, we don't have them in our culture. [81]

The identification of Turkish coffee with Turkish culture can be enacted so strongly that it can be as if no one else can possibly drink Turkish coffee but the Turkish people. A discussion in one of the sessions demonstrates this:

> A: One side of my husband's family is from Rhodes. They wake up and first thing they have is coffee.

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7   *Imagined Communities*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 35-36.
8   Marianne Gullestad, *Plausible Prejudice: Everyday Experiences and Social Images of Nation, Culture and Race* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2006), p. 99; see Section 5.3.3 above.

[…]

B: Is it Turkish coffee?

A: Yes, yes, Turkish coffee. They are Turkish, too.

C: They are Turkish, too!

B: Oh, since they live in Rhodes … (*trying to explain*) [82]

Even though 'coffee' would normally mean 'Turkish coffee', in this case participant B hesitates, since Rhodes, a Greek island in the Aegean Sea, is involved. As the other participants' response implies, the people in question are entitled to drinking Turkish coffee regularly only in so far as they are Turkish as well.

People cast as foreigners who however appreciate Turkish coffee, appeared often in the stories told during the interviews and sessions. One story was about 'Russians' in a restaurant in Turkey, who immediately ordered Turkish coffee after dinner, knowing the customary practice. Two participants mentioned their foreign daughter-in-laws, who have learnt, together with their families, to serve and drink Turkish coffee. In all stories, foreign coffee drinkers were featured as curiosities, and in addition, objects of pride if the narrator was responsible for their getting to know the drink. Another example was about a guest from Germany:

> They[9] were very curious about Turkish coffee, too. But they took just one sip and left it. And we'd taken pains to make it good. You are representing Turkey with Turkish coffee, we wanted them to say nice things. [83]

Through such arguments, the participants brought themselves forward as owners and inheritors of Turkish coffee knowledge, practice and culture, particularly via comparisons with 'non-Turkish' people or coffees. The most striking example of this was when, in one session, a participant shared with me and the other participants her anxiety that my research could expose the national knowledge about Turkish coffee to other nations' exploitation:

> A: We are talking about all these, the English will get our knowledge.

> B: Let them have it. It is clear that this coffee is ours.

> A: Then they'll claim that it's theirs. They'll say, 'Coffee has these benefits to health, our doctors found it'. [84]

The following, rather lengthy, excerpt from a session is worth quoting here, since it not only illustrates the discursive associations I have noted above as they are being invoked in interaction, but also exemplifies a distinctly normative way of talking about Turkish coffee consumption in prescriptive terms.

> A: But the Greek insist that it's their coffee, too. They say, 'It's not Turkish coffee, it's originally ours'. I saw this wherever I went, like in Rhodes, they

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9   Pronouns are gender-neutral in Turkish.

argue that 'It doesn't belong to the Turks, it belongs to the Greek'. As far as I know, it's Turkish coffee. We know that it originated in Turkey, but then we don't know where it came here from.

B: You call it Turkish coffee, but I learnt coffee from the Rum.[10]

A: Yes, this is what I mean, many people say so.

B: I was born and brought up in Cyprus. I lived there, and learnt it seeing from them. They have special coffee cups to serve Turkish coffee—

C (host): Is it different from ours?

D: The origins of coffee … There's no coffee trees in Turkey, it's not produced in Turkey.

B: I mean I think there's something [about it], I'm not sure but there's—It's called Turkish coffee but I think the Rum do it better. Umm, and they serve it differently. In special cups, without the plate under, and with water … For example, have you ever seen that kind of a presentation in Turkey? Have you ever seen Turkish coffee being served with water?

C: [Of course,] you serve it especially with water.

E: [Yes,] Turkish coffee [is served] with water, with something sweet on the side, like Turkish delight.

B: So where is it? You brought it without water? Without chocolate?

C: (*Mock apologising*) I'm sorry, I wasn't thinking. I'll do it next time.

(*All laugh.*)

C: But normally, really, we do serve it with water.

E: (*Loudly, authoritatively*) In Ottoman cuisine, coffee used to be served with water or fruit preserves.

A: With Turkish delight on the side …

[…]

B: But when I think about it myself, I'm reminded of the Rum's presentations in Cyprus.

E: Of course, that's because you were raised there, you saw it there first.

C: Yes, but you grew up there, saw it there first.

B: Yes, yes. [85]

The excerpt provides a further example for the anxieties regarding the national ownership of Turkish coffee by referring to the well-known dispute as to whether Turkish coffee is Turkish or Greek by origin.[11] It also provides another example for the

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10 'Rum' is a colloquial term used for Greek-speaking persons living outside Greece, particularly in Turkey, Cyprus and the Aegean islands.

11 See Defne Karaosmanoğlu, 'Surviving the Global Market: Turkish Cuisine "under Construction"', *Food, Culture & Society*, 10.3 (2007), 425–448 (p. 434). Two recent newspaper articles from Turkey which elaborate on the dispute are as follows: Sahrap

ambiguous 'we'. On the one hand, the participants make a strong claim to ownership of coffee and identify themselves fully with Turkish traditions. There is even a reference to the Ottoman Empire, and the high imperial culture it evokes, to legitimise the claim. On the other hand, the ambiguity enables users to be flexible and adopt the attitude proper to the interaction. In this case, the invocation of personal history, that she was 'raised there', is used to soothe conflict and bypass politically charged questions of origin and nationality.

The excerpt also shows the significance of indirect speech as a second distinct way of talking about Turkish coffee, that is, in addition to the collective 'we'. Descriptive and normative at once, it was often used by participants to prescribe a traditional way of preparing, serving or consuming coffee. In the above excerpt, normativity is further emphasised since it is the national ownership of coffee that is at stake. Yet as the excerpt shows, what the participants establish as the norm in the ongoing interaction —in this case, that coffee is to be served with water—can be different from their actual practice, even from that which takes place at the time of that interaction.[12]

Still, participants often resorted to prescriptive descriptions of the coffee in ritualistic terms. For instance, in one of the sessions, a participant made a detailed description of Turkish coffee as a ritual:

> Now talking about the custom in Anatolia, it is our custom to serve coffee. Just as [our host] did now, first everyone is asked how they'd like their coffee, medium sugar or little sugar. Coffee is then made as they like, to be served in a beautiful set of coffee cups on a tray in an elegant manner. [It's important] not to bring it woodenly, but to serve it elegantly. And the most important custom is that you start from the elder. You start serving coffee not with the youngsters standing next to the door, but with the elder. For example, if it's the daughter-in-law that brings the coffee, she starts with her mother-in-law. Or if there's an elder member of the family, she serves them first. In the past, the younger wouldn't drink coffee in front of the elder. There's a saying for that, it's a little rude, so you decide whether to write it or not, but they say 'cats don't drink vinegar'. […] Apart from that, it changes from region to region. [Coffee can be served with] chocolate or Turkish delight. Some take it without sugar and bite pieces of sugar with it. […] There's always water with it, it's served with water. [86]

The user's description involves customs as to who can drink coffee, in what order, even who sits or stands, in addition to how it is served, describing a complex, ritualistic interaction. In effect, this mode of narration underlines the ritualistic aspect of Turkish coffee, and in this manner further amplifies that it is a national tradition.

Soysal, 'Türk kahvesi mi, Yunan kahvesi mi?' *Hürriyet*, 6 December 2011 <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/magazin/yazarlar/19398617.asp> [accessed 26 December 2011]; Nazlı Ilıcak, 'Türk kahvesi!!!' *Sabah*, 4 October 2008 <http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yazarlar/ilicak/2008/10/04/Turk_kahvesi> [accessed 26 December 2011]. Regarding the same dispute in Cyprus, Papadakis writes: '"Don't ever order 'Turkish coffee'." After the gory fraternal strife there is only Greek coffee in the South ('*kaffé ellinikó*'), a contemporary German tourist guide to Cyprus solemnly warns its readers; Yiannis Papadakis, 'Aphrodite Delights', *Postcolonial Studies*, 9.3 (2006), 237–250 (p. 248).
12 See Section 9.2.2 for the discourse on the inauthenticity of contemporary practices.

One participant I interviewed made a comparison with Japanese tea ceremony to emphasise this ritualistic side of Turkish coffee consumption:

> It's like a ceremony. I mean, very much so. You know how the Japanese have a tea ceremony: They turn the cup [in their hands], take a sip, put the cup down, and so on. I think the same thing goes for us with [Turkish coffee]. I mean you serve water with it. There's a way to do it. There's also the question, 'Do you drink the water first, or the coffee?'. Apparently there's [a correct way to do] even that. [87]

To recap the analysis so far, Turkish coffee consumption is considered by my participants a collective practice in two senses. First, it is associated with good company and expected to be consumed with friends, neighbours and relatives. Housewives come together to form 'groups'—on which these sessions were based. Secondly, following this discourse on collectivity and the everyday practices of collective consumption, Turkish coffee forms the basis for ambiguous identifications with larger collectivities such as cities, regions and, most importantly for this study, the Turkish nation. The identification with the nation happens threefold: First, there is the idea of the nationwide prevalence of Turkish coffee habits, which constitutes a way in which a definition of Turkishness is grounded on an experience of sameness. Second, the knowledge and skills associated with Turkish coffee are nationally owned. Therefore, there is the responsibility to promote Turkish coffee to foreigners, and the pride associated with this. Third, the practice is often defined normatively, which connotes that essentially it is homogeneous throughout the geography, except for minor regional differences in application. It is in these three senses that the enactment of the Turkish coffee traditions—both discursively (e.g. stories of childhood, prescriptions of practice) and in practice (e.g. via performance of consumption 'rituals', in coffee groups)—is the enactment of the nation.

9.2. Three points of view of tradition

In this section I will discuss three different ways in which the national tradition of Turkish coffee is viewed: the 'traditionalist' view, the 'nostalgic' view and the 'consumption' view of tradition.

9.2.1. Persistence of tradition and matrilineal transfer

Until now, my analysis of Turkish coffee consumption as a national tradition was concerned with the spatial aspect, that is, the geographical limits of coffee habits, practices and the responsibility and pride associated with it. However the notion of tradition that is suggested by the participants' accounts have a significant temporal dimension. This echoes the way in which the Turkish coffee tradition was described by the professionals: The practice has originated somewhere in the past and has been

transferred from one generation to the other via a national historical movement until it took its current form.[13] According to my participants, coffee making is typically learnt from the mother or the big sister, and the knowledge is then passed onto the daughter or the little sister. The transfer of practice is therefore matrilineal, passed 'from mother to daughter':

> H: OK, let me ask you this general question. Where did you learn how to make coffee?
>
> A: Our mothers! (*sounding like stating the obvious.*)
>
> (*All laugh.*)
>
> A: We all did from our mothers.
>
> B: It's so in Turkish culture. [88]

Even though my intention in asking the question was to encourage them to exchange stories, it was responded by a truism: 'from our mothers!'. My question was ridiculed because the rule of inheritance was self-evident for the participants. Nevertheless, they then answered my question one by one:

> C: I don't remember myself ever making coffee, because my big sister was there when I grew up, and she used to make it all the time. But we start making coffee by the time we go to elementary school.
>
> D (participant C's big sister): When one is a child, once she is old enough to bring the tray, fathers would start: 'Now my dear, make me a coffee.' I mean my daughter knew how to make coffee when she was seven at most.
>
> C: You started very early, too. I learnt it from you. I never saw my mother make coffee.
>
> E: Are you the eldest at home? That's why. It's normal that you started so early. [89]

Once again the description is normative ('It's normal that …') as the participant explains how young girls learn to cook coffee. If the discourse on matrilineal transfer generates an imaginary line of kinship relations that links the past with today, constructing an imagined community in its invocation, then it is by such stories that this discourse is grounded in experience.

Since the concept of a tradition with its origins in the past confers 'the past' with an originary quality and significance, the participants of interviews and sessions often referred to their own coffee consumption practices as continuous with that past. I call this the 'traditionalist' way of relating to the past, for it offers a continuous narrative where traditions are still enacted properly by the participants. In the following quote, they describe their habits when they visit their orchard as a family:

> A: In the orchard, in open air, they bring you Turkish coffee. [...] Then after

13   See Section 8.3.4.

dinner they bring you another one. My sister's daughter-in-law, she cooks really good coffee, too. And when it's served ready … You know, it's not a recent thing for us—

B: Of course, for years …

A: For years! From our ancestors (*pauses for stress and awaits others' approval*) it comes.

B: Indeed, in our Turkish traditions this coffee culture is really—

A: For example, my father … The moment he opened his eyes, did his morning prayer, he wouldn't start the day without drinking a cup of coffee before breakfast. [90]

As the quote illustrates, the traditionalist account argues for the continuity of the past practice with the present, maintained through mere iteration. What the participant does everyday has its roots in the past, its persistence exemplified by her father's habits. In that sense the past is where the origin of her coffee drinking habits lie, whence their authenticity derives.[14]

A similar portrayal was offered by one of the interviewees:

My grandmother lives on our upper floor. That's why [in Eids] all the family gathers at our place. I mean, as I said, we are actually a modern traditional family. There's a … a culture and we don't depart it. My father was raised like that, too. So was my grandmother. Every one comes to us. And coffee is served especially after dinner. Say, if they won't eat, if they've come for a visit or something, coffee is definitely served, anyway. And it's served as I told you, with the chocolate, with water on the side. And that coffee needs to be frothy, because you're actually representing your home.

[…]

[For my grandmother] it's an enormous pleasure. Every morning she makes herself a coffee in copper [coffee pot]. She makes it in copper. […] That's a habit, maybe like tobacco, I don't know. But it's this system that goes on during the Eids. I mean, I believe that in Turks, if you go for a visit somewhere, and if there are people older than 20-30 years, you're served coffee right away and it's Turkish coffee. [91]

Once again, what is learnt within kinship relations as culture is transferred as such, forming a tradition. And once again, the kinship relation is reflected onto all Turkish people and imagined and practised as a national tradition. What is more, the idea of being 'modern traditional' is revealing. Respecting and enjoying traditions do not necessarily imply *being* traditional through and through, but living a 'sustained contradiction', to paraphrase Outka one more time, which allows one to connect to past traditions, yet not to remain in the past.[15] Therefore it is important to emphasise that what I called the 'traditionalist' point of view of Turkish coffee traditions does not advocate a return to traditional ways of living, but emphasises continuity with

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14 For my the concept of authenticity as used in this study, see Section 8.3.1.
15 Elizabeth Outka, *Consuming Traditions: Modernity, Modernism and the Commodified Authentic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 4; see Section 8.6.1.

traditions more than it does discontinuity—and sometimes only slightly.

9.2.2. Discontinuous practice and nostalgia

Contrary to traditionalist accounts, in some discussions participants marked contemporary practices as discontinuous with traditions, and therefore inauthentic. What I call 'nostalgic' accounts tended to contrast contemporary life with the past, emphasising the superiority of the latter for Turkish coffee consumption.

In this respect, one recurrent theme was about 'people of the past' and how they were the true coffee drinkers:

> A: Coffee was then really a matter of being an aficionado. Now we drink more tea and all, but in my mother's time it used to be all just coffee.
>
> (*Others make approving remarks.*)
>
> B: People used to drink it before breakfast, on an empty stomach. That's what my mother-in-law used to tell me. My father-in-law [would have] a coffee on empty stomach before breakfast. [92]

In another instance, the participant mentioned a curious practice from her grandfather:

> A: I'll tell you this: My grandfather used to put a drop of water into the coffee.
>
> (*Remarks of disbelief and awe*)
>
> A: Yes! Before drinking it, he'd make the coffee grounds (*telve*) in the cup precipitate, so that they don't build up in his kidneys. Only then he'd drink it. But he wanted it frothy at first, then [he'd himself add] one drop … [93]

In both examples, it is implied that the way old people used to drink coffee was more proper. They knew better what was good for their health, as well as how to indulge themselves.

Another similar theme emerges where the past is narrated as a time of heightened sensuality. One story that recurred in the interviews and the sessions was that of coffee being roasted at home, with its smell and fresh taste:

> A: My mother used to roast coffee beans herself.
>
> B: Oh, how nice!
>
> A: She'd buy raw coffee beans, roast and ground them in special mills made of brass, I still have—
>
> B: You have the machines like this—
>
> A: Oh, we still have those mills. I keep it as an antique.
>
> C: We have one of those big ones, too. You use it like this— (*pretends to turn the handle of the coffee grinder*)

A: When you grind and roast it, the smell is enough. [94]

Similarly, one interviewee narrated:

Actually, I used to buy raw coffee, roast it and grind it in the normal, old-style manual coffee mill. […] Because it's more pleasant that way. The house smells great. That green coffee turns brown slowly. Without oiling the pan, I'd heat a two or three days' coffee, to make sure that it is fresh. Then I'd put them in the mill, grind them and drink them that way. [95]

Since none of the participants grind their own coffee now, the smell and taste of fresh coffee is a quality of the past.

Another such practice that is considered authentic, and associated with heightened sensuality is the making of coffee 'in a copper coffee pot on embers'. This way of making coffee has been described as the most proper and authentic way of cooking Turkish coffee in every interview and session with users, without exception. The quotation below is an example of this:

A: Real coffee is made in a copper coffee pot, on charcoal, on low heat, nice and slowly—

B: So that it gives off all the fragrance …

A: So that it gives off all the fragrance … Actually I make coffee in a copper pot, but on the stove. Still on low heat, though … [96]

Since this is the most proper method, the outcome is the best, as well:

It's different when you cook it on wood. Let the smell of wood fire permeate the coffee, you'll see how tasty it gets. That's on embers. […] It's more frothy on embers. That's because it gives out the heat very slowly. So [the coffee] can draw in all the heat and starts frothing. [97]

Finally, the superiority of the past in Turkish coffee practices is not only practical and sensual, but also moral. During one session, a participant explained how sociable everyone was in the past in their Turkish coffee habits:

A: But it's not as it used to be. For example we used to go for visits without notice. Everyone would know everyone else, especially in small places. […] So for example you'd have your breakfast, dress up, then go for visits. 'I'll go to Fatma's.' Fatma is expecting visitors any time. […] She's got up early, done her housework, cooked her dinner. You'd go and visit her. You'd stay for an hour, not longer, you'd just want to please her. Then she'd make you a nice coffee, the tray would be a silver tray, and the cups, really nice. They wouldn't serve you with cheap Chinese [coffee cups], they didn't have it then anyway. It's nice. You'd sit down and have a nice chat.

Fatma: With covers, right? Trays with covers … (*laughs*)

A: Of course with covers! Trays covered with nice handwork lace … I mean it's respect for your guest. It's respect. But unfortunately we don't have respect any more, we don't have love. [98]

Close relationships, respect and love, and their objectification in material culture—nice

cups, silver trays and lace covers—all demonstrate a longing for an organic community in the past. Such longing is decidedly nostalgic.[16]

In this manner, an ideal way of consuming coffee is constructed out of narratives which are derived either from participants' own personal experience, or from memories of elderly acquaintances. This construct then functions as the master against which the propriety and authenticity of contemporary coffee drinking practices are tested. In this respect, I have noted two ways in which current practices are positioned vis-a-vis the past, corresponding to two different ways in which the line of tradition that links past with today is envisioned. Either today is continuous with the past, or there is a rupture in the line, a contrast. This describes a regime of value,[17] or more specifically, a regime of authenticity, which is found to be in effect in the Turkish coffee meetings of housewives.

Let us consider the following example where the past, 'what people used to do', is called forth to assess and make sense of the practice of cooking coffee on a wood stove.

> A: I tried to do it in, umm, a traditional wood stove the other day. I'm cooking it, then—
>
> B: At low heat.
>
> A: Yes, because [the wood stove] gives very low heat and is very slow. Then I looked at it and, oh, there's no froth! I said to my partner—
>
> C: You probably boiled it too long.
>
> A: No! I said to my partner, 'All the coffee precipitated'. He said, 'That's proper coffee. In the past, people of the past used to have the coffee precipitate.'
>
> B: Very elderly people drink it without froth too.
>
> D: Originally it's cooked on the brazier, on coal fire. [99]

The narrative is particularly interesting since it takes the nostalgic view to an extreme by arguing that froth, which is considered a defining characteristic of Turkish coffee, is actually inauthentic. To make sense of this discursive move, and to understand the function of the partner's remark on the people of the past, it is necessary to reconstruct the narrative from a scratch. Basically, the narrative here is that of a discrepancy between participant A's expectations from the wood stove and her actual experience with it: The oft-repeated statement that proper, frothy coffee can be obtained by cooking on a slow-cooking traditional device, such as a brazier, normally brings together the values of frothiness (a sensual quality in present tense) and conformity to tradition (authenticity of the past). Yet when actual experience with the

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16   Bryan S. Turner, 'A Note on Nostalgia', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 4.1 (1987), 147–156 (p. 151).

17   See Section 3.2.

object does not produce the ideal outcome, this calls for an explanation. As participant C puts forward, one explanation is that the narrator did something wrong: a failure in application rather than theory, a failure in reproducing the ideal practice in actuality. But the narrator objects: 'No! … [My partner] said, "That's proper coffee. In the past, people of the past used to have the coffee precipitate".' The partner's remark here functions to normalise the outcome without putting the blame on the narrator (but it does not mean that the remark can be reduced to its immediate apparent social function, that is, to defend the narrator). It justifies the outcome (non-frothy coffee) by displacing the definition of proper coffee and thus opposing the common statement that associates froth with tradition: Proper coffee has no froth, since the people of the past used to drink it like that. Hence it underlines the authority and the authenticity[18] of the past, albeit at the expense of the present: The participant's (and following that, most contemporary drinkers') expectations from the coffee are deemed uninformed (since they lack a knowledge of the authentic) and her daily practices, inauthentic (since they do not replicate the originary practice).

To sum up, the nostalgic view defines a past where coffee habits were practically, sensually and morally superior to today's practices; an ideal past where coffee traditions belong. In this past, typically, people were coffee aficionados, who respected traditions as well as the moral requirements of being a community. The Turkish coffee they used to drink smelled and tasted better, particularly since they made it in copper pots on embers (e.g. on brazier, on a wood stove, etc.). Today, by contrast, is characterised by a crisis of authenticity. As I noted above, this image conflicts with what I have called the traditionalist view, which advocates the persistence of tradition. The following excerpt from a session demonstrates the difference as two participants openly clash over the meaning of the past:

> A: When I hear the word, coffee, it reminds me of my grandmother. In the old days—Now for example, in Eids, they ask you if you'd like Nescafé …
>
> B: But— (*trying to interrupt*)
>
> A: … cola or soda. In the Eids of the past, it wasn't like that. It was just Turkish …
>
> B: With us, it's still not asked! (*loudly interrupting*)
>
> A: … Turkish coffee with Turkish delight or chocolate on the side.
>
> B: It's still not asked. It's our custom to serve coffee right away, as soon as you're seated. [100]

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18 Bruner has noted this sense in which 'the issue of authenticity merges into the notion of authority', whereby the question 'is not if an object or site is authentic, but rather who has the authority to authenticate'; Edward M. Bruner, 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: a Critique of Postmodernism', *American Anthropologist*, 96.2 (1989), 397–415 (p. 400).

Participant A's narrative and participant B's challenge to it clearly represent the two positions. As the former mourns the purity of the past in the nostalgic mode, the latter insists that it is still so. It is significant to note that both accounts oppose national traditions to global modernity in a very politically purposeful manner. Drinks like 'Nescafé, cola or soda' are firmly opposed to the traditional practice of serving Turkish coffee in Eids, further underlining Turkish coffee's difference from modern, or foreign, drinks as a national tradition.

During the sessions, another such comparison between the two views was as follows:

> A: I guess it's also the influence from my family. My father was like that. I'd, cook and serve the coffee before he eats the last bite. He'd say, 'Ah, now i'm delighted!'. It was the same for my grandparents-in-law.
>
> B: People used to drink coffee so much more in the past, that's true.
>
> A: We're carrying on the old *Ottoman* (*with emphasis*) culture. Or me, maybe because I like it, that's how I consider it.
>
> B: Today's youth don't know coffee. It's all Nescafé.
>
> A: Yes, they like Nescafé more. [101]

In this particular quote the comparison is not made between two participants, but with 'today's youth', who prefer Nescafé. It is particularly striking how the participant A links her own practice to the Ottoman, which is thus granted the quality of being the origin.

It is important to note that these two viewpoints are analytical constructions derived from the interviews and sessions. Otherwise, individuals or social groups cannot simply be divided into traditionalists and nostalgists; not even accounts can be said to be a pure representative of either one. (For instance, the two quotations above, which I have taken to represent the traditionalist view, both carry a hint of nostalgia in their mention of elderly relatives.)[19]

9.2.3. Past as commodified experience

In the analysis, there emerged a third way of enacting the past, which provides a third, and rather oblique, position with regard to this opposition of traditionalism and nostalgia. I call this 'the consumption view'. Under this view those practices that comply with the traditions are represented as commodified experiences, which provide alternatives to other, less traditional, forms of consumption:

> A: I also have a copper coffee pot. I don't use it any more, I bought it because I thought we could use it now and then. We used to make fire in the brazier, and make coffee in that, on embers, on cooling embers. Of course it'd taste so much better. But we don't do those any more, we take the practical

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19   See Section 9.2.1.

way. […] But once or twice a year I go to Cyprus, there they make coffee on hot ashes and I love it. I go down to the casino just to have that coffee. It's really good. Really, its taste is something else entirely.

H: So it's really different?

A: It is! In those big carts, it's full of ashes on the top, and they heat it from the bottom. Inside the ash they put copper pots and make the coffee in those. [102]

The interviewee repeats the commonplace argument that the best Turkish coffee is made in copper coffee pots, in the nostalgic mode ('We don't do those any more.'), and even apologetically ('We take the practical way.'). She then continues by suggesting that she can still live the experience, taste that coffee, in the coffee carts in casinos in Cyprus. In other words, even if the traditional practice does not persist as such, it can still be accessed as a commodity.

In a similar manner, the participants compared coffee houses, such as Starbucks or its local variants, with small coffee houses. The following discussion amongst the participants is illustrative:

A: You (*addressing me*), young people like it a lot but we … I don't know, personally, I don't …

B: Where it's not too crowded, where I can have a really nice conversation, privately, as two or three people … that's where I enjoy drinking Turkish coffee best. I don't like it at all in crowded places, especially outside. Sure, you can drink it, say, after a fish course when you go to a restaurant, but I don't like those coffee places where you go just to drink coffee.

C: Coffee evokes nice feelings in people, humane things. When it's about coffee, you're filled with love, like good company.

B: I can't find that in those places.

[…]

B: [There's the place with] diwans in Kemeraltı […].

D: There's one near the mosque, with little wooden stools.

C: Yes, that's our place. Every time we go to town—they just serve Turkish coffee—we drink our coffee there. That place makes us happy. We're happier there than when we're at a super-luxurious restaurant. It's something else, especially in spring when the weather is good.

B: I like that place very much. If I'm going to drink coffee [outside], [I prefer] not the high society or modern life, but places where our customs can be lived. We like that sort.

A: Of course. We sit and watch people there, it's wonderful.

C: To drink coffee on the street in coffee houses.

B: Exactly! Small village coffee houses … That sort of places … I mean, when you say coffee, it's not Starbucks, or—What's its name?—Sir Winston, no, not

that sort.

(*Others make approving remarks.*)

F: Then you should come to Alaçatı!

(*All laugh.*) [103]

As in the previous quote, the nostalgic undertone is evident throughout the discussion, supported by the mention of 'humane feelings', 'good company' and happiness. Furthermore, Starbucks and luxurious restaurants are associated with 'modern life', against which small coffee houses on back streets or in the country are interpreted as agreeable with 'our customs'. In this example, since both modern life and traditions can be accessed as commodities, there is a certain equivalence in their comparison. One can choose either to go to Starbucks or drink Turkish coffee in small coffee houses. However, the latter is attractive not only because of the quality or taste of the coffee it serves, as in the previous quote. It is also because small coffee houses provide their customers with a total experience of Turkish coffee drinking. This involves a sense of community (in both senses of good company and national community), which is considered by the participants to be an important part of Turkish coffee consumption, as I have indicated above.[20]

The stools and diwans also seem to play a part in the construction of this total experience as signifiers of tradition. A similar allusion to traditional material culture was made in another session, when the participant was describing to me how she has to have her Turkish coffee everyday, even when they go out of town:

> A: For example when my son reserves rooms in Antalya, we go and stay at those hotels. After dinner I start looking around for where they serve Turkish coffee.
>
> B: But they have [Turkish coffee] in five-star hotels. There are coffee makers with special costumes and all.
>
> A: With special costumes, with Turkish national dress … But you can't find it all the time. Sometimes it's there after lunch, and sometimes in the evening.
>
> B: The foreigners don't know [Turkish coffee, that's why it's not there all the time]. For example in [one hotel] they had built a dedicated coffee corner in the garden. It was a nice Turkish corner with carpets and diwans in a tent as usual. There they made coffee on the brazier and serve it. You sat in the garden and it was all green, ah! [104]

The coffee service described by the participants is not about 'good company', but it uses costumes, carpets, diwans and, not the least, the coffee on the brazier to create a 'Turkish corner', a total Turkish traditional experience.

The fact that the story takes place in a hotel, and the earlier quote in a casino, draws attention to how this view on Turkish coffee traditions intersect with the practices of

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20   See Section 9.1; see also 9.2.2.

heritage tourism. In the previous excerpt, too, this connection was visible by the naming of two localities: Kemeraltı and Alaçatı. Kemeraltı is the traditional market district in Izmir, and a popular destination for local heritage tourism.[21] Alaçatı, on the other hand, is a seaside town near the same city, which has been under an intense process of gentrification for cultural tourism since 1990s, whereby the old stone buildings in the city centre have been restored and converted to high-end restaurants and cafés.[22] It has been noted in literature that heritage tourism sites portray a particular, selectively constructed past for the tourist to consume.[23] Often this also means a selectively constructed national past, which depicts 'an earlier, *Ur*-civilization that is still partially present'.[24] This is in line with my analysis here, where authentic Turkish coffee becomes part of the national past as it is made present here and now, ready for consumption. As Svetlana Boym suggests, heritage is institutionalised nostalgia.[25]

On the other hand, since such stories imply a certain equivalence of modern and traditional as commodities, this is the opposite of normative, prescriptive narrations of traditional practice. It is open to variety and experimentation. As a matter of fact, during the interviews and sessions I was told about a variety of Turkish coffee practices that the participants know of and occasionally practise. Some of these include cooking the coffee inside the coffee cup in ashes or on an electric stove, and different aromas of Turkish coffee in the market. The following is from one of the interviews:

> A: I don't know if you've ever come across it. It's like a ceremony, you know? I mean sometimes they serve you a small glass of liqueur with Turkish coffee, and sometimes, I don't know if you've ever seen it, they put cold water inside a liqueur glass and, you know, there's this thing called mastic preserve. Have you ever seen it? It's white and made of mastic. They roll it around a spoon and put it inside the water. They bring it with the coffee, you take a sip of your coffee, then you suck some of that mastic preserve. It's really good.
>
> H: Where did you have it?
>
> A: In Izmir, there's this place […]. It's Greek, now because they bring this

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21 For a discussion of Kemeraltı in the context of restoration for tourism purposes, see Gözde Benzergil, *Tarihi Sokak Strüktürlerinde Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Meydana Gelen Değişimlerin Koruma Bağlamında İrdelenmesi: Kemeraltı—871 Sokak Örneği*, unpublished MSc dissertation (Izmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2006), Ch. 3.1.

22 See Ayhan Melih Tezcan, *Rethinking Transformation with Tourism: the Case of İzmir-Alaçatı*, unpublished MSc dissertation (Ankara: METU, 2010), Ch. 3.5.

23 Brian Graham and Peter Howard, 'Heritage and Identity' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008) pp. 1–15; David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: the Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Wiendu Nuryanti, 'Heritage and Postmodern Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23.2 (1996), 249–260.

24 Michael Pretes, 'Tourism and Nationalism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30.1 (2003), 125–142 (p. 126); see also Catherine Palmer, 'An Ethnography of Englishness: Experiencing Identity through Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32.1 (2005), 7–25.

25 *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), p. 15.

> mastic thing from the Greek islands, it's Greek coffee like that. It's menu and so on, it's in Greek. [105]

This quotation is particularly striking since it demonstrates how such an attitude that renders traditional and non-traditional practices equivalent can also bring together different nationalities as different commodified experiences. Even the well-known dispute over coffee can become a (purchase) decision of either having Greek coffee with mastic or Turkish coffee on carpet and cushions. In that sense, the 'consumption' perspective provides one of the most lucid examples of liberal neonationalism at the consumption setting.[26]

9.2.4. Zarfs and the Ottoman service

I came upon the consumption view of tradition, which makes the past accessible in the present in the form of what Outka termed a 'commodified authentic', also in discussions of service. In one session, the participants described how Turkish coffee had been served 'originally':

> A: Originally in coffee cups without handles, in silver, umm …
>
> B: Zarfs … Old coffee cups were like that.
>
> A: … zarfs, it's served in porcelain cups without handles and in silver zarfs.
>
> C: Now they sell cups with caps, too.
>
> B: It's a set with its tray. And there's a glass with it, a thin water glass. They have a sultan's seal (*tuğra*) on it.
>
> (*Others approve.*)
>
> D: There are coffee cups in Dolmabahçe Palace, too. They've spent so much money on this! They've invested a lot! (*laughs*) Let's not forget to mention the Ottoman. (*laughs*) [106]

The silver set includes a tray, coffee cups, water glasses and zarfs, that is, decorated metal sleeves with handles. This way of serving coffee is presented as the original way, and thus associated with the Ottoman, which is considered the origin of Turkish coffee consumption. The coffee cups on display in Dolmabahçe Palace are quoted to substantiate the connection. The sultan's seal that decorates the glasses further strengthens this interpretation as a signifier of the Ottoman.

In general the quote is almost nostalgic in that it places this expensive style in the past. However, as the one remark that mentions current practices ('Now they sell cups with caps, too.') implies, the participants are not only talking about a historical style of Turkish coffee service, but also a product that can be bought today. This was clearer in

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26   Tanıl Bora, 'Nationalist Discourses in Turkey', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102.2 (2003), 433–451 (p. 450); see Section 7.1.5 above.

my interviews with users:

> And recently, there's this trend in Turkey, I don't know if you've ever seen it. I don't remember where we had coffee like that, in a place where I go with my friends. The cup is placed in a copper [zarf] on a copper tray, and it has a lid on top of it. The coffee comes with liqueur and Turkish delight etc. on the side. […] I don't know how liqueur is related to us, but I guess it must be from the last periods of the Ottoman. […] I keep seeing this very often, everywhere these days. It didn't use to be like that. It would come in the usual coffee pot. [107]

As perceived by my participants, a historical practice (from the Ottoman), which has been forgotten ('It didn't used to be like that.'), has reemerged as a trend. It has been excavated and presented now as a commodity.

Figure 15. The two coffee pots compared by the user. She finds the copper coffee pot with a wooden handle (the one at the back) more proper than the steel one with a plastic handle. (photograph by the author; original in colour)

In another interview the participant compared her steel coffee pot to a copper one (Figure 15), which was owned by her housemate. She had told me previously that she did not make Turkish coffee often, and with the comparison she offered an excuse:

> A: When I look at these two coffee pots, I think that if I had a coffee pot like this, I'd feel more like making coffee. I mean, Ottoman-style service (*Osmanlı sunumu*)—let me call it that—has its own special coffee cups and so on, made of copper. If I had that kind of a set, I'd really make an effort to do it myself. I mean its design has an influence, too. When I look at this [other] one, I feel like I'd boil milk in it, not make coffee. (*laughing*)
>
> H: What do you mean by Ottoman-style service?
>
> A: It has a copper saucer. It has a copper cup. And on it, you know, they put Turkish delight on the side and put a lid on it, and serve it that way. [108]

The participant defines a way of serving coffee, which includes cooking in the copper pot and the copper cups with lids, and chooses to call it 'Ottoman-style'. The

association with the national past, with the Ottoman, renders this style more proper, and therefore more attractive as opposed to the steel coffee pot. However for daily practice, this kind of presentation may be too arduous. Later she commented as follows:

> At home my parents make me cook coffee, saying 'Why don't you make us coffee?', to (*chuckles*) assess my skills. Then I really try and do it meticulously, so that they like it, they see that I have the skills. Then, I mean, I do it properly, you know, I make sure that the cups are aligned. […] I take care that I've put the correct amount of sugar. […] But of course I don't try to make it like an Ottoman-style service. (*laughing*) [109]

To recapitulate, I have indicated three different ways in which Turkish coffee traditions are conceived. The traditionalist view sees the tradition as an unbroken line on which coffee practices have been successfully transferred. The nostalgic view sees a rupture in the line, because of which a practically, sensually and morally superior national past has been lost. According to the consumption view, the past is paradoxically contemporaneous with the present. That which is lost in daily practice can be attained in a commodified form. Past and present, traditional and modern are equally accessible.

9.3. Authenticity against convenience

From this section on, I will be turning to electric Turkish coffee makers in order to unravel what part they played within this setting. First I will discuss the product category in general, then move onto three different types identified by the users.

9.3.1. Inauthenticity of the electric Turkish coffee maker

In almost all interviews and sessions with the users, participants compared the electric Turkish coffee makers to copper coffee pots. This was so even though I never voiced such a question. Rather it was one of their first comments on the products, regardless of whether they regularly used one or not. For instance, in a session, one participant was talking about coffee making in general when she stopped to comment on electric coffee makers:

> Real coffee is made in a copper coffee pot on embers. For example it's delicious. I never … These electric machines seem inauthentic to me. I can never get that taste from them. When I go to my hometown … You know how they talk about coffee on the brazier. If you haven't yet, I'd like you to try that. Coffee is delicious when it's made on the brazier, in a *copper* (*with emphasis*) coffee pot. [110]

The comparison is based on the idea that the authentic way of making coffee is to cook it in a copper coffee pot, on a brazier, and slowly. As I noted above, this way of

cooking is associated with good taste and frothiness, too.[27] Electric coffee pots, which do not follow this method, are considered to fail to provide the same taste. Similarly, an interviewee described the electric coffee pot she owned as follows:

> A: Now this Turkish coffee machine … If you ask me, I'd never have bought something like that. This came as, umm, a wedding gift. […] I normally [make coffee] in a coffee pot, you know. Of course, its taste is different in this one, [compared to] when you make it in the coffee pot. You know, in the coffee pot it's heated very slowly. […]
>
> H: Can it be that it changes depending on the machine?
>
> A: I don't think so. Does it change depending on the machine? I don't know. I think it's the boiling. In the [electric coffee pot], it boils in two seconds, you see. But Turkish coffee [needs to] cook slowly, very slowly. [111]

Accordingly, the difference in taste between the copper coffee pot and electric Turkish coffee makers is perceived as categorical, rather than based on individual differences among products. During sessions, when there were comparisons, either by two users who owned different coffee makers or by a single user who had used more than one, these were never in terms of taste, rather about price, accessories and health issues. In terms of taste, which is in this case the signifier of authenticity, electric Turkish coffee makers are inauthentic as a category. Another interviewee put this in a very straightforward manner:

> Actually there are many different machines but, as I always say, none of them can be a substitute for the coffee pot. It doesn't give that taste of the coffee pot, because whatever you do, there's that smell of electricity, you know, you can smell it. […] In all of them, even in the most high-technological one, there's a heater at the bottom. And once coffee gets there, which is impossible to avoid, it burns the coffee and you have that burning smell. […] Those machines which are sold for one or two liras, they burn it, but so do the ones sold for 25 liras, so do more expensive ones. […] You know, it gives a huge amount of heat at once and makes it boil. So it burns the coffee. [112]

In this quote, the participant is quite specific about what she dislikes, and provides technical explanations for it. The extreme amount of heat supplied by the electric system is bound to burn the coffee, regardless of design. Here, just as in the previous quote, the comparison is between high speed, which is associated with electric cooking in general, and slow-cooking, which is objectified in embers and braziers. In another session, I asked the participants whether they could taste the difference:

> H: So, could you taste the difference now? For instance if we hadn't told you so, could you have realised that it's been made in an electric coffee pot?
>
> A: No, not that much …
>
> […]
>
> B: If it were cooked on embers, then we would see the difference maybe.

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27   See Section 9.2.2.

There can be a difference between coffee that's cooked on embers, on brazier and the one made in, umm, an electric coffee pot.

C: There's [a difference] in taste, too. Coffee cooked on embers smells different, too.

B: But when it's on the stove, it doesn't change. [113]

More than anything, the responses imply that the difference in taste as described by the users does not correspond to an objective, quantifiable difference. It can be more or less detectable, and can change terms: Electric coffee makers can be compared to the steel pot on the stove, or to the copper pot on embers, either of which can be posited as more authentic in comparison. Also, disregarding differences between various designs, the argument is generalising. What happens here is the enactment of the category of electric Turkish coffee makers as inauthentic by way of comparison with the superior taste of the coffee cooked in the traditional manner.

However, this does not mean that the idea that copper coffee pot cooks better is a mere truism, or a prejudice based on myths.[28] Rather than being an objective term, taste is a multifaceted discursive construct and a part of the regime of value of the sociotechnical setting that is under investigation in this chapter. In this respect, taste is the 'experiential grounding' of authenticity, to use Gullestad's term.[29]

9.3.2. The argument for convenience

If the electric coffee maker is inauthentic, and fails to provide the authentic taste, the essential question is then how are we to understand the users' subscription, however partial, to the product's script—simply put, that they still buy and use electric Turkish coffee makers.

The way participants acquired the products varied. Some of them received it as a present, e.g. a wedding gift or for Mother's Day. Others bought their current coffee makers to replace the small plastic kettles—'cheap plastic coffee machines'—which had been in the market prior to the emergence of the new designs (see Figure 2).[30] Those who had purchased one by themselves had often learned about the product by word-of-mouth, especially from other women friends. Close women friends or sisters usually bought the same machine, and people in the groups often demonstrated knowledge of who used a machine and who did not, and even who owned which brand. In one session, this was delivered as a story:

A: My friend suggested it to me. They'd come to our place last year. Then I didn't have a coffee machine, because, you know, I don't like clutter in my

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28 Cf. designer's view that it is mere myth in Section 8.5.5.
29 Gullestad, *Plausible Prejudice*, p. 99; see Section 5.3.3 above.
30 See Section 9.4 below; see also Section 8.1.1 for the way in which they were approached in the design setting.

kitchen. [The coffee machine] felt like clutter to me. So I was making the coffee in the coffee pot, but of course that takes a lot of time. Then she was angry at me: (*laughing*) 'Why isn't there a coffee machine in this house?' (*mimicking*)

B (the friend): I said, 'Why don't you get one?'

A: She said, 'Why don't you get one?'. So I went at once and bought one that week.

(*All laugh*.)

B: But you're more comfortable now.

A: I'm very happy with it. [114]

In the story, the speed advantage of electric Turkish coffee makers over cooking in a coffee pot is presented as the reason why the user had switched from the latter to the former. In another session, I witnessed the application of such peer pressure, following my question as to who owns an electric coffee maker and who does not:

A: Seriously, why don't you buy one? It's a convenience.

B: We didn't really feel the need. It's a convenience, all right.

A: I mean if it's about your means, it's not particularly expensive, too.

C: It's not really expensive.

D: You're right. You can make only a small amount in the coffee pot, but in [electric Turkish coffee makers] you can make a lot, and also the coffee is really nice. [115]

Once again, the convenience is emphasised. As for Participant D's comment that the coffee is nice, I take it to mean 'sufficiently good', rather than 'better', in light of the rest of the analysis.

The two quotes above posit convenience as the main reason for using electric Turkish coffee makers instead of the coffee pot, which is considered the authentic. Electric coffee makers afford making coffee in larger amounts in less time, as well as an agreeable taste. One interviewee described to me how she found it convenient to use the electric Turkish coffee pot, despite her earlier comment that she would 'never have bought something like that':

I received three coffee pots as [wedding] gifts. And then I received one [electric coffee pot]. Then I received another one, so I gave it to my mother. I kept the coffee pots. I use them to boil milk, not to make coffee. Also, you know, it feels difficult now, being busy, the work and all. It's good in this one. You can make the coffee in two ticks. Otherwise, you have to wait and so on. It's out of laziness. [116]

The mention of laziness ('*üşengeçlik*') and the overall apologetic undertone call for emphasis here. This way of making Turkish coffee is improper, yet inevitable. Here

emerges a 'nostalgic' opposition whereby convenience is contrasted with tasty, proper coffee. During an interview, a participant reported this in the form of a simple inverse relation:

> A: I use the coffee machine to make coffee. Actually I have a [coffee pot], I can do it on the stove, but because it heats up too slowly, I do it in the machine. And in the machine it takes two minutes. If you do it with cold water, it's very tasty. With warm water, it's normal. With hot water, it has no taste.
>
> H: But it's quicker?
>
> A: It's quicker. [117]

Since for the participants, taste is one way in which authenticity is tested, the inverse relation of taste and speed is directly translatable to the opposition that posits copper coffee pots on embers as authentic against electric Turkish coffee makers. The following excerpt from one of the sessions is illustrative of how convenience and authenticity are contrasted:

> A: Coffee and coffee cooking are rituals. I mean I'm against coffee machines.
>
> […]
>
> H: Why is that?
>
> A: I mean, (*pauses, thinks for 6 seconds*) you depart from the ritual, I mean, cooking in the copper coffee pot, on low heat … You need to enjoy cooking just as you enjoy drinking. I think you shouldn't break the ritual.
>
> B: But when you have five or six guests, it's much easier to—
>
> A: Well, since I'm against technology in general, I don't like coffee machines much either. (*chuckles*) But I bought one. It's easier when it's crowded. […] But for two persons, I never use the machine.
>
> H: What do you use?
>
> A: A copper pot … Originally it's a copper pot. [118]

The participant's argument puts rituals and the ensuing enjoyment at the forefront of her concerns. Nevertheless there may be instances where convenience overrules enjoyment. Whether the participant cooks in the coffee pot or in the electric coffee pot depends on how much coffee she is going to make. But there can be other reasons, as noted by another participant:

> The reason is if I feel really lazy, I use the machine. It makes [coffee] quicker, that's why, it takes you a couple of minutes to make [coffee] for five or six people. But with a coffee pot, this takes much longer. And also with the largest of the coffee pots, you can make coffee for three or four people at most. And also the larger the coffee pot, the less tasty the coffee. […] If there's something special, if I have a connection with the guest, you use more special things [like the copper coffee pot]. When it's more general, you use the machine. [119]

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Even so, there is more to the convenience of the electric Turkish coffee makers than simple efficiency. It also facilitates sociability:

> Now when it's crowded and if you have the machine, really it's really very convenient. Both its taste is good and you can make it really quickly. Otherwise you have to wait. […] I mean, imagine it's crowded here. Two people ask for medium-sugar coffee, and we ask for black. Then you wait. And the host is stuck in the kitchen. [120]

In other words, with the electric Turkish coffee makers, the host can spend more time conversing with her guests, who in turn do not have to wait for a long time for the coffee to cook. This was also observed in the focus groups at first hand, as the host had to leave the room to cook the coffee and could not join in part of the recorded conversation. Another similar way in which speed contributes to sociability is as follows:

> And also when it's crowded, since it cooks very quickly, you can act quickly with the electric coffee pot. […] Instantly, I mean, straight away, [the people you served previously] barely have the time to take a sip before [you serve others]. You can drink coffee together. [121]

To sum up, the electric Turkish coffee maker takes part in coffee meetings of housewives, albeit in a 'nostalgic' tension between authenticity and convenience. On the one hand, authenticity is found strictly in the coffee pot, especially the copper coffee pot on embers. The principal point of comparison is the superior taste of the former, with occasional allusion to the enjoyment of the ritual. On the other hand, housewives still prefer to use electric Turkish coffee makers, even though use is conveyed in apologetic terms. This is mainly because it speeds up the process of cooking and facilitates sociability in their meetings. So, it is promoted actively via word of mouth and gift giving.

As shown above, this description of use regards all of the electric Turkish coffee makers as a category. Below I will discuss how this general approach determined the appropriation of each subcategory of products: cheap plastic coffee makers, electric coffee pots, and automatic Turkish coffee machines.

9.4. Cheap plastic coffee machines

As I noted above, some of the participants had bought their current electric Turkish coffee makers to replace the 'cheap plastic coffee machines' they used. These came up often in my research as the precedents of the new designs:

> A: Now, in the past we had that.

> B: It was simpler, made of plastic.

> C: Simple and plastic …

A: Plastic … Yes. That used to be really simple, but now they are …

B: Now they are more safe.

D: We used to use those a lot at the office.

A: Yes, in two minutes, right? I used to have one.

C: We'd buy them, umm, from the bazaar for a couple of liras …

D: But these are better now, the ones you use.

C: Of course, they are more, umm, safe, these new ones.

A: They are also much different, much more beautiful. [122]

The conversation is telling in that these coffee makers were preferred to coffee pots for their convenience, as cheap and quick solutions to making Turkish coffee. The issue of safety, as well as price and beauty, constitute the terms of their comparison with the new designs. An interviewee noted that they are also unreliable:

> They don't endure much, they get broken too quickly. I don't think they're good for frequent use. I've seen this in all sorts of machines I used and experienced. I also know that different people from different houses say this all the time. The girls say that, too; I mean, 'My mom bought this, but it didn't work', or, 'I bought that, but it exploded'. [123]

In another session, the users' decision to buy one of the new electric Turkish coffee makers was narrated to me as directly triggered by health concerns:

> A: Actually you know those cheap plastic ones, I used to use them a lot. I don't mean these new ones from Arzum and so on. My son said, 'Don't use them!', so I stopped.
>
> B: My son was upset with me [that I was using those], so I went and bought this one. It had come out recently and I've been using it for years now.
>
> H: Did you buy these to replace those plastic ones then?
>
> A: We threw those plastic ones away.
>
> B: It's because they produce carcinogens. Our nephew had got cancer just then, you see, that's why my son was upset, so I just chucked it away.
>
> C: Yes, and psychologically, too …
>
> B: Thank to God, these came out.
>
> […]
>
> A: But all of us must have used those (*meaning the cheap plastic ones*).
>
> (*Others approve.*)
>
> B: We all used them.
>
> C: Everyone did. [124]

According to the participants, their use had been widespread, too. But now that the new, more dependable electric Turkish coffee makers are in the market, the participants feel like they can leave aside such concerns of health, safety and durability. (Also note the deixis which nationalises the products.)

Such concerns aside, the emphasis on speed in their preference and their immediate replacement with the new electric Turkish coffee maker designs mark these products continuous with the latter. One interviewee described the two categories as a single category, apart from that the latter have improvements over the former:

> My mom has a machine, shaped like a coffee pot. It has a rounded form. You can make coffee with it for ten persons or something. It has a single button. You can turn it on and off. It's just one version higher than the ones that are sold for one or two liras. […] My brother bought it I think, for 20 or 25 liras. They aren't extremely more expensive. [125]

9.5. Electric coffee pots

Whilst they were imprecisely distinguished by the participants from either cheap plastic coffee makers or automatic coffee machines as a distinct subcategory, electric coffee pots were the most widely used type of electric Turkish coffee makers amongst the participants at the time of research. Therefore, some of their concerns and practices were specifically related to these products, and were not as applicable to other types of coffee makers, regardless of whether the participants made this clear.

With electric coffee pots, accounts that did not find them sufficiently authentic were not limited to comparisons regarding taste which I discussed above. Another line of critique was directed at the practices involved in using them.

> A: You know, actually these produce a lot of froth. The coffee doesn't simmer so that its taste can pass into the water. Otherwise, when you do it on embers, because it simmers from below, on low heat, its taste passes very well into the water. These electric [coffee pots] go 'puff!', and make the coffee swell, and the coffee can't do its thing. But the coffee you cook in a pot, you know, you take [its froth] first …
>
> (*Others make approving remarks.*)
>
> B: Actually, you know, [it should be possible] to make these coffee pots go slower—
>
> A: Yes, that's what I'm trying to say. It's really useful but we want it to cook more slowly.
>
> (*Others make approving remarks.*)
>
> B: I mean it should have a setting for speed. [126]

Once again the issue is speed. If the electric coffee pot cooked slowly, it would be more in line with the practice of making coffee that she is accustomed to. Thus the

participant explores the possibility of having control over the cooking speed. What I am particularly interested in this quote is the participant's remark on taking the froth first. A lower cooking speed would make it possible for the user to, first, divide the froth into cups just after it rises, and then, boil the coffee once again. One interviewee put this clearly:

> Those machines don't allow you to manipulate them much. It's crazy, it boils over instantly. You can't take its froth separately, and when you can't do it … That's the logic of coffee! [127]

Bound up with the discussion of speed, then, there is the problem of sustaining the users' current practices, since there exists a discrepancy between the practice of cooking in coffee pot and that in electric coffee pots. In one session, this was associated with the unique way in which coffee is made. I asked a user, who had said that she thought little of electric coffee makers, to compare it to electric tea makers, which she also used:

> H: What about tea machines? Some say the same thing for tea machines, too.
>
> A: I use a tea machine. I got used to it. At the beginning I didn't think much of it, but later I found it easy. Now I'm used to the tea machine. […] And I'm happy with it. But the tea machine is more in line with the normal system [than coffee machines are]—
>
> B: The best aficionados don't use it as well.
>
> A: Don't they? I don't know that. But it simmers from under, too. [Tea machine] and teapot are ultimately the same thing. I mean there's more similarity [there]. I mean, with coffee, there's difference between a coffee machine and a coffee pot. Cooking … It's different. (*hesitates*) I think. (*hesitates*) Don't you think?
>
> C: Coffee has some details. When the machine can't get those details right, it goes sour. With tea, you don't have that kind of thing.
>
> (*Others make approving remarks.*)
>
> A: With tea, you don't have that. Basically both simmer from below.
>
> B: But I have a friend who is a real tea aficionado, who doesn't use a machine. She tells me to make her tea in a teapot.
>
> C: They also prefer using porcelain teapots and so on.
>
> D: Yes, tea is best in porcelain.
>
> A: She is a complete aficionado then! [128]

The discussion is revealing in that the users consider coffee more complicated than simple boiling that takes place in tea brewing. For them, there is a more complicated cooking process in the former, which is more difficult to 'get right'. Nevertheless, it is possible to be a tea aficionado and differentiate between what is authentic and what is not.

In order to measure the propriety of electric coffee pots, therefore, the participants refer to techniques that they use to achieve frothiness when they make coffee in the coffee pot. Whether the object is compliant has implications on its perceived authenticity.

Still, it is possible to domesticate the product after a period of use, whereby users appropriate and, in turn, adapt their practice to the object and establish new relations with it.[31] Parallel to the general critique, with the electric coffee pot, the most important issue seems to be getting used to the new speed:

> A: For example, in these machines I couldn't make frothy coffee at first. Now I can see that it's pretty easy to do. It was me who couldn't do it previously. [...] But of course, we were accustomed to … You know, I used to make coffee very slowly, waiting for it to cook.
>
> B: You take the froth first, then boil it again …
>
> A: Mm-hmm. That's why I felt like it was too hasty. So I couldn't do it in the machine at first. Instantly it'd go, brrrt! (*mimicking the coffee rising*) Uh oh! (*clapping her hands to convey annoyance*) I overboiled it right away, because it doesn't go slow.
>
> B: It boils over right away.
>
> C: I watch over it, I don't leave it alone.
>
> A: It can't be set to slow. I was shocked and didn't know what to do. [129]

The usual practice of waiting for the froth to start rising, and possibly doing something else in the meantime, does not work in the new assemblage. Neither does the strategy of taking the froth first and then boiling the coffee a second time. Instead the users need to watch over the electric coffee pot in a way that they did not use to do previously. In one session, a participant complained of the same problem to a friend sitting next to her:

> A: I can't pull it off. It boils the coffee. They say you have to shut it down as soon as it starts boiling. It keeps boiling before it reaches the brim. They say it's better that way. I still overboil it. It boils a bit, then I turn it off, but it still boils over or it goes …
>
> B: Do you mean when you make in the machine?
>
> A: (*nodding*) I don't like that much. [130]

The participant points at the requirement to watch over it closely. After I asked her about it the participant recited her problems to me. The quote ties up her problem to the contrast between authenticity and convenience discussed above:

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31 Nelly Oudshoorn, and Trevor Pinch, 'Introduction: How Users and Non-Users Matter', in *How Users Matter: the Co-Construction of Users and Technology*, ed. by Nelly Oudshoorn and Trevor Pinch (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. 1–25; for an interpretation of domestication from STS and design perspectives, see Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), pp. 89–104.

A: Actually, you know it already, I mean you put cold water first, then coffee, sugar, whatever, right? I mean it's like that as far as I know. Then I prefer making it in a copper coffee pot on regular fire. Especially if I'm making it for myself alone, I never use the coffee machine.

H: Do you have one at home then?

A: Yes, I do. We bought one. Actually, someone brought it as a present. But I only use it when there are three or five people, like this. Even then I can't pull it off I suppose. There's a way of doing it, too. They say you have to turn it off as soon as it boils. With the heat, [coffee] keeps on boiling inside it. So, I mean, you can't [boil] it twice in that. In my opinion, rather than coffee made in a coffee machine, the usual coffee we know—coffee made in a coffee pot— is much better. […]

B: I don't use the machine either. If it's coffee, it's in a coffee pot. Coffee is made in a coffee pot on fire. [131]

The users describe the problem of speed and how to manage that, once again with a reference to the now-obsolete method of boiling twice. In its stead they indicate a novel method of shutting down the coffee maker much before the froth reaches the brim. Another, more complex, method was described to me by an interviewee:

When people make coffee, if they are going to make five cups of coffee, they put five cups of water [in the coffee pot], so that they have five cups [in the end]. But that's not it. They have to put six cups of water, and not five, but six spoonfuls of coffee. I mean it has to be one cup more. Then you can have more coffee froth on the top, so that you can get the taste. […] And you take this from over the coffee by a tea spoon and put it inside the cups before the coffee is cooked entirely. Of course when you pour the coffee after the coffee is cooked, it releases the taste from bottom to top. When it does that, the coffee is tastier. [132]

This last strategy shows the extent to which the new object can render the process more complex, increasing the number of steps. Also it can be interpreted as a translation of the strategy of boiling twice into this new assemblage, for the user again takes the froth away first, then boils the coffee.

Therefore, neither their expressions of discontent and discomfort, nor the arguments against its authenticity ('If it's coffee, it's in a coffee pot.') mean that the electric coffee pot failed in enrolling the users of this particular setting. Rather, it indicates a creative appropriation, whereby the material object is given a different role, a different meaning and value. The user subscribed, but partially (i.e. the electric coffee pot did not replace but complemented copper coffee pots) and creatively (i.e. by developing alternative practices of coffee making).

9.6. Automatic coffee makers

Lastly, in this section I will look at automatic coffee makers. I discussed two such

products in the previous chapter and called them Product A and Product B.[32] This chapter will only be about Product B, since Product A was, as its designers argued, more fitting for office than home use, particularly due to its size. Indeed, I never encountered any user who had heard about, let alone used the product. There was a similar problem with Product B, too, due to its high price. This issue came up in my interviews with the professionals, as well. It was widely acknowledged that the product did not disseminate much among its actual target users, the housewife, but instead has been purchased chiefly by cafés and restaurants, which could consider the purchase an investment. As the analysis below will show, this fact affected my analysis of the product. Unlike the electric coffee pots, which were well-known and widely used by the participants, in the sessions often less than half of the participants knew about, and even less had ever used an automatic coffee maker. And those who had used the product had done so in their relatives' or friends' coffee makers, or at the office, except one interviewee. Therefore whenever the product was mentioned in the sessions, I had the chance to witness disbelief in its existence, as well as amazement in its capabilities as narrated by other participants. There was plenty of incorrect descriptions of the product, as well, which however contributed to rather than obstructed the analysis. This was because, first, the interactions between participants who knew about the product and those who did not, provided me with vivid verbal descriptions and extensive assessment of the product. Secondly, such descriptions gave the product an imaginary quality, in which the users could freely objectify doubts and aspirations.

In the sessions I, too, encountered the disbelief that a machine can make coffee, which was reported to me by the professional participants:[33]

> A: But what did she say the other day? A friend of ours bought a new one. I wonder which one it is. She said, 'It boils but does not boil over'. (*hesitates*)
>
> B: It's a new product. We were going to ask about it. She said that it didn't boil over even if she forgets it on.
>
> C: That's interesting, because with ours, coffee does boil over.
>
> A: How can it be?
>
> B: She said so the other day in [another coffee] meeting. And we said, 'Oh really? Let us see.' […] She [said she] bought it. 'It's wonderful,' she said, 'it doesn't boil over'. I was like, you know, for the fun of it. I didn't actually take it seriously. [133]

In this example, the disbelief is directed specifically at the technological possibility of a coffee pot that does not boil over, unlike the vaguer question of whether a machine can make coffee, which was asked in the focus groups organised by companies. In the

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32 See Section 8.5 above.
33 See Section 8.5.5 above.

sessions, the participants were also concerned whether the coffee automatic coffee machines make is proper, but the emphasis was on their capabilities which abolish— delegate—the responsibility to watch over the coffee. Following the general interest in convenience rather than authenticity, the technological possibility was positively evaluated, despite the noted scepticism:

> A: Now I want another one. I want to buy from one of those other ones, those with a setting.
>
> B: What do you mean, 'with a setting'?
>
> A: Umm, it's like … You chuck the coffee ingredients into it, put them into it, when it's cooked it goes three times, 'bip bip bip'.
>
> C: It goes off by itself.
>
> A: It goes off by itself. I mean it doesn't spill [the coffee]. You just go and fetch it [afterwards].
>
> C: It's good then.
>
> D: Oh, it's excellent!
>
> E: The other ones [that is, electric coffee pots] spill over too quickly.
>
> A: [This one] doesn't spill it. [134]

The emphasis on not-spilling entailed a view of automatic Turkish coffee makers as an innovation over electric Turkish coffee pots, rather than a completely new product category: the new ones that do not spill.

> Our [electric coffee makers] have become outdated now. […] Now the others are better. […] You put [coffee] in it, it boils, and when you leave it, it doesn't brim over. It stops once it's cooked. [135]

Along the imaginary time line of progress, electric coffee pots are 'outdated' whereas the automatic coffee machine is state of the art. However, the latter are still 'read' as coffee pots:

> A: It has both a large pot and a smaller pot. Both of them side by side. I mean—
>
> […] (*interrupted by others*)
>
> H: Is it like a coffee pot, then?
>
> A: A coffee pot, […] but its machine is different, the machine you put [the coffee pot] in. Otherwise it's a coffee pot. An ordinary coffee pot with a handle … It's like, it's shaped really like our copper coffee pots. But the machine you put [the coffee pot] in is different. It's a square box like this. (*gestures a square in the air*) It's closed on three sides and on the top. It has a [slot] in which you put the coffee pot. [136]

And in an interview:

> Inside the machine there's its own coffee pot. It's a machine like this. (*gestures a square in the air*) It has two compartments and the coffee pots are inside it. Behind it there's the part where it draws water from. I always keep it full. [So] I just put coffee and sugar inside it and push the appropriate button—either one or two servings. [137]

Both the interview and the session excerpt exemplify the way the users related to the product form as a coffee pot; specifically, that they perceived it as a machine made of two coffee pots inside a box-shaped 'base', instead of a machine in the shape of a metal box with detachable containers. This is directly contrary to the product's designers' comments that 'it isn't taken as a coffee pot per se in its design' [138], or other designers' critique that it would not be perceived as a Turkish coffee machine by users.[34] Furthermore, this reading contrasts the professionals' insistence that there are two distinct subcategories of electric Turkish coffee makers.[35] When considered together with the idea that not-spilling provides an improvement over electric coffee pots, it is evident that for the users, the products follow one another rather than branch. This is regardless of the fact that automatic coffee makers have been in the market for as long as electric coffee pots have been (see also Table 2).

One story that I was told in an interview demonstrated a possible implication of such reading. I asked the participant, who had come across the product at the office, whether she had ever used it:

> Yes I did. I actually, umm, used it wrong. Apparently it has a, umm, a water tank, and the cleaning lady keeps it full all the time. It takes water by itself. But I thought you had to put water inside the coffee pot before you use it. The woman was not there, and of course I put the water in, placed the coffee pot and pushed the button. Then of course when it also poured in water from the tank, it spilled over. [139]

Simply put, since the container is a coffee pot, the user expects to put water in as well, together with coffee and sugar.

9.7. Evolution of coffee-making utensils

The analysis of the three groups of products, cheap plastic coffee makers, electric coffee pots and automatic Turkish coffee machines, shows that the participants of the sessions considered them as consecutive improvements. They took electric coffee pots to be higher versions of cheap plastic coffee makers, bringing in improvements on issues of health, safety and durability. Otherwise, they were both preferred for their convenience, and regarded as quick, rather than proper solutions. Automatic Turkish coffee machines, too, were taken to follow the other two with an added innovation of convenience which makes watching over the coffee redundant. Even the form of the product, which was considered to deviate from the coffee pot form by the designers,

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34   See Section 8.3.4 above.
35   See Section 8.2 above.

was interpreted by its users as an electric coffee pot. This constructs an evolutionary line of coffee-making utensils. The following two narrations from two interviews bring all these together:

> Actually I used to love cooking in a copper coffee pot, slowly, at low heat. But now, you see, sometimes I'd like it to be quicker … And of course, with the advance of the technology, copper pots started to become history. Well, on the other hand, now they're out on the market, those old, forged copper coffee pots. Of course, coffee smells different, tastes different, when it's cooked in those coffee pots, slowly, at low heat. After that, umm, we started using enamel coffee pots. Umm, because the copper coffee pots had this problem of tinning, enamel coffee pots came out, so we cooked in enamel coffee pots. Then came steel-chrome coffee pots. Now life is more thoroughly modernised, we have electric coffee pots. And they are good, too, I like them. I like it, too, but when I drink by myself, I make my coffee in the normal, steel coffee pot. [140]

The user's account describes an evolution, where one type of coffee pot is followed by another, more modern one. In this narrative, the original, the copper coffee pot, preserves its authenticity. Otherwise, the tools become more and more modern, more and more technological as they develop. The second participant's narrative almost picks up where the first left off:

> A: I still can't make good coffee. So I make it in [Product B]. (*laughs*) So I love the machine. I mean it doesn't spill over the stove. Never! Its temperature is really nice. The froth doesn't go away. So I'm very happy with it.
>
> H: When did you buy the machine?
>
> A: It's been three years. I used the other machines first. The simpler ones, the simple coffee machines … First I bought [an electric coffee pot]. You know the older ones, you'd plug them in and they'd boil instantly. And they'd explode now and then. We had to buy a new one every couple of months. They were dangerous. But three years ago I bought [Product B]. Now I'm very happy with it. I've used up five or six coffee machines so far, but I'd never been this satisfied with any of the others.
>
> […]
>
> In [Product B] you put two coffee pots inside the machine. The other ones are single-coffee-pot. Those are the ones about which I say, 'I used before but I wasn't satisfied', the single coffee pots. [141]

The participant mentions all three subcategories of electric Turkish coffee makers. She used to buy cheap plastic coffee machines, later switched to electric coffee pots and finally bought an automatic Turkish coffee machine. First of all, the reason for her love of coffee machines is that 'she can't make good coffee', that is, in the coffee pot. Unable to make it in the normal or proper manner, she is empowered by the new assemblage. Secondly, she does not distinguish between the products categorically, but finds them comparable in terms of their convenience and external form. Especially the first two types of products are similar in that they are both single-coffee-pot coffee

makers, whilst her final coffee maker is a two-coffee-pot machine.

9.8. Conclusion

To summarise my findings in this chapter, Turkish coffee consumption is central to the housewives' visits to each other. It forms the basis of their everyday sociability, whilst at the same time helping them imagine themselves as parts of larger collectivities, and most importantly for this study, the nation. This entails the idea of a nationally spread, normatively defined and therefore largely homogeneous coffee practice: a national tradition. Accordingly, the practice originated in the distant past, and has been transferred to the present via a matrilineal transfer of skills, knowledge and practices. The past is where coffee practices originate, and where they belong in practical (e.g. 'people of the past knew coffee'), moral (e.g. 'people used to visit each other often'), and sensual (e.g. 'coffee tasted and smelled very good') terms. And in so far as this past is conceptualised as a strictly national past, Turkish coffee and all the related practices and values are associated with 'the Ottoman', both as a historical period and, more loosely, as a cultural repertoire.

Conversations in the sessions presented three different ways in which this past is constructed. According to what I call the 'traditionalist' view, there is a seamless continuity between coffee traditions in the past and their contemporary applications. According to the 'nostalgic' view, there has been a break in traditions, and that practically, morally and sensually superior past has been lost. Finally, according to the 'consumption' view, there is both a break and a continuity, in the sense that the traditional and the modern coexist, and both can be accessed through consumption.

To sum up, in the maintenance of such a general picture, electric Turkish coffee makers play an important role by being considered and used as 'modern' alternatives to the 'traditional' cooking practice and coffee pots. As the analysis shows, users value these products less for the way they conform to traditions than for their 'convenience' and the sociability they sustain. Furthermore, the convenience they provide is contrasted with the authenticity of the past, which is proved by the superior taste and frothiness offered by the traditional practice. This supports a 'nostalgic', and to a lesser extent a 'consumption' view. Accordingly, the coffee makers are lined up by the users along an evolutionary line that connects the distant, authentic past to the automatic Turkish coffee machine, which is (despite its early market release date) considered the latest step: copper coffee pots, enamel coffee pots, steel coffee pots, cheap plastic coffee pots, electric coffee pots and finally automatic Turkish coffee machines. The 'nostalgic' rupture in tradition can be placed at a number of different moments: It can be at the point where the practice switched from embers to stoves, or from copper to steel, or from coffee pots on the stove to electric Turkish coffee makers. To sum,

within the regime of authenticity thus constructed, traditional practice is defined in such a manner (i.e. with copper coffee pot on embers, slow and ritualistic) that the electric Turkish coffee machine fails to afford that practice and is domesticated as an objectification of the rupture: a different taste, different embodied practices, different sociability.

Chapter 10. Conclusion

The starting point of this thesis was to investigate the ways in which material objects in general, and electric Turkish coffee makers as a case, relate to the politics of the nation in their design and consumption. This meant identifying designers' dealings with the nation and their counterparts in consumption whilst putting the material object at the centre. From a design culture point of view, my very first premise was that this could not be reduced to representation—namely, that objects represent nations—and that a comprehensive account had to include practical and material aspects of the relation. Part 1 of the thesis was dedicated to the construction of this framework.

In Chapter 2, I used cultural studies literature to lay the groundwork for the rest of Part 1. Cultural production takes place in two modalities: symbolic and material. Regarding the former, material objects take upon themselves certain political meanings that they derive from, and at the same time hide behind the perceived normality of, their functionalities. Yet, function is not pure, neutral instrumentality on which meanings can be based. Function is suffused with meaning and often defined relationally with other material objects—as a material relation. In turn, signs also have a material basis. The two modalities are therefore mutually determining and intertwined in their workings. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 expanded on this view by concentrating on an understanding of materiality as relational and intertwined with the symbolic. Chapter 3 used the literature on material culture for this purpose. Material objects endure, and so adopt diverse meaning, value and uses in their travels. This is partly because they are underdetermined, and partly because they carry indexical and iconic connections which may or may not be realised in different contexts. The connections are understood as affordances, potential material connectivities. In addition to affordances, material objects are also characterised by an amount of agency, which lets them transform that which they are connected to. In Chapter 4, where I derive extensively from actor-network theory, this was conceptualised as translation. Material objects do not simply transfer given actions or meanings, but translate them to something else. Promiscuity, affordances and agency thus constitute the terms by which materialities of objects need to be analysed. Such a relational definition of materiality is the first building block of the material-semiotic approach to writing of material objects and their politics.

In constructing this framework, to account for materialities was one of my two concerns. The other was to account for the relation of design and consumption—a key question from a design culture point of view. In Chapter 2 I suggested that objects travel through various cultural processes in which they are encoded and decoded variously. Design has a special role, shared at least by advertising, as a universal

articulator of processes which encodes the symbolic and material aspects of objects as well as the systems in which they are encountered. The process is decidedly political, and specifically, hegemonic in that it relies on consent. Chapter 3 furthered these arguments to a more flexible direction via recourse to material culture literature. The travels of the material object consist of a series of recontextualisations during which it enters different regimes of value which are connected by exchange. Not only is the object differently interpreted and used in each regime, but in line with its transformative power—its agency—it effects changes, too. This puts emphasis on the role of multiple consumption settings each of which relate to objects as creative recontextualisations. Chapter 4 turned to actor-network theory to further theorise the terms in which this takes place. Accordingly, the recontextualisation of a material object in a setting (design or consumption) is a laborious process of translation where the object and all the other actors that connect to it are affected. The fact that the object itself is an assemblage of other (smaller and larger) actors further complicates recontextualisation, recast in actor-network terms as interessement. Ultimately it is a distribution of meaning, value, agency, action, etc. within the setting. The major methodological implication is that analysis should thread between the insides and the outside of the object. This constitutes the second building block of the material-semiotic approach. In this framework, design's objective in defining the object and corresponding systems of encounter amounts to a long-distance control of the material object's future recontextualisations—to black-box it, to render it 'as such'.

The next task was to bring this framework to the context of the politics of the nation. By reviewing relevant literature, Chapter 5 gathered theoretical insights as to how this can be done. Nationalist politics have derived regularly from what they posited as the national past to *define* national cultures and traditions. Rival nationalist projects have had their own definitions of what the nation comprises as well as where its authentic past lies. Material objects with graphical interfaces, such as currencies, stamps and advertisements, were designed to carry representations that define and authenticate certain pasts and not others. Product design practice, too, routinely used the past to selectively devise national styles out of vernacular cultural elements.

Beyond such acts of representation, nationalist projects have also had effects of *uniformisation* as they produced sameness within national boundaries. This took place via either bureaucratic or market-based means. In design, the former typically involved state efforts to increase design quality in national industries, which also contributed to the emergence of nationally bound but internationally connected discursive and practical spaces of design. The latter involved, above all, nationwide consumption practices which make it possible for the consumer to think of the nation as a homogeneous consumption space. In accordance with my methodological point of

view, I argued that these representational and material aspects are intertwined. Through the discourse on national ownership, boundaries of sameness are drawn to be strictly national. This becomes important when different nationalist projects make contesting claims to what can otherwise be considered a single, shared cultural element. In everyday talk, a similar effect is achieved by the use of deixis to define the context of speech as the nation. Similarly, exclusionary discourses can be grounded on everyday experiences of sameness and difference.

The theoretical framework thus constructed was employed in Part 2 to analyse electric Turkish coffee makers in their design and consumption. In Chapter 7 I made a review of the context in which these products appeared. The review showed that the definitions of the Turkish nation have been historically shaped by a number of rival nationalist projects. In popular culture, their conflict became highly influential in the aftermath of the deregulation of markets in the 1980s and of popular media in the 1990s. In this period, Pan-Turkist, Neo-Ottomanist and Republican iconographies increased their visibility on material objects, often in graphic form. A fourth nationalism, namely, liberal neonationalism, emerged in the period, advocating (among other things) the use of national culture to produce globally competitive brands. With its increasing role in industry especially in the last decade, the design scene in Turkey also became articulated to this project via designs that make use of nationally charged imagery and concepts, as well as exhibitions, seminars and academic papers that elaborate on the idea.

Chapters 8 and 9 analysed the electric Turkish coffee maker as it was designed and used, respectively. In Chapter 8, I opened the black box the designers attempted to create. To this end, I reconstructed the way in which many actors, including the nation, were brought together by using the designers' and other actors' accounts of the design processes and a variety of documents from during and after the projects. In this, I approached the participants' accounts themselves not as memories of a past process, but as extensions of it, through which the actors constructed and maintained the connections they had took part in the building of. In Chapter 9, I looked at what users do with the products, concentrating on one setting of consumption, that is, day-time coffee meetings among middle-age, middle-class housewives in the three major cities of Turkey. My approach was to observe the way in which users talk about coffee, coffee makers and Turkey in their meetings, whilst supporting my analysis with in-depth interviews.

Rather than a summary, which can be found at the end of each chapter, the analyses warrant a discussion.

In each setting electric Turkish coffee makers enter and become part of a distinct assemblage of actors, which is articulated to the Turkish nation and its various

definitions in distinct ways. I argue that there is significant overlap in the general ways in which such articulations are built and sustained in each setting. This points to the existence of generalisable[1] discursive and practical repertoires—thus providing an answer to my starting question regarding how material objects relate to the nation.

Often, material objects are linked to nations via the *discourse on national ownership*. Most commonly, ownership is effected via first person plural deixes which imply the existence of a national ('our') drink, a national ('our') product, national ('we'/'the') users and a national context of use. That the deixis is vague, i.e. that it can refer to other collectivities as well as the nation, does not make it less potent in normalising the nation, but more flexible to employ. In the consumption setting, that Turkish coffee is simply called 'coffee' acts as another, and similarly vague, deixis.

However, nationalisation, i.e. translation to national terms, does not only happen via such implicit, normalising references. In the design setting, nationhood emerges as *a criterion of interessement*, by which everyone and everything is translated to national terms and enrolled to the project on that basis: a national tradition, a national project, national companies, national designers, national users. Pride and responsibility comes into play for the translated actors in the form of a regime of value. In coffee meetings, such translations scarcely worked as bases for enrolment, examples being limited to serving coffee or teaching coffee making to foreigners. They worked to that end more extensively in other settings, especially when consumers make purchase decisions for objects (copper coffee pots, zarfs, etc.) and services (drinking coffee in certain types of cafés, etc.) on the basis that they are in line with the national authentic way of doing something.

But what is ours/national? And who are we/nation? Ownership entails questions of authenticity and *practices of authentication*. These can be particularly important in the case of cultural elements whose national ownership is either contested—as in the Turkish coffee–Greek coffee dispute—or considered to be in danger—as in my being perceived by the user groups as a researcher collecting valuable information for an 'English' university. In effect, practices of authentication construct and derive from regimes of authenticity. One such regime was found in both settings, however with nuanced interpretations. Accordingly, the authenticity of Turkish coffee and utensils lie in the past, and are carried to our day via traditions. The progress in technologies of coffee making is analogous to the travels of the nation through history.

In the design setting, practices of authentication are specifically aligned to actors' interests and explicit in their application in line with the objective of long-distance control. Definition and use of the past to this end include both discursive

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1   Anssi Peräkylä, 'Reliability and Validity in Research Based on Naturally Occurring Social Interaction', in *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, ed. by David Silverman, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 2004), pp. 283–304 (p. 297).

argumentation and representational practices that posit the material object as complying, or discordant, with traditions. It also includes the construction of affordance and assemblages to capture and modify that which is defined as traditional. In electric Turkish coffee makers, this was achieved either via scripts which enable or enforce practices that are constructed as traditional, or by delegating such practices to mechanical elements and thus ensuring their permanence. More than the discursive and the representational, such material practices are important for this study for they confirm my methodological suggestion that materiality of objects matter.

In the consumption setting, however, electric Turkish coffee makers prove poor carriers of national traditional authenticity. They become objectifications of rupture rather than continuity with traditions, as the users partially and creatively subscribe to the products' script. This is partly due to the different interpretation of authenticity present at the setting. The design setting is more closely articulated to the liberal neonationalist project, whilst the setting of consumption, to nostalgic tensions. And it is partly due to the different ways in which the two settings are shaped. Design is oriented to long-distance control, coffee meetings, to increased sociability via domestication.

In addition to the authenticity found in the national past, practices of nationalisation (of people, objects and practices) and authentication are regularly based on commonalities of existing practice and the resultant *experiences of sameness.* In design, these are constructed through research and observation, and reproduced via the practices concerned. In consumption, these are derived from experience and memories, and reproduced in everyday practice. In electric Turkish coffee makers, experiences of sameness underlay the assumption of nationwide uniformity of coffee practices and experiences with cooking appliances from grinders to coffee cups to electric coffee makers. These culminate in the expressions, 'Don't we all do?' and 'We all use(d) it', and thus become the terms by which the nation is imagined.

What is more, regarding the electric Turkish coffee maker as a mass-produced and mass-consumed object which has so far been highly successful in domestic sales, it is safe to speculate that they contribute to the *uniformisation* of coffee practices, as the design setting black-boxes and distributes 'what we all do' nationwide. The fact that electric Turkish coffee makers are now a part of the elementary set of electric appliances attests to this. Of course, the extent to which this is true cannot be ascertained within the scope of this study—and uniformisation cannot be total since the variety of consumption settings the objects will enter guarantees creative recontextualisation in principle. What is important here is that there exists a uniformising *drive*. Furthermore, that which is distributed is based on certain definitions of the nation, which are in turn based on experiences of uniformity—a cyclic

process that connects definition and uniformisation.

These describe three ways in which material objects relate to nations: practices of nationalisation through the discourse of national ownership and deixis, practices of nationalisation as part of processes of interessement, practices of authentication that enact regimes of authenticity via discursive means as well as scripts and delegations; all three of which are based on experiences of sameness and contribute to a process of nationwide uniformisation.

These conclusions have implications for the study of nationalism as observed in design and consumption of material objects, contributing to both the literature on national design and theories of everyday nationalism.

First, to reiterate, the object's insides and its outside (its mechanical elements and physical properties, its affordances as it is open to connection with other actors, its functional specifications as constructed in research and in negotiations in interdisciplinary meetings, the processes of interessement in the design project, enacted images of companies and designers, existing national iconographies and discursive and practical repertoires, different definitions of the nation) are intertwined as the object is articulated to the nation. Whilst a redesigned vernacular product (an electric coffee pot) may simply look like it symbolises the associated nation (Turkishness) when it is encountered in design magazines or international design fairs, studies of national design need to capture this complexity to understand why and how that particular symbolism was constructed and how it is interpreted in various settings of consumption. That an object represents the nation (symbolically as part of a national design style or indexically as a national tradition) cannot be taken for granted since symbols and indexes alike need construction and maintenance. And as this case shows, they are prone to failure, at least partial.

Accordingly, a second—methodological—implication is on the study of designed form from a material-semiotic perspective. Product form in aesthetic and stylistic terms is a generally neglected area in STS- or ANT-based studies, and academic work on design cultures can help to close this gap. This study contributed a case study for the emerging interest in material-semiotic methodologies in design research, providing an extensive discussion of the materiality of design practices that give form to objects. In the case of electric Turkish coffee makers, research into and subsequent abstraction of typologies, use of abduction, stabilisation and destabilisation of product categories, and management of scripts were documented as part of a practical repertoire. The counterparts of these practices in consumption settings were also noted, as users interpret and engage with product form in accordance with their valuations and habits of coffee making. In all these, affordances were key.

The term, affordance, whose current use is almost limited to studies in interaction

design, demands further attention from research into cultural aspects of design, mainly for conceptualising the formal aspects of material objects without differentiating between form and function. In this study it proved particularly useful to question whether objects afford authenticity, indicating that the related findings of this research are generalisable beyond the question of nation in design. The formulation that it is pivotal for designers and consumers alike whether an object affords that which is posited as authentic can be employed and tested in studying other design projects where there is reference to authentic ways of doing things with objects. Examples can be found in projects of commodification or mechanisation of customs that are not necessarily national. More radical examples may be found in subcultures: musical instrument designs where techniques and gestures authentic to genres of music matter (e.g. electric guitar designs for classic rock and heavy metal players) or technological equipment and accessory design for technology enthusiasts where historical authenticity is considered important (motorbikes, audio equipment, etc.).

A third point regards gender relations around the electric Turkish coffee maker. The settings of design and consumption that I researched in this thesis were strongly and differently gendered. The design setting was male-dominated in its constitution as only two professionals I interviewed—a designer and a marketing professional—were women. Conversely, the consumption setting was female-dominated from its very definition as housewives' day-time meetings. This was not only a matter of group composition, though. For the participants in both settings, what is considered the typical user of electric Turkish coffee makers and the typical setting of consumption were both strongly gendered as feminine. Accordingly, it is predominantly housewives who make coffee at home, teach their sisters and daughters, which ultimately ensure the persistence of traditions. Men are mentioned very rarely as coffee makers, but commonly as drinkers to whom women serve. In contradistinction to the woman's traditional skills—which are valuable yet often unreliable—the professionals are posited as superior in technical knowledge and rationality, who make use of the former as a resource, a test subject or a consumer. Following the conceptualisation of one of the designers, the delegations that produce the electric Turkish coffee makers can thus be said to capture and rationalise womanly coffee making and make it available to men, who lack the inherited skills.

Overall, this picture implies the existence of a nationwide division of coffee labour along the familiar lines of public and private, and contributes to the way the nation is defined and produced. However, as the scope of the study foreclosed the investigation of gender issues and concentrated instead on the question of nation, future research is required to develop further insight on the matter. Especially the question of what part gender roles related to Turkish coffee and utensils play in imaginings of the nation

demand further research as it stands at the intersection of gender, nation and design as mediated by material objects.

Lastly, but not least, design's role vis-a-vis the nation cannot be reduced to banal reproduction, as if nationalist politics is parasitical on an otherwise purely commercial design practice. Nor is the nation simply a resource for design, whose uses can offer benign commercial appropriations. Rather, design practice employs and thus mediates different definitions of the nation, and attempts nationwide uniformisation. This takes place not only at the level of individual design decisions, but as articulated to design cultures on a variety of levels, from the minute interactions at the studio level to design exhibitions and collectives. And at the most general level, it is possible to observe what we could call a 'designer nationalism', where design practices are motivated by a variety of nationalist discourses to produce and disseminate nationally charged ideas, iconographies and practices in diverse mediums, including mugs, films and buildings. In the case of electric Turkish coffee makers, the liberal neonationalist discourse that values global commercial success, and Neo-Ottomanist celebrations of cultural authenticity were definitive. The alignment of these two discourses arguably constitute the basis for much of designer nationalism in Turkey.

A limitation in this regard was that by focusing on electric Turkish coffee makers as designed for and consumed in the domestic market, I was not able to comment extensively on the projected image of Turkey to international audiences. The overall emphasis on developing globally successful brands and products, and widespread comparisons with Italian coffee indicate the political as well as commercial significance of accomplishments in global markets, international exhibitions and design media. In my field work, there was one project which was specifically aimed at international markets, but I was not given permission to discuss it here. It remains for future research to elucidate the ways in which uniformisation at the domestic front and upholding of a positive image at the international front interact at the level of design practice.

In years to come, the defining role of designer nationalism for the popular and everyday imaginings of the Turkish nation can only be expected to strengthen, following design's rising visibility in popular culture as well as increasing significance in all industries. In this context, what one can hope for, and work towards, is a design culture that breaks free from the double bind of liberal neonationalist preoccupation with international competition on the one hand and Neo-Ottomanist fascination with the national authenticity of vernacular cultural forms on the other, and instead follows less prescriptive paths that enable rather than foreclose creative appropriation and play, and offer destabilising, disruptive interpretations of traditions and the traditional. In putting sociability before authenticity, day-time coffee meetings show that the user

is more than eager to engage.

On the whole, whilst the thesis significantly contributes to our understanding of the design field in Turkey, along with other similar contexts where design and consumption practices have actively engaged with national cultural authenticity and associated nationalist discourses, it is not merely about the ways 'Turkish' objects have been articulated to everyday nationalisms. More importantly, its conclusions concern the way everyday politics in general, and politics of the nation in particular, are actively and effectively mediated by and around material objects. From the perspective of design culture, this further underlines the role of design processes which give shape to such objects. As the case of the electric Turkish coffee makers demonstrates, from their design and production, objects are brought together as symbolic and material assemblages, and thus embody politically substantial ideas, symbols, and material limits and possibilities. Being carried onto consumption settings, these scripts may be confirmed, challenged, or appropriated partially or obliquely by their users in equally political ways. It is for this reason that a comprehensive understanding of nationalism in particular, and politics in general, cannot but include the material agency of objects and the design cultures within which they are assembled. It is necessary, on the academic front, to argue for the relevance of design to politics and vice versa; and at the practical level, to inform, advise and critique actual design practices and objects on their political implication and impacts.

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Appendix A. Interview excerpts in original Turkish

1. Tüketicilerin, ev hanımlarının ağırlıklı olarak, mutfaklarda kullandıkları, evin içerisinde diğer alanlarda kullandıkları—ama biz öncelikle mutfakta […]—bir şekilde hızlandırabilecek, otomasyona […] götürebileceğimiz, süreçleri kısaltan, ama daha iyi yaptığını düşündüğümüz, veya daha iyi yapmasını sağlayacak olan ürünler yapmak amacıyla yola çıkıyoruz. Bence ana resim bu. […] Şimdi buradan yola çıktığımızda Türk kahvesi, Türk çayı, ne bileyim, dolma, sarma—mesela onu daha henüz yapamadık ürünü—bu tip, ev hanımlarının, evdeki kadının, evde bunlarla ilgili kişinin, ee, sıkıştığı, zorlandığı, 'Ya, şöyle bir şey olsa daha rahat ederdim,' dediği detay ürünlere bakıyoruz.

2. Yola çıkışımızda şu vardı, espresso, kapuçino, filtre kahve. Bunlar dünyada çok yaygın. Ee, hem kullanımı, içimi yaygın, hem makineleri yaygın. […] Biz dedik ki bizim Türk kahvesi makinesi yok. Ee, eğer yaparsak, tek oluruz. […] Dünyada kahvenin, üç-dört çeşit kahve var. İşte espresso, filtre kahve ve Türk kahvesi. Espressonun kendi içerisinde kapuçinosu falan var. Granül kahveler falan var. Ufak tefek farklar var. Ama Türk kahvesinin bir yapılış biçimi var. Onu Türkiye'de biraz daha sert yapıyorlar, ee, güneyde, özellikle Suriye, İsrail, Lübnan, Arabistan'da daha sert. İşte mırra diyorlar, daha sert kahve yapıyorlar. Bizimkinden daha sert. Yunanistan da bizim kahveyle aşağı yukarı aynı tarz kahve, daha *light*, onlarınki biraz daha. Buna göre kahveler çeşitleniyor. Yapılış biçimi ama bu grubun, bu anlattığım grubun, aynı. Biraz da Osmanlı etkisi herhalde bunlar. Aynı tür kahve içiyorlar. Herhalde Osmanlı'nın etkisi. Yapılış biçimi oralara yayılmış. […] Şimdi burada bizim yaptığımız sadece bu sunumu biraz daha nasıl kolaylaştırırız. Espresso, kapuçino bunu kolaylaştırmış. Makineleştirmiş, dünyaya yaymış. Biz de makineleştirirsek bizim makinemiz dünyaya yayılır. […] Adam gibi bir makine ortaya koyabilirsek bir İtalya olabiliriz. Çünkü İtalya espressoyla dünya pazarına hakim. Yani bizim de Türk kahvesi makinemiz aslında ciddi ses getirebiliriz yani.

3. Şimdi şöyle söyleyeyim, bizim endüstriyel tasarım bölümlerinde, veya genel konu itibariyle her zaman bir Türk kahve makinesi fikri vardır. Herkes bir defa onu düşünmüştür en azından.

4. Mesela ben Çin fuarına, Çin'de fuara katıldım, Çin kahveler bürosu başkanı bana dedi ki Şangay fuarında: […] 'Bu Türk kahvesi çok bilinen bir şeydi. Tabii bunun makinesi yoktu. Helal olsun, aferin size!' Yaşlı da bir adamdı. 'İyi ki bunu da yapmışsınız,' dedi yani, 'şimdi artık daha da, Türk kahvesi dünyaya yayılabilir', dedi.

5. Ve ben o anda hani, şey için falan üzüldüm yani, hani [büyük firmalar] bunu yapmıyor da bu adamlar bunu yapıyor yani. Her zaman [büyük firmalar] hani bu konuda korkak olmuştur. […] Bu işe, ne bileyim, bir milyon dolar yatırmış, onu kaybedebilir ama onu göze almış. […] Sen yapmazsan [büyük firmalar olarak], böyle adamlar yapar.

6. Şimdi burada baktığımda eve, sokağa, pazara, adam aslında bunu çözmüş. Kahveyi yapıyor, fişe takıyor, problem şu. O makine insanı çarpıyor. Çünkü yanında bir şey diyor, diyor ki, şeyi sokma diyor, metali sokma diyor işte. O ürünler bizim ürünlerimizden önce. […] Göğsünü gere gere, Londra'da, İngiltere'de, ee, Amerika'da New York'ta neyse satabileceğin bir ürün değil. Demek ki güvenilir ve standardı olan bir ürün yapmamız lazım dedik. […] İşte oradan yola çıkarak çıktı bu ürün. Bu ürün çıkıp da bir anda kendinde kategori yaratıyor. Şimdi kablosuz. Sapı katlanıyor, katlanıyor, kutuya giriyor. Ee, kaşık soktuğun zaman çarpmıyor. Ee, dökülme mökülme şeyi yok. Gayet de stabil. Dökmen için şu kadar açıdan bırakman, topluyor kendini. Dolayısıyla ürünün her tarafı düzgün.

7. Dedik, kime yapalım? Yurt dışında birine yaptıralım. Çünkü (*birkaç tasarımcı sayıyor*) […] çalıştık daha evvel. Yurt dışına yapalım ama, cık, yurt dışı şeyi değil yani bu ürün yurt dışı değil. […] Bizim kültür. Biliyor hani bir İtalyan'a cezveyi anlatana kadar o ne olduğunu anlıyor. Tahtası mahtası, İtalyan'ın önüne bir sürü cezve koymamız lazım, ne olduğunu anlayana kadar. Ee, en azından diyecek ki 'ibriği niye yanda,' veya 'gagası niye yanda'. *Kettle*'da karşıda görüyor herif, oraya otomatikman oraya çiziyor *kettle*'ı yani. *Kettle* gibi çiziyor çünkü. Hani onu sola aldırman gerekiyor, yabancı tasarımcı öyle bakmıyor.

8. Elektrik aksamlarını da hani, içindeki anahtarlar, mekanik ısıtma sistemlerini de İngiliz bir firmadan alıyor. Bu firma aslında bugüne kadar [bizim şirkete] yeterli desteği, tasarım desteği dahil, vermiş. Yani ondan elektrik aksamını aldığı takdirde ücretsiz tasarım desteği de veriyor, mühendislik destek de veriyor. Ama tost makinelerinde, *kettle*lar'da bu işe yaramış ama, elektrikli cezveye geldiği zaman önce onlardan teklif almış, yani ürün tasarımları almış, ee, İngilizler bilmedikleri için Türk kahvesini ve sistemini yaptıkları formlar çok hani daha ürün tasar—bizim klasik yaptığımız ürün tasarımında form arayışları vardır ya, o tarz formlara dönüşmüş, daha... […] Şey, yani, cezve formundan daha farklı, daha çok su ısıtmaya ya da ısıtıcı özellikli bir şeyler yapmışlar. Sadece kulpu olan, küçük plastik ısıtıcı tarzı şeyler yapmışlar. O yüzden beni buldular.

9. Aslında, kaç yılıydı, ee, Genova'ya bir sergi götürmekle başladı her şey. [Daha önceki bazı projeler] ve de onun yanında bir de böyle bir 'Sizin şeyinize, kültürünüze dair bir şey tanıtan bir şey getirin,' dedi. Oradan öyle bir çağrı geldi onunla birlikte. İşte o, işte salep, çay, pestil gibi böyle bir takım ürünlerin yanında biz de 'Ne olur?' dedik, 'Türk çay kültürünü tanıtalım', dedik. Nasıl tanıtalım? Ürünleri götürelim. Ee, ne yapacağız? Oturduk böyle, baktık. [Bir arkadaş] söyledi, 'Ya,' dedi, 'böyle böyle bir firma var, […] kendi kendine demleyen bir şey yapmış adamlar', dedi. 'Ha, hadi ya', işte ne, İnternet'ten baktık, ettik falan. İşte [bir firma]. Öyle bulduk bunları, sonra yazdık işte: 'Böyle böyle bir sergiye gidilecek, bize bir bu ürününüzü verir misiniz?' Onlar da […] 'Tamam' dediler, oradan böyle bir tanışıklığımız oldu. Sonra biz götürdük, ettik falan, o ayrı hikaye. O olaydan bir sene sonra benim bir gün cep telefonum çaldı, işte 'Alo', 'Buyurun', 'Ben bilmemkim. Ya bizim bir şey çalışmamız var, ee, kahve makinesi çalışmamız var, bunun ama tasarım yapılmasına ihtiyacımız var, böyle bir şeye.' İşte, 'Peki', 'Yapar mısınız?' 'Peki'.

10. Bugüne kadar benim hayatımda gördüğüm tüm nargileler klasik böyle hani orta doğu dizaynlı, ee, sarılı, alıcılı, bilicili, şöyle bir, *belly dancer* dizaynında olan bir şeyler gibi. Birisi bir dizayn yapmış, dümdüz iniyor, yalın sade ve çok modern, çok keyifli bir model bence. Hala da çok beğeniyorum onu. Ee, ve dolayısıyla çok büyük tasarımda fark yarattığını düşünüyorum o ürünün kendi arasında. Onu tasarlayan bir zihniyetin, ee, iyi biri olduğunu düşünerekten, iyi bir tasarımcı olduğunu düşünerekten bizim bu arkadaşla tanışmamızda fayda var diye düşündüm o zaman.

11. 'Madem hani nargile ve saire birtakım şeylere takıksın sen de kültürel,' gibi bir şeyle galiba, 'sen bize cezve de yapsana.'

12. Yani, öyle bir pazarlama *brief*'i falan yok ortalıkta. Ar-Ge diyor ki, Ar-Ge ekibi, birkaç mühendis daha doğrusu, 'Biz bu işi yapabilir miyiz acaba, Türk kahvesi pişirebilir miyiz?'. Belli bir aşamaya geldikten sonra büyük ihtimalle tasarımın kapısını çalıp, 'Ya böyle bir alet var, buna bir tasarım lazım', diyorlar hatırladığım kadarıyla.

13. Ben bildim bileli herkes Türk kahvesi makinesi yapmak ister, ama teknoloji.

14. Ürünleştirme kararının alınabilmesi için bizim tabii endüstriyel tasarım bölümü olarak bir katkıda bulunmamız gerekiyor. Çünkü o projenin kıymetinin farkındayız

ve bunun üst yönetimden kabul görmesi lazım. O kabulü görmesi için de bizim ne katkımız varsa yapabiliyor olmamız gerekiyor.

15. Şeyi güzel, farklı hani. Bir espresso makinesi gibi el değmeden hazırlayacak bir elektrikli kahve *makinesi* yaptılar. Bu çok aslında bizim ürünümüzden çok başka bir ürün. Yani kıyaslanacak bir ürün değil.

16. O makine değil ama. O aslında bir *kettle*. Yani, kapağı olmayan bir *kettle* o. Onun içine su koy, kapağı olsa kapa, kaynar. Onda yapmanız gereken, kahveyi koyuyorsun, şekeri koyuyorsun, tamam, OK. Suyunu da koyuyorsun. Ama başında durman lazım. Karıştırman lazım. Ee, cezveden bir farkı yok. Elektrikli cezve o. Başka bir şey değil.

17. Bir tane şu anda mesela ful otomatik bir kahve makinesi yapıyoruz. *Makine* artık yani, cezve değil. Onda mesela cezve de yok. […] Yani Türk kahvesi pişiriyor ama cezvesi yok, fincana boşaltıyor mesela kahveyi, yaptıktan sonra köpüğüyle.

18. Sonuçta bu bir geleneksel cezve. Hani değişik yörelerde bu cezvenin de değişik formları var. Kimisinde ağızlık kısmı daha geniş, kimisinde hiç yok. Kimisinde kulpu çok uzun ve dik yukarı doğru gelirken, kimisinde çok daha yatay. Hani bunlar işte mangalda pişirilen cezveler, ocakta pişirilen cezvelere göre değişiyor. […] Ben de bir bütün ürün analizi yaptım, bütün bu cezveleri aldım, tek tek koydum. Ve genel bir form, hani bunların hepsini üst üste, *layer layer* koyduğun zaman çıkan bir form var, genişleyen yukarı gelen ve biçiminde de bundan etkilenildi.

19. Cezvenin cezve haline gelmesi, benim günahım aslında.

20. [İlk] toplantıya gittiğinde [şirket] Türk bir şey yapın dememişti bize. Metal bir şey yapın demişti. [Kıdemli tasarımcı] toplantıya gittiğinde şunu demek istiyordu, 'Ben Türk kahvesi cezvesi yapıyorsam bunun kimliğinin Türk kimliği olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum,' ama eli boş gitmeyeyim. Adamlar hayır derse diye onu da B planı olarak götürmek …

21. Şimdi aslında projelerimizde çok kullanmıyoruz ama, bu tip projeler olduğu zaman tabii ki endişesini hissediyoruz—öyle söyleyeyim. Tamamen bağımsız hissedemiyoruz kendimizi. İşte bir kahve makinesi, çay makinesi gibi projelerde.

22. Saygıdan! Çünkü 600 senesi var bu ürünün. Ve bu ürünün bu formlara gelmesinin sebebi birkaç yüzyıllık deneyim. Mangalda pişiriyoruz. Yavaş pişiriyoruz. Köpüklü olması gerekiyor. Köpüklü olması için ve ısıyı koruması için ağzının daralıyor olması gerektiğini keşfetmiş durumdalar. Görsellik diye değil, *Turkish curve* ve saire falan diye değil, bir taraftan. Dolayısıyla hem fonksiyonel, hem de kemikleşmiş, kültürel DNA'da olan, algısal, görsel-algısal cezve tipolojisine saygıdan. Yani onu paylaşıyor olmam lazım.

23. Hayatına devam ediyor yeni teknolojiyle, bugüne uyarak. Paslanmaz çelik de yoktu bir zamanlar, bakırdı sadece. Perçin de yoktu, başka bir şekilde tutturuyorlardı ahşap sapı sadece gibi aşama aşama … Yenilense bugünün teknolojisiyle, benden istenen halde, elektrikli kablosuz bilmem ne olsa ne olur? Hani o hayatını devam ettirse çizgide, çok algısal olarak değişmeden, kesinti olmadan gibi bir arayıştı.

24. Şeyler üzerine konuşuldu … *handle*'lar. […] Niye açılı olduğu, yukarı doğru yükseldiği. Olması gerekiyor çünkü düzse, böyle dökebiliyorsun. Açılıysa mecbur sana dönüyor. Açılı ürünü öyle dökemiyorsun. Dolayısıyla köpüğünü görüyorsun. […] Ne kadar dik, o kadar tam dökerken içi bana bakıyor. Cezve—fincan aramızda. Dolayısıyla köpük paylaştırıyorsun önce, sonra yavaş yavaş kalanın köpüğün altına girmesini sağlıyorsun bardağı doldurarak filan. Dolayısıyla onun

biraz kalkık olması gerekiyor.

25. Birinin dökülme ağzı vardı, çift şeyli, formdan kaynaklanan. Oradan dökülecekti yani, form yukarıya çıkıyor ya şöyle. Formun yukarıya çıktığı yerlerden dökülecekti.

26. Sonra işte ilk toplantıya gittikten sonra dediler ki, denilenler şunlar: İşte 'halk böyle ak—böyle şeylerin aktığına inanmıyor. Çok kirleneceğine, sızdıracağına inanıyor. Onun için mutlaka ağızlıklı olması lazım. Ama biz bu formu çok beğendik.'

27. Olmadı, tercih etmedik çünkü yeni bir şey değil. Olmazsa olmaz bir durum değil ve, ve yoğunlukla hep sağ el kullanım için yapılmış bir durum bu. Ve bu eski bir durum yani. Solak birisi varsa o da öyle kullanabiliyor gerektiği zaman, biliyoruz.

28. Sadece tabii fonksiyonel tarafta değil, ee, form bütünlüğü açısından da yine eski cezveleri, daha doğrusu cezve kavramını işte, sapıyla, duruşuyla, şekliyle, yaptığımız tasarımda bakıldığı zaman hissedilmesini istedik özellikle. Yoksa hani cezve yerini tutacak bambaşka bir şey de olabilirdi. Onu özellikle yapmak istemedik.

29. Olası müşteri bakar bakmaz buna cezve desin, sonra 'Aa, kablo var. Elektrikli bu!' desin. 'Ben bunda Nescafé yaparım, bebeğin mamasını ısıtırım, su da pişiririm, bilmem ne, Oralet de yaparım', falan filan gibi ısıtıcı bir şey olarak görmesin asla. Hemen cezve desin, hemen kahve aklına gelsin, adını görmese de formuyla, direkt piktogram olarak, leke olarak onu verebilsini yakalayabilmek çok önemliydi.

30. Tutup hani Senseo gibi bir tasarım da yapabilirsiniz Philips'in. Ama o zaman bir özelliği kalmayacak, hatta onlar arasında kaybolacak, gidecek. O yüzden buna yine kültürel kimlik ögelerimizden ama sadece ana form dilinde bir şeyler kattık mesela ve işte ne bileyim yine bir *pattern* koyduk. […] Çok *pattern*lerimiz var, onları kullanırım, en azından o farkı yaratabilirim onunla, yani baktığınız zaman bizim o eski şeylerdeki ürünlerimizdeki, mimari […] detayları sonuçta bir şekilde bu ürüne taşıyabilirim diye düşündüm, öyle yaptık.

31. Şu anda mesela bakır hiç kullanılmıyor. Seri üretim için belki sıkıntılarından kullanılmıyor ya da maliyetler yüzünden falan. Yani bakırı tercih edip, onun üzerine özel bir işlemeyle hatta el işlemeciliğiyle hani, Anadolu'dan bir üretici bulup hani elle yapan bir adamı alıp sınırlı sayıda cezve üretip, bunun fiyatına 250 lira dersen belki ona bir pazar bulabilirsin.

32. Yoksa hepsi birbirine benziyor, bütün cezveler birbirinin aynı aslında yani. Yani çok zor. Hareket alanı açabilmek çok zor. Yüzeysel baktığın zaman bir form, bir metal, plastik ve işte, *container* var yani, altta ısıtıcı var diye baktığın zaman, cezve budur, dediğin zaman bitiyor iş. Hepsi birbirinin aynı olur, sadece fiyatı.

33. Biraz o benim ısrarımla oldu aslında. Neden? Dedik ki biz Türk kahve makinesi, bir cezve tasarlıyoruz, aslında [müşteriyle] orada bir şekilde bir irtibat kurduk. […] Çünkü birkaç alternatif vardı, o alternatiflerden bazılarında bu tip soyutlanmış bir motif vardı, bir Türk motifi vardı. Bazılarıysa dümdüz, üstündeki şey yoktu. Bu bağlamda [müşteri] üzerinde herhangi bir Türk motifi olsun istemiyoruz biz dedi. Ondan sonra ben dedim ki, hani başka bir ürün hani mutfak robotu şu bu bilmem ne yapıldığında zaten böyle bir şey olmaz ama bu bir, adı Türk kahvesi … cezvesi, Türk kahvesi makinesi. Burada, üstelik abartmadan bir şey kullanmak istiyorum, dedim. Onları bir şekilde ikna ettim, o motifi öyle kullandık. Yani ben onu neden kullandım? Aslında çok süsleme sanatını sevmem, yani yaptığım işlerde de çok nadirdir bu tip şeyleri kullandığım. Ama burada ürünün doğası gereği böyle bir şeyin üzerinde olmasının abes kaçmayacağını

hatta yakışabileceğini düşündüğümüz için o zaman ısrar etmiştik. Onu da bir ciddi bir araştırma yaptık Türk motifleriyle ilgili. İşte, kitaplar falan aldık. […] Bu motiflerle ilgili bir mimari kitaplar aldım, işte birtakım medreselerdeki camilerdeki bu taş oymalar üzerindeki desenlerle ilgili. Sonra bir tane yine süsleme sanatı Türk motifleri ve bunun üzerine bir çalışılmış, sadece motiflerin olduğu bir kitap yine aldık. Ee, o projede herhalde bir dört-beş tane kitap aldık projeyle ilgili.

34. A: Neredeyse tam küremsi bir formdu. Cami kubbesi birincisi. […] Yani camii kubbesinden esinlendik.

    H: Niye? Nedir alakası?

    A: Yarım ayımsı bir form, portakal dilimi gibi, hilalimsi, hilal ay … […] Ya şerefe olur ya tepelerinde cami kubbelerinin … Hatta, birincisi için küre olduğu için cami kubbesi yapalım dedik. […] Küre form, kubbe hem de handle tasarlamak için çıkış noktası.

35. Onda da *Turkish* formlar kullanalım dedik. Yani *tulip*. Yani çay bardağı. Ama daha çok *tulip*.

36. H: Şu '*tulip*' nedir? Marka ismi olarak mı?

    A: Yok, formundan, laleden çıkartmıştık formunu, o yüzden. İşte biraz daha fazla böyle *traditional*'a gidersek ne olur, neler yapılabilir.

37. [Kıdemli tasarımcı] geldi. 'Ya buna çok Çin işi diyorlar, daha ağır, daha kaliteli görünen bir ürün yapalım,' diye başladı. Metal olacağı da kesindi yani baştan, metal olacağı belliydi. Öyle olunca [kıdemli tasarımcıyla] yaparken şeye karar verdik, yani baştan, daha böyle Türk bir şey olsun, sonuçta Alman bir şey de yapabilirsin yani ya. […] Son alternatif de çok böyle hakikaten ağır Alman'dı, böyle çok silindirik çıkan işte, böyle kulpu mulpu daha böyle başka bir şeyde.

38. Çok çok farklı şeyler yapılabilirdi, çizgisel anlamda da çok uçlara gidilebilinirdi. Ee, çok Almanvari kutuda da kalırdık, çok İtalyanlar gibi uçabilirdik de. Ee, bir sürü ıvır zıvır gereksiz çizgi de koyardık üstüne.

39. Zaten ürün basit bir ürün, […] çalışma prensipleri de çok basit. Diyelim elektrikli ısıtıcı, onun belirli bir kademesi var, belli bir sürede sıcaklığı veriyor ki kahve yavaş yavaş pişebilsin. […] Çalışma prensibi normal cezveyle aynı, sadece ocağa değil de elektrikli bir tablası [var], kendi mekanizmasına yerleştiriyorsun.

40. Ee, dolayısıyla tasarım aslında bugünkü malzeme ve teknolojiyle tasarlanmış, ama kahve pişirme yöntemi yine eski yöntem olduğu için eskiye sadık kalınmış pişirme yöntemi ve şekli açısından bir kahve makinesi diyebiliriz.

41. Ee, benim ilgimi çekti çünkü bildiğin cezve mantığını koruması. […] Hani otomatlar vardır ya böyle, kapalı, o içinden çıkar. Ama hani içinde çok eski tür bir şey oluyor yani. Hani cezve içinde dönüyor. Hatta onun şey dönüp şey yapması da bana komik gelir (*gülüyor*). Tam yani robot.

42. Cezveden döktükten ve fincana paylaştırdıktan sonra bir de, hani biz kahveyi sunarız ya, o efekti vermek için aşağıdan bir ray üzerinde o fincanların konduğu— tepsicik diyelim artık—bu ürünün bir parçası zaten—ileri doğru çıkarak bu şeyleri, fincanları sunuyordu.

43. Fincana döküyordu. Fakat herhalde bir on pişirmeden, ee, ikis … iki kere taşıyordu. Bütün her yer kahve oluyordu. Ondan sonra bir de pişirme yöntemi bizim, ee, bildiğimiz cezvedeki usul şeklinde pişirmiyordu. Termostat tabanlı bir yapısı var— (*telefonu çalıyor*)

[…]

İtalyanların kahve makinesi var. Bizimki daha mı az kıymetli? Değil. Yani çünkü hakikaten kolay bir iş değil. Oturup hiç kahve yaptınız mı bilmiyorum, yapıyor musunuz? Kolay bir iş değil o. Gözlemlemeniz lazım, ateşten ne zaman çekeceğinizi bilmeniz lazım falan filan yani. Var orada insan, insanı replike etmeye çalışıyoruz, kolay bir iş değil o. Diğer hani kahve otomatları falan vardır, basarsın, Türk kahvesi verir ama hep aynı mantık. Kaynar su, onun buharıyla termostat atar, kahveyi döker, pişirir. O. Ama Türk kahvesi öyle olmuyor ki.

44. Türk kahvesi aslında kahvenin özelliği değil. Teknikle ilgili. […] Aroma da değil. […] Nasıl espresso basınç altında çalışıyor, Türk kahvesinin de bir tekniği var. […] Espresso makinesini istediğin kadar değiştir, Türk kahvesi makinesi yapamazsın. Bu lezzet, doku elde edilemiyor. Mumdan ampül yapamazsın.

45. Bu bir metodun adı, Türk kahvesi. Tek çaresi insanı taklit etmek.

46. Bir teknoloji ihtiyacı var, çünkü kahve pişirme yöntemi, ee, çok enterasan Türk kahvesi'nin. Başka kahvelere benzemiyor yani. Biz kahveyi pişiriyoruz, ee, Türkiye'de yani, cezvede resmen yani ocağın üstünde kahveyi pişiriyoruz. Ee, normal, yani espresso tarzı kahveler, ee, sıcak suyun kahvenin içinden süzülmesiyle olan kahveler onlar. Dolayısıyla, oradaki bir pişirme yöntem farkı var. Şimdi bu çok kolay bir şey değil. Ee, bir de insan faktörü var, çünkü nedir, işte cezveyi siz pişirirken, ee, oradaki, 'anneden kıza' diyeyim, erkekler çok o kadar değil ama, anneden kıza geçen bir kültür var orada, o sülalede, o ailede, da bir şeydir. Bir üst jenerasyondan bir alt jenerasyona, yani bir sonraki jenerasyona geçen bi kültürdür o. Ee, dolayısıyla orada bi sizin yapmanız gereken aslında o insanı replike etmeye çalışıyorsunuz onun yaptığını. Çok kolay bir iş değil.

47. İnsan gözü bu köpüğü görür, karar verir, […] ısı kaynağından uzaklaştırır. […] Robot olsa, eline cezve verseniz nasıl yapıyorsa öyle yapıyor.[…] İnsan nasıl yapıyorsa öyle, başarısı orada.

48. Göz köpüğün oluşumunu izliyor […] saniyede yüzlerce defa.

49. Bir tane göz var yukarıda. O göz kahvenin yüksekliğini sürekli ölçüyor. O belirli bir taşma—amaç şey burada: ocakta nasıl yapılıyorsa kahve, onu simüle etmek. Diğer kahve makineleri şey yapıyor sonuçta, kaynatıyorlar bildiğin kahveyi. Ama ocakta ne yaparsın? Taştığı zaman alırsın şeyin üzerinden. Bu alette de göz sürekli yüksekliğini ölçüyor. Belli bir yüksekliğin üstüne geldiği zaman alttaki şey, ee, termal taban, aşağı çekiliyor bir mekanizma tarafından. Dolayısıyla ocaktan kaldırmış oluyorsun yani.

50. 500 litre kahve yapmışızdır, doğru parametreler için.

51. İlk prototipi hatırlıyorum hatta şeyin. Yani bir şey, bir hatırladığım kadarıyla şey vardı, ee, fonksiyonel ama dışı tamamen Ar-Ge'de uydurulmuş bir prototip vardı. O prototiple biz günlerce kahve içtik işte, hani, deneme yapmak için. Ondan birkaç tane vardı hatta yanılmıyorsam. Bir tanesi bizim mutfakta duruyordu, tasarımın mutfağında, sürekli onlar bir ayarlamalar yapıp sürekli kahve geliyordu oradaki insanlara. Onlar da şöyle olmuş, böyle olmuş, diye fikir beyan ediyorlardı.

52. Bizim şirkette zaten böyle insan çay kahve içiyor. Ee, şu anda bizde üç tane, ee, yemekhane tarafında ve diğer taraflarda çalışan üç tane bayan var. Bunlar, buradaki çay kahve ihtiyaçlarımızı karşılayan kişiler. Bunlar bizim için en canlı ve en iyi şeyler. Çünkü onlar öyle [şirkete sadık] da değil.

53. O listeleri hazırlamıştık biz, soruları, işte 'Sizce bir Türk kahvesi bir makinede olur mu?'. İşte, karışık […] çok da net olmayan bir şey çıkıyordu, ama yani olmaz diyenler genelde biraz daha fazla oluyordu. Ee, 'Neden olmaz?' deyince, 'Ya o onu yapamaz ki!', işte, 'Ya biz onu dikkat ediyoruz, gözlemliyoruz, işte o taşmadan önce alıyoruz ocaktan', bilmem ne, falan filan anlatıyorlardı.

[…]

Diyorum ya, 1–0 yenik başlıyorsun maça. Yani cezve var bir tane alternatif, ondan sonra, fiyatı pahalı, bir de makinede kahve olur mu?

54. A: Ondan sonra biz son optimizasyonları, hem pişirme anlamında yani kahve lezzeti anlamında, hem görsel anlamda son optimizasyonları için yine böyle bir fokus gruplar yaptık. İşte yedi-sekiz kişilik gruplarla, kadınları getiriyorlardı, biz kapalı bir ayna arkasında seyrediyoruz. Şey yapılıyor, yine bu sorular soruluyor. 'Sizce işte kahve nasıl yapılır?' Çok enteresan. Her kadın ayrı tarif ediyor. Çok gariptir yani. Birisi diyor ki 'Kahve şöyle yapılır: Buz koyarsın, ondan sonra, bekletirsin, bilmem ne', işte 'Üç kere taşırırsın', ondan sonra 'Bakır cezvede yaparsın, karıştırırsın'. Yok birisi der ki, 'Yok karıştırma, hiç bir zaman karıştırılmaz!', falan. Böyle herkesin, işte diyorum ya, anneannesinden veya annesinden öğrendiği birtakım şeyleri en doğrusu o diye devam ettiriyor. Şimdi bizim yaptığımız testte de, pişirme testinde de şu oldu. Bir hanım içerde elle, cezvede yapıyordu kahveyi, bir götürüp onu içirtiyorduk. Tabii tamamını değil, tadımlık. Bir de bizim makinede yapıp götürüyorduk, ama söylemiyoruz. Ondan sonra hangisi daha … genelde yüzde 90 seviyede—diyeyim, genelde bu rakamları çok bizimkiler telaffuz etmeyi sevmez ama, ben ediyorum (*gülüyor*)—yüzde 90'lar seviyesinde bizim makinenin lezzeti beğenildi. Ki, ee, enteresandır, kahveyi farklı tarif eden insanlar ortak olarak kahveyi beğendiler. E o zaman, o kadar da önemli değil, buz koyman, yok işte, bakır cezvede pişirmen …

H: Karıştır, karıştırma …

A: Heh, bunlar biraz şey gibi, ee, nasıl diyeyim, hani mit gibi kalıyor.

55. Köpüğü daha şeydi, *consistent*'tı. Elden çıkan kahvede bir köpüğü oluyor, bir bir tarafa dağılmış oluyor, bir bilmem ne oluyor. Ama makine kahvesi hem tadı, hem köpüğü genelde aynı oluyor. El kahvesi ama o yapan insanın maharetine bağlı bir şey olduğu için.

56. Adam Türk kahvesi içmek istiyor, ama nasıl yapacağını bilmiyor. Bir evde bir anne, oğluna diyor ki, 'Bana git bir kahve yap' … diyemiyor (*gülüyor*). Veya eşine, 'Git bir kahve yap' diyemiyor, veya bir erkek eşine diyor ki, 'Bana bir Türk kahvesi yapar mısın?' Ee, aslında şey, problemler aynı. Bizde bir tek kadınlar biliyor—tamam erkekler de var yapan muhakkak da, genelinden bahsediyorum.

57. Onun dışında yabancılar da alabilir. Hatta yabancıların alma ihtimali daha yüksek. Çünkü yapabilecek. Daha önce yapamazdı. Yani cezveyi ver bir yabancının eline, ne yapacak onunla? Nasıl pişireceğini bilemez ki! E diyoruz ya jenerasyonlarla gelen bir şey bu bize.

58. A: Hem evde yapılan gibi kahve yapmanız lazım, hem de evde, evdeki klasik yöntemden cazip olmanız lazım ki müşteriye ürün sunabilesiniz.

H: Ne anlamda cazip?

A: Daha pratik olması lazım bir kere. Niye sana para versin, evinde ocakta yapacaksa. Aynı sürede kahveyi yapacaksa … Aynı kıvamda kahve yapacaksa … Hem mesela evde, ee, hiçbir, kahveyi iki kişi, aynı kişi bile olsa art arda aynı kahveyi yapamayabilir. Ama biz makinede standart bir kahve sunmaya

çalışıyoruz. […] Yani, malımın katma değer oluşturması gerekiyor. Bana bir şekilde geri dönmesi gerekiyor bunun, artı olarak geri dönmesi gerekiyor.

59. Yani hızlı pişirmesini istiyoruz, avantajı olması lazım. Ama oralar test edilmesi gerekecek. İşin Ar-Ge tarafı, çünkü hızlı pişirirken de köpüksüz olmaması lazım. Yoksa hiç bir işe yaramayacak.

60. Esas en komiği, ürün piyasaya tahminimizden geç çıktı. Çünkü rezistansın kuvvetini azaltmak istediler, çok hayvan gibi hızlı pişirdi. Köpüğü ve lezzet olarak kahve suya tam karışmadı. Bu sefer rezistans küçüldü. Başta tek değişmemesi gereken şey, rezistans yeniden üretildi. Sonuç olarak ilk rezistans büyüklüğünde daha küçük rezistans yaptılar (*gülüyor*).

61. Biz de böyle çok abartmadan Türkçe şeyler yapalım [dedik].

62. A: Yani bir ürün yapılabilir ya da yapılamaz konusunda takıldığınız zaman o ürün çıkmıyor. Mesela şu orta kısımda bir çay makinesi var, çalıştık, çalıştık, Türkiye'nin şartlarına göre imalatı en güzel yöntemi bulduk, sonra baktık çok farklı bir yere gidiyor olay.

    H: Biçim olarak?

    A: Biçim olarak çok farklı bir yere gidiyor. […] Çin'de mesela bunun kazanını yaptırıyorsunuz. Bundan bahsedelim. Bunun kazanın yaptırıyorsunuz. Düz bir kağıt düşünün, böyle bir tane 304 paslanmazı kıvırıyor, ortadan bunu dikiyor paslanmaz kaynağıyla, sonra bunu boru şeklindeyken bunun üzerindeki bu formları veriyor. Sonra ağzını ayriyetten kesiyor. Bunu yapmak Türkiye'de çarpı üç, çarpı dört. […]

    H: Ek işlem olduğu için. Peki [bu diğeri] tek sıvamadan mı çıkıyor?

    A: Bunlar tek sıvamadan çıkıyor. N'oluyor, bu sefer maliyeti düşünüyorsun, Çin'le rekabeti düşünüyorsun. Mecburen. […] Maliyet. Tamamen maliyet. Yoksa bizim yapamayacağımız hiçbir şey yok.

63. Konuştuğumuz şeyler işte malzeme üzerine, paslanmaz çelikten yapılacağı için biçimin hani üretilebilir, kolay üretilebilir olması. Biçimdeki sadelikteki biraz amaç da o. Ürünün temiz çıkabilmesi. Hani daha hareketli bir form mesela Arzum'un elektrikli cezvesi gibi biraz daha üst tarafı işte hareketlendirilmiş bir form yapıldığı zaman bunu üretmek biraz daha zor. Arzum bunu gerçekleştirebiliyor çünkü ürünün satış fiyatı [bizimkinin] fiyatının neredeyse iki buçuk katı. Yani o yüzden daha iyi kalıplarla, daha daha güçlü işte preslerle o ürünleri çıkartabiliyor.

64. Tamamen regülasyonlardan dolayı konması gereken bir şey. Çünkü su pişiren bir şey. Kapak olması gerekiyor. Yoksa Avrupa'ya satamıyorsun mesela, TÜV testine giremiyor bile, falan gibilerden.

65. Kaynatma halinde dışarıya sıçraması, el yakması, başka bir şey yakmaması için bu ürünlerin standardı kapaklı. O yüzden kapak koyuyoruz. Normalde cezvede kapak olmaz.

66. A: Ben kapak tasarlamadım. Çünkü kapak fonksiyonel bir şey değil elektrikli cezvelerde ama bu firmalar yapıyorlar. [Benim çalıştığım üretici] de hani son üretim haline geldiği zaman bir plastik kapak da koymuştu. O kapak tasarımı bana ait değildi mesela hani o benim bilgim dahilinde yapılan bir şey değil. Ama herhalde onu şey, ambalajlarda ya da mutfakta dururken toz almasın diye yapıyorlar ama pek fonksiyonel bir şey değil. Onun kapattığın zaman zaten elektrikli cezve çalışmaz bir hale geliyor.

H: Benim bildiğim şu: O kapak yurt dışına satmak için gerekli, bir regülasyon.

A: Ama yanlış bir şey, çünkü kullanıcı onu o şekilde yapmaya çalışırsa da çok büyük sorunlarla karşılaşır. Hani yanlış, şey değil, doğru bir şey değil. Dediğim gibi belki tezgah üstünde tozlanmaması için hani kullanılmadığı sıralarda, belki hani açık hazne, onu kapatmak için yapılmış olabilir.

67. A: [Tasarımı satacağımız şirketler] yan çizince üzerine bir tane kapak koyduk, artı bir tane kaşık koyduk, bunu—

H: Neden kapak ve kaşık?

A: Farklılaştırmak için. Neden kapak, kaşık? Şimdi şurada şu [ilk tasarım] farklı bir şey. 'Bunun', dedik, 'güzelliğini bozmayalım'. Bu[ikincinin], dedik, fazla estetik şeyi yok, hani, bu şey, buna bir kapakla kaşık koyarsak bunu farklı durumu olur.

68. Şu şeyi çok iyi biliyorum. Karşımdaki firma şayet bir üretim firmasıysa sorguladığı şeyler maliyet ve üretime yatkınlığıdır, bir pazarlama firmasıysa sadece tüketici beklentileri ve satış temsilcilerinin beklentileri doğrultusunda gider. Bir marka sahibi, hem üretim, hem pazarlama yapan bir firmaysa, Arçelik gibi, Vestel gibi, onlar da her iki tarafını da irdelerler.

69. En kritik cümle de oydu bence hani: 'Ananem bakar bakmaz cezve demeli, "Ne değişik, cezve ama!". Sonra, "aa, altta kablolu bir hikaye var, bu elektrikli mi kızım?"', demeli yani. Gibi bir şey, heyecanlandılar, çünkü bu çok kişiye, çok çabuk ulaşacaksın, demek, ee, *marketing* olarak, bütün tanıtım olarak, görsel olarak yani. Sen ulaşamasan bile reklamınla falan, o bir yerde gördüğü zaman, sen ona çok daha kolay ulaşabildin demek. Dolayısıyla hani öyle bir seçime doğru gidildi, evet, doğru, buna yatırım yapalım.

70. O benim için bir zevk, bir hobi gibi bir şey, ama diğerleri sadece sıcak içecek.

71. A: Nescafé içmem. Nescafé'yi içmem, kahve içerim de.

B: Ben seviyorum.

C: Ama Türk kahvesinin yeri ayrı.

(*Diğerleri onaylıyor.*)

D: Evet, hiçbir şey yerini tutmaz.

C: Ne içersen iç, o Türk kahvesi ayrı.

(*Diğerleri onaylıyor.*)

E: Bizim de tercihimiz o. Ama akşamları biz bir tane [Nescafé] içeriz mesela.

B: Ben de Nescafé'yi sabah Ziynet'le çok severiz, içeriz. Gece de çok oturuyorsak, gece de içeriz ama Türk kahvesinin tadı başka.

E: Gece çok uzun be güzelim. Ne içeceğini şaşırıyorsun. Bende de içme hastalığı var, içeceğim habire.

C: Aynen. Bir şey içeceğiz yani, elinde o bardak olacak.

D: Bitki çayı, ada çayı iç, yeşil çay iç …

E: İç iç de artık bitki oldum vallahi!

(*Gülüyorlar.*)

72. Ama Türk kahvesini yalnız içemiyoruz. Özelliği o, birisi olduğunda içiliyor Türk kahvesi. Ama sıkıldığın zaman bir Nescafé içebiliyorsun yalnız başına.

73. A: Ben tek başıma sevmiyorum. Çok seviyorum kahveyi, yalnız [içmeyi] hiç sevmiyorum. Yalnız bir kahve pişireyim de içeyim, ben mesela kendi adıma demem.

    B: İlla ki biri olacak yanında.

    [...]

    A: Çok severim, günde iki tane, üç tane içebilirim ama biriyle. Keyif almam lazım.

    C: Ve hatta biri yaparsa daha bile iyisi.

    B: O zaman çok daha güzel!

    (*Gülüyorlar*.) [...]

    A: [Ablamı] çağırırım, 'Haydi abla, bana kahve yap.' Midesi ağrıyorsa içemiyorsa bile, azıcık koysun, eşlik edecek bana.

74. Bir de kahve komşuluğu var. Yani 'Ben sana kahveye geleceğim, sabah kahvesine geleceğim' deyince çay ikram edilmez, sadece kahve ikram edilir.

75. A: Türk kahvesini ben sabah mutlaka içmem gerekiyor kahvaltıdan sonra.

    B: Bizim kahve saatimiz on bir gibi işte, on buçuk, on bir gibi.

    C: Hepimizde var, kahve içiyoruz. Hatta bizim kahvelerimiz mutlaka birileriyle içilmesinden zevk alıyoruz. Yani tek başına kahve içmektense ya birisi gelsin, ya birisine gidelim de kahve içmek için, ya bir bahane mi, yoksa kahve olduğu için de o mu bahane, bilmiyoruz. İkisi bir arada oluyor (*Hep beraber gülüyorlar.*). Ama mutlaka bir insan arıyoruz.

76. A: Kişiye göre değişiyor. Mesela benim için sabah on buçuk, onbir gibi Türk kahvesi zamanıdır.

    B: … Türk kahvesi zamanımızdır. (*öğretir gibi*)

    C: Bizim de öyle. Biz ne olursa olsun içeriz, muhakkak onbir, onbir buçuk …

77. Babam çok fazla miktarda severdi. Sade kahveyi muhakkak içerdi. Ben onu çok sevdiğim için herhalde oradan gelen bir sevgiye … Küçücük yaşımda, yani hatırlıyorum, böyle beş-altı yaşındayken, veya daha ileriki yaşlarda, babamın içtiği kahve ee … Ben evlenip evden çıkana kadar da babamın kahvesini çok severek ben pişirirdim.

78. Ya şimdi ben İstanbul'da eğitime gidiyorum. Orada hiç kahve alışkanlığı yok. Ama eğitimimize gidecek olduğumuz zaman muhakkak kahvesini fincanını oraya hazırlar. Kahvaltıdan sonra hemen bize yapar. 'Aman sizi kahvesiz bırakmayayım', diye. Bir alışkanlık herhalde. Bizim Kayseri'de de sabah kahvaltı ettik miydi, ya bir komşu gelir, ya iki komşu gelir, hemen yani kahvemizi … Veya ben bir tarafa giderim, aşağıya yukarıya, içmeden olmaz bir kere o sabah.

79. Urfa'da da var. Her taraf yani aynıydı. Kahve aynıydı.

80. Türk kahvesi mutlaka vardır. Yani en hani şey, uç evlerde de, en sıradan halk evlerde de mutlaka Türk kahvesi vardır. Makineleri falan her şeyi var. Ama hepsinde cezve olduğuna inanıyorum ben. Her Türk evinde cezve vardır mutlaka. Öğrenci evlerinde bile vardır.

81. Türk kahvesi farklı bir şey, hani bu Nescafé ve filtre kahve, Amerikan, diğer kahveler daha farklı bir şey. Bunlar esas bizim kültürümüzde yok, dışarıdan gelmiş bu. Amerikan kahve, filtre kahve. Bunlar bizim kültürümüzde yok.

82. A: Benim beyin bir tarafı Rodos'lu, gözlerini açıyorlar, hemen kahve.

    […]

    B: Türk kahvesi mi?

    A: Türk kahvesi, Türk kahvesi. Onlar da Türk.

    C: Onlar da Türk.

    B: Hayır, Rodos'ta yaşadığı için … (*açıklamaya çalışarak*)

83. Çok da merak ediyordu Türk kahvesini. Bir yudum aldı bıraktı. Yoksa çok özendik, aman güzel olsun. Türkiye'yi temsil ediyorsunuz, Türk kahvesi, güzel şeyler söylesin.

84. A: Bunları söylüyoruz, söylüyoruz, İngilizler bizim bilgilerimizi alacaklar.

    B: Alsınlar. Bu kahve belli bizim olduğu.

    A: Ondan sonra bizim diyecekler. Yok, kahvenin şöyle faydaları var, doktorlarımız buldu diyecekler.

85. A: Ama mesela Yunanlılar da illa 'Bizim bu kahve,' diyor, 'Türk kahvesi değil, o bizden çıkma.' diyor. Onu ben orada Rodos'ta falan hepsinde yaşadım yani, 'Hayır, Türk'lerin değil ki, Yunanlılar'ın' diye ş'apıyorlar. O, benim bildiğim, Türk kahvesi. Türkiye'den çıktı biliyoruz ama orada da nereden geldi bilmiyoruz.

    B: Sen Türk kahvesi diyorsun ama mesela ben Kıbrıs'ta Rum'lardan öğrendim kahveyi.

    A: İşte bunu, böyle, çok söyleyen çok var yani.

    B: Ben Kıbrıs'ta doğdum, orada büyüdüm, orada yaşadım, ondan sonra onlardan gördüm de öğrendim. Özel fincanları var adamların. Türk kahvesini sunan …

    C (ev sahibi): Bizimkinden farklı mı?

    D: Kahvenin kökeni zaten Türkiye'de yok ki kahve ağacı, üretim yeri Türkiye değil ki.

    B: Yani bence de orada bir yani … Emin değilim ama orada bir … Türk kahvesi deniyor ama aslında Rumlar bu işi daha iyi biliyor bence. Eee, ve sunumları da farklı. Özel fincanlarda, altında tabağı yok ve yanında suyla ikram ediyorlar. Mesela Türkiye'de öyle bi sunum gördün mü sen? Suyla gelen Türk kahvesi gördün mü?

    C: Türk kahvesini özellikle suyla ikram ediyorsun.

    E: Türk kahvesi suyla, suyla … Yanında mutlaka tatlı bir şeyle, lokum …

B: Hani? Sen susuz getirdin? Çikolata getirdin?

C: (*Özür dilermiş gibi*) Özür dilerim, ben onu düşünememişim. Bir dahaki sefere getiririm.

(*Gülüyoruz.*)

C: Ama normalde hakikaten suyla ikram ediyoruz.

E: (*Yüksek sesle, otoriter bir biçimde*) Osmanlı mutfağında kahve, su, veya reçellerle ikram edilirmiş.

A: Yanında lokum.

[…]

B: Ama ben kendim olarak düşündüğüm zaman, benim o Kıbrıs'ta, o Rumların sunumları geliyor aklıma.

E: E tabii, çünkü sen orada yetiştiğin, ilk orada gördüğün için.

C: Ama sen orada büyüdün. İlk gördüğün için.

B: Evet, evet.

86. Ha şimdi Anadolu'daki adetten bahsederken, kahve veriliyor bizlerde. [Ev sahibinin] yaptığı gibi önce orta şekerli, az şekerli, nasıl içerse ona göre soruluyor. İsteğe göre kahve yapılıyor. Tepsi içerisindeki çok güzel fincan takımlarıyla beraber, zarif bir şekilde … Odun gibi getirmek değil, zarif bir şekilde getirip ikram etmek … O da en büyük adet, büyüklerden başlanır. Kahve verilmesi, kapıda duran gençlerden değil, büyüklerden başlanır. Mesela gelin getiriyorsa, kayın validesinden başlar. Veya ailenin daha büyüğü varsa, ilk önce ona ikram eder. Daha öncelerde küçükler büyüklerin yanında kahve içmezdi. Onun bir tabiri vardır, biraz kabaca ama, sen ister yaz ister yazma, 'kedi sirke içmez,' derler. […] Onun haricinde yanında yörelere göre değişiyor, çikolata, lokum, kimi şekersiz alır, kıtlama şeklinde içer kahveyi. […] Yanında muhakkak kahvenin suyu olur, su ikram edilir.

87. Seremoni gibi … Hani çok öyle, hani bu Japonların şu hani çay koyma seremonileri vardır ya. Bin bir türlü döndürüyor, içiyor, koyuyor, bilmem ne. Bence bu da hani böyle bir şey bizim için. Böyle hani yanına suyunu koyuyorsun. Onun da bir şekli var. Derler hani, ilk önce su mu içilir, ilk önce kahve mi? Onun bile bir şeyi varmış.

88. H: Peki, şöyle genel bir soru sorayım. Nereden öğrendiniz kahve yapmayı?

A: Annelerimiz! (cevabı belli bir soruymuş gibi)

(Gülüyorlar.)

A: Hepimiz annelerimizden.

B: Türk kültüründe bu var yani.

89. C: Ben de annemin kahve yaptığını hiç hatırlamam, çünkü ben yetiştiğimde ablam vardı önümde, devamlı ablam yapıyordu. Ama biz ilkokulda yapmaya başlardık.

D: Çocuk, çocuk yaşta, şöyle biraz çocuk tepsiyi getirmeyi becereceği yaşa geldiğinde, babalar başlar 'Haydi bir kahve pişir, içeyim kızım', diye. Yani en belki

yedi yaşında benim kızım kahve yapmayı bilirdi yani.

C: E sen de çok erken başladın, e ben de senden öğrendim yani. Annemi hiç görmedim kahve yaparken.

E: Siz evin büyüğü müsünüz? E ondan. Normaldir erken başlamak.

90. A: Bağda da açık havada, hemen bir bakıyorsun, bi kahve geliyor. […] Ondan sonra da akşam yemeklerinin üstüne yine bir geliyor, sağolsun ablamın gelini de çok güzel kahve yapıyor. Hazır gelince de … Yani bu bizim şu andaki durumumuz değil.

B: Tabii yıllardır.

A: Yıllardır! Anadan, atadan (*vurgu için ve diğerlerinin onaylaması için duraklıyor*) gelme bir şey yani.

B: E zaten hep bu kahve kültürü bizim Türk geleneklerinde gerçekten …

A: Babam mesela gözünü açtı mıydı, sabah namazını, kahvaltıdan önce bir fincan kahvesini içmezse güne başlamazdı.

91. A: Bizim evimizin üst katında babaannem var. O yüzden [bayramlarda] tüm ailedeki herkes bize gelir. Dediğim gibi modern geleneksel bir aileyiz aslında yani. O bir … bir kültür var ve onun dışına çıkılmıyor çok. Babam da o şekilde büyümüş. Babaannem de öyle. Herkes bize gelir bayramlarda. Ve özellikle yemeklerden sonra kahve ikram edilir. Atıyorum, yemek yemeyecekse, ziyaret gibi bir olaydaysa mutlaka yapılır zaten. Ve dediğim tarzda ikram edilir. Mutlaka çikolatası olur, yanında işte suyu olur. Ve o kahvenin köpüklü olması önemlidir. Çünkü evi temsil ediyorsun aslında.

[…]

A: [Babaannem] için çok büyük bir keyif. Her sabah düzenli olarak kahvesini bakır şeyde yapıp içer. Bakırda yapar. […] Ya o alışkanlık, sigara gibi bir şeydir belki bilmiyorum. Bayramlarda falan da o sistem devam ediyor zaten yani. Ya hani Türklerde şey olduğuna inanıyorum ben, bir yere ziyarete gidiyorsan, o evin sahipleri 20-30 yaşından büyük birileri varsa mutlaka hemen kahve ikram edilir ve Türk kahvesidir yani.

92. A: Ki o zaman kahve hakikaten çok tiryakiydi. Şimdi bizler çay filan daha çok şey yapıyoruz ama annemlerin zamanında hep sırf kahve vardı.

(*Diğerleri de onaylıyor.*)

B: Eskiden kahvaltı-altı kahve içilirdi aç karnına. Ben kayınvalidemden öyle duyuyordum. Kayınbabam falan aç karnına, kahvaltıdan önce kahve …

93. A: Şunu da söyleyeyim: Dedem benim, bir damla suyu [kahvenin içine] boşaltırdı.

(*Şaşkınlık nidaları*)

A: Evet! İçmeden önce, o telvenin fazlasını dibe çöktürürdü. Ve böbrekte bir fazla birikim olmasın diye. Ondan sonra içerdi. Ama köpüklü gelecek eline, o bir damla …

94. A: Daha önceleri annem kahveyi kendi kavururdu.

B: O, ne güzel.

A: Çiğ kahve alınırdı, o kavrulur, özel değirmenlerde, pirinç, elde çekilir. Hala bende …

B: Şöyle makinaları var …

A: O değirmenimiz var canım, bende antika olarak duruyor.

C: Bizde de var ya kocaman, şöyle şöyle çeviriyorsun …

A: Kavrulurken ve çekilirkenki kokusu zaten yetiyor.

95. Vallahi esas ben senelerce hep çiğ kahve alıp kavurup onu normal eski usul el değirmeninde çekerek yapıyordum. […] Çünkü o daha bir hoş oluyor, evin içerisi mis gibi kokuyor. O yeşil kahve yavaş yavaş, yavaş yavaş kahverengileşiyor. Onları böyle iki-üç günlük, taze olsun diye, yağsız tavada hemen ısıtır, değirmene koyarım, el değirmenine, onunla çekerim, o şekilde içerdim. Ama zamanlan benim ağzımın tadına uyan bir tek kahve var, şeyin kahvesi, ay bak ismini unuttum, her zaman kullanırım.

96. A: Esas kahve bakır cezvede, mangal kömüründe, hafif ağır ateşte, şöyle, hafif hafif kendi …

    B: Kokusunu vere vere.

    A: Kokusunu vere vere, gerçi bakır cezvede yapıyorum kahveyi ama ocakta. Ama gene de ağır ateşte.

97. Dışarda odun ateşinde yapmak var. Odunun kokusu sinmesi lazım kahvenin içine, o lezzeti gör ondan sonra. Közdekini. […] Közde daha köpüklü olur. Çünkü ısıyı yavaş yavaş, yavaş yavaş veriyor. O da tabii ki iyice emiyor ısıyı. O da köpürmeye başlıyor.

98. A: Eskisi gibi değil. Mesela eskiden gezmelere habersiz gidilirdi. Zaten herkes herkesi bilir tanır, hele küçük yerlerde. […] Herkes herkesi tanıdığı için de sabahleyin mesela kahvaltı yapılır, giyilir kuşanılır, ondan sonra gezmeye gidilirdi falan. 'Ben Fatma'ya gideceğim.' Fatma her an misafir bekliyor. […] Kendini ona göre ayarlamış. Sabahleyin kalkmış, işini yapmış, bitirmiş, yemeğini bastırmış. Gider oturursun. Bir saatliğine gidip oturuyorsun, fazla da oturulmaz, maksat bir gönül alma. Ondan sonra sana güzel bir kahve yapar, tepsi gümüş tepsi, fincanlar desen gayet güzel. Öyle lalettayin hemen Çin malı getirmezlerdi, o zaman zaten yoktu. Güzel bir şey. Oturursun güzel sohbet edersin.

    F: Örtü falan, değil mi? Tepsiler örtülü. (gülüyor.)

    A: Örtülü tabii, örtülü. Tepsiler gayet güzel el işleri örtülü. Yani bu gelen misafire saygıdır. Saygıdan dolayı. Ama maalesef şimdi şu anda saygı *kalmadı*, sevgi *kalmadı*.

99. A: Yalnız ben geçen gün, şeyde yaptım kahveyi, kuzinede. Kuzinede kahveyi yapıyorum …

    B: Kısık ateşte.

    A: Tabi çok kısık ve yavaş olduğu için. A bir baktım, koydum, a hiç köpük yok. 'Ay,' dedim eşime …

    C: Çok kaynatmışındır.

A: Hayır! 'Bu,' dedim, 'kahve tamamen dibine çöktü'. 'Kahvenin esası odur aslında' dedi. Eskiler kahveyi dibine şey yapılır.

B: Çok yaşlılar zaten köpüksüz içerler.

D: Esas mangalda, kömür ateşinde.

100. A: Kahve deyince hep anneannem gelir aklıma benim. Eski, eskilerden … Şimdi mesela bayramlarda işte Nescafé'ymiş …

B: Hala … (*sözünü kesmeye çalışarak*)

A: … kolaymış, gazozmuş, ne içersiniz diye soruluyor. Eskiden bayramlarda öyle bir şey yoktu, Türk …

B: Hala sorulmaz bizde! (*yüksek sesle sözünü keserek*)

S: … Türk kahvesi, lokumdu, çikolataydı, yanında gelirdi yani.

F: Sorulmaz, bizdeki adet hemen oturduğunda hemen kahve gelir.

101. A: Herhalde biraz da ailenin etkisi. Babam öyleydi. Son lokma bitmeden hemen kahveyi pişirir getirirdim. 'Oh, tamam şimdi keyfime diyecek yok', derdi. Kayınvalidem kayınpederim de aynıydı.

B: Eskiden kahve daha çok içilirdi, gerçekten yani.

A: Eski *Osmanlı* kültürünü devam ettiriyoruz. Veyahut ben, sevdiğimiz için herhalde o, ona yorumluyorum ben.

B: Şimdiki gençler tanımıyor herhalde kahveyi. Nescafé.

A: Nescafé'yi daha çok seviyorlar, evet.

102. A: Bakır cezvem de var. Kullanmıyorum artık, aldım bazen kullanırız diye. Eskiden hani mangal yakardık, mangalda kor ateşte, küllenen ateşin içinde kahve yapardık. Tabii onun da tadı başka olurdu. Ama şimdi onları yapmıyoruz, şimdi pratiğe kaçıyoruz. […] Ama ben işte senede bir iki Kıbrıs'a giderim, orada sıcak külde kahve yaparlar, bayılırım. Sırf gazinoya o kahveyi içmeye inerim. Çok güzel olur. Onun tadı, lezzeti bambaşka oluyor sahiden.

H: Fark ediyor yani?

A: Fark ediyor. O büyük arabalarda, kül dolu üstü, alttan ısı veriyorlar. Külün ısısında bakır cezveler koyuyorlar, onun içine kahveyi yapıyorlar.

103. A: Gençler çok seviyorsunuz ama biz … bilmiyorum bana, şahsım olarak, hiç …

B: Ben Türk kahvesini en çok böyle çok güzel muhabbet edebileceğim, başbaşa kalabalık olmayan böyle en güzel orada zevk alıyorum. Hani iki kişi üç kişi … Kalabalık yerlerde, hele dışarıda hiç hoşlanmıyorum. Ha, bir balığın üstüne falan gittiğin yerde bi restoranda içersin de, ama öyle sırf kahve içmek için o kahve evlerini ben sevmiyorum.

C: Kahve böyle güzel şeyleri çağrıştırıyor insanlara, insani şeyler, kahve dedin mi insanın içini böyle sevgi kaplıyor, hani muhabbet …

B: Ben oralarda bulamıyorum.

[…]

B: Kemeraltı'ndaki o sedirler […]

D: Camide var bir tane, minicik minicik tahtacık tabureler.

C: Evet, bizim mekanımız o işte. Her çarşıya indiğimizde, sırf Türk kahvesi var oranın, Türk kahvemizi içeriz orada. Mutluluk verir bize orası. Süper lüks bi restorandan çok daha mutlu oluyoruz orada. Çok farklı bir şey. Hele havanın güzel olduğu bahar aylarında filan.

B: Ben çok seviyorum orayı. İçeceksem öyle yerler, öyle sosyeteyi ya da güncel yaşantıyı değil, eski adetlerimizin yaşanabildiği yerleri. Onları seviyoruz.

A: Tabii tabii.. İnsanları seyrediyoruz orada, harika oluyor.

C: Sokakta kahve içmek, sokak kahveleri …

B: O hani, ha işte, köy kahveleri. Yani oralar. Yani ben kahve denildiği zaman bana işte Starbucks gibi, yok, ne o, Sir Winston'dı, ı-ıh, öyle yerler değil.

(*Diğerleri de onaylıyor.*)

E: Alaçatı'ya alalım sizi.

(*Gülüyoruz.*)

104. A: Mesela oğlum Antalya'da yer ayırttığı zaman otellerde gidiyoruz, orada kalıyoruz. Yemeği yer yemez ben dolanıyorum, Türk kahvesi nerede var diye.

B: Orada var canım. Beş yıldızlarda var. Kahveci özel giyimli falan.

A: Özel giyimli … Türk milli kıyafetiyle. Ama her an her dakika yok. Bazen öğlen yemeklerinden sonra oluyor, bazen de akşam oluyor.

B: Yabancılar bilmiyor ki. Mesela [bir otelde] sırf kahve köşesi yapmışlardı bahçeye. Güzel bir Türk köşesi, halılarıyla, yastıklarıyla, bayağı bizim bildiğimiz çadırda. Orada mangalda pişiriyordu, sana veriyordu. Orada da oturuyordun bahçede, her taraf yemyeşil, oh!

105. A: Buna denk geldin mi bilmiyorum. Seremoni gibi oluyor, biliyor musun? İşte yanına küçük likörünü veriyorlar Türk kahvesinin yanında, sonra ya da hani bazısında, bilmiyorum hiç gördün mü, böyle yine böyle likör bardağının içine soğuk su koyuyorlar, sonra o soğuk suyun içine, şey vardır, şu sakız macunu diye bir şey var ya, hiç gördün mü, beyaz, sakızdan. Onu böyle [bir kaşığa] macun gibi sarıyorlar, o soğuk suyun içine koyuyorlar. Onu böyle getiriyorlar kahvenin yanında, bir kahveni içiyorsun, sonra böyle sakız macunu alıyorsun, kahveni içiyorsun. Çok güzel bir şey.

H: Nerede içtin bunu?

A: Hani İzmir'de bu açıldı ya […]. Yunan, şimdi bu sakız şeyi hep Yunan adalarından getiriyorlar ya, o öyle bir Yunan kahvesi. Menüsü filan da Yunanca.

106. A: Aslında şey, kulpsuz bardaklarda, gümüş böyle bir şey …

B: Zarf, zarfın içinde. Eski fincanlar öyle.

A: … bir zarfın içinde, gümüş zarfın içinde porselen, kulpsuz bardaklarda şey yapılıyor.

C: Kapaklısı çıktı şimdi bir de onun.

B: Tepsisiyle takım. Yanında bir de bardağı var, ince bir su bardağı. Tuğralılar falan.

(*Diğerleri de onaylıyor.*)

Be: Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nda da var kahve fincanları çeşitleri. Ne para harcamışlar! Çok para yatırmışlar ona! (*gülüyor*) Osmanlıları da anmadan geçmeyelim. (*gülüyor*)

107. Bir de son yıllarda şey trendi var Türkiye'de, hiç gördün mü bilmiyorum. Nerede içtik ya biz arkadaşlarla gittiğimiz. Bakır bir tepside, fincan bakır bir şeyin içinde böyle, üzerinde böyle bir kapak var. Likörü lokumu filan öyle geliyor kahveler. […] Likörün çok bizimle alakası var mı bilmiyorum ama herhalde Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerinde giren bir mevzu. Ama güzel oluyor yani. […] Ben onu son birkaç aydır falan çok sık görüyorum her yerde. Eskiden çok yoktu öyle bir şey. Bildiğin şeyde gelirdi işte, porselen fincanda gelirdi.

108. A: Şu iki cezveye baktığımda benim şöyle bir cezvem olsaydı daha çok yapmak gelirdi içimden diye düşünüyorum. Hani, Osmanlı sunumu diyeyim artık onu özel fincanları falan da var zaten, bakırdan. Öyle bir takımım olsaydı gerçekten kendim yapıp da uğraşırdım. Yani şey de etkiliyor çünkü, tasarımı da etkiliyor, şuna bakınca, bunda süt pişiririm, kahve pişirmem gibi geliyor. (*Gülüyor.*)

    H: Osmanlı sunumu derken?

    A: Bakır tabak oluyor. Bakır fincan oluyor. Üstüne de, hani getirmeden önce yanına lokum koyup şöyle kapatıyorlar üstünü, öyle sunuyorlar falan.

109. Evde hani annemler hani böyle bir (*gülerek*) yeteneğimi ölçmek için 'Bize bir kahve yap', falan filan muhabbetiyle kahve yaptırırlar işte, onu özenle yapmaya çalışırım gerçekten, beğensinler, yetenekli olduğumu görsünler diye. O zaman, yani, işte, yaparım belli bir şekilde hani, fincanları düzgün olsun, aman, hepsi aynı tarafa baksın, şöyle olsun, böyle olsun, şekerine dikkat edeyim, özellikle şekeri önemli çünkü, herkes farklı istiyor, farklı farklı yapmak gerekiyor onlara. Onlara dikkat ederim, şey yani, Osmanlı sunumu gibi olsun diye de uğraşamam tabi de … (*Gülüyor.*)

110. Esas kahve közde, bakır cezvelerde yapılır. Onun tadına doyum olmaz mesela. Asla bu elektrikli makineleri … fason geliyor. O tadı asla alamam. Ben memlekete gittiğim zaman, mesela mangalda kahve derler ya, onu denemenizi isterim, denemediyseniz. Mangalda yapılan, *bakır* cezvede yapılan kahvenin tadına doyum olmaz.

111. A: Şimdi bu Türk kahvesi makinesi var ya bana sorsan ben hayatta böyle bir şey almazdım. Bu şeyle geldi, düğün hediyesi olarak. […] Ben normalde cezvede, hani. Zaten normalde tadı fark ediyor bunda ve cezvede yaptığın zaman. Şey oluyor ya, cezvede yavaş yavaş böyle ısınıyor ya. Ama tabii köpüğünü denk getiremiyorsun cezvede. Bunda hayvan gibi köpük oluyor ama tadı farklı oluyor.

    […]

    H: Makineden makineye değişiyor olabilir mi?

    A: Zannetmiyorum. Değişiyor mudur makineden makineye? Bilmiyorum. Bence o kaynamasından. Bunda hemen iki saniyede kaynıyor ya, onun Türk kahvesinin yavaş, ağır ağır …

112. Aslında bir sürü makine var ama hep söylerim cezvenin yerini hiçbiri tutamaz. Cezvedeki o tadı vermiyor, çünkü ister istemez o elektrik kokusu var ya, onu

alabiliyorsun. […] Bir defa hepsinin mantığında bol elektrik geliyor. O elektrik tadını deli gibi alıyorsun, çünkü kahveyi yakıyor. Ya hepsinde, en üst teknoloji yapılan bir şey de olsa altına bir ısıtıcı yerleştiriyorlar, onun içine kahve girdiği zaman, ki girmemesi imkansız, onu yakıyor ve o yanık tadı oluyor. […] O bir-iki liralıklar da yakıyor, 25 liralıklar da yakıyor, [daha pahalı makineler] de yapıyor. Bir anda kaynatıyor ya deli gibi bir sıcaklık verip bir anda kaynatıyor. Ve yakıyor kahveyi.

113. H: Peki ayırt edebildiniz mi şimdi? Söylemeseydik mesela elektriklide yapıldığını bilir miydiniz, acaba?

A: Yok o kadar değil. O kadar değil.

[…]

B: Kömür ateşinde olsa belki o fark anlaşılır. Kömürde pişmiş kahveyle mangalın üstünde pişmiş kahveyle ee elektriklide olan arasında fark olabilir …

C: Tat olarak da oluyor. O közde pişen kahvenin kokusu da farklı oluyor.

B: Ama ocakta piştiği zaman fark etmiyor.

114. A: Benim arkadaşım önerdi, geçen sene gelmişlerdi bize, bende de kahve makinesi yok, çünkü şey hani, mutfakta çok fazla yayıntı istemiyorum. O bana yayıntı gibi gelmişti. İşte cezvede pişiriyorum, ee ama o da tabi çok uzun zamanda oluyor. Sonra kızdı bana. (*Gülüyor.*) 'Neden kahve makinesi yok bu evde?' (*taklit ederek*)

B: 'Neden almıyorsun?', dedim.

A: 'Neden almıyorsun?', dedi. Hemen gittim, o hafta aldım.

(*Gülüyorlar.*)

B: Ama rahat ettin.

A: Çok memnunum, çok memnunum.

115. A: Ya [gerçekten] niye almıyorsunuz? Çok rahat bir şey.

B: Çok ihtiyaç duy… Ha tabi rahatlığı konusunda rahat da.

A: Yani imkan bakımından da çok da pahalı bir şey değil yani.

C: Çok pahalı bir şey değil yani.

D: Değil mi? Cezvede küçücük yapıyorsun, onda hem dolu yapıyorsun, hem de güzel oluyor kahve.

116. Cezve hediyesi gelmişti üç tane böyle. Sonra da bir tane de bundan geldi. Bir tane daha geldi, onu anneme verdim. Cezveler duruyor. Onda süt ısıtıyorum, kahve yapmıyorum. Bir de ya üşeniyorum artık böyle iş falan yoğun falan ya. Bunda aslında iyi. Pıt pıt iki saniyede yapıyorsun. Öbür türlü bekle falan bilmem ne. Üşengeçlikten …

117. A: Kahve makinesinde yapıyorum. Aslında [cezvem] de var, ocakta da yaparım ama zor ısındığı için, onun için makinede yapıyorum. Makinede de iki dakikada oluyor. Soğuk suyla yaparsan çok lezzetli oluyor, ılık suyla yaparsan normal oluyor, sıcak suyla yaparsan hiç tadı olmuyor.

H: Ama çabuk oluyor.

A: Çabuk oluyor.

118. A: Yani bence kahve ve kahve pişirme bir ritüel. Yani kahve makinelerine ben karşıyım.

[…]

H: Ne için?

A: Yani. (düşünüyor) o ritüelin dışına çıkıyorsun ya. Yani bakır cezvede böyle kısık ateşte pişirmenin onu. İçmekten nası keyif alıyorsan pişirmekten de öyle keyif alman lazım. Ya o ritüeli bozmamak lazım diye düşünüyorum.

B: Ama beş kişi, altı kişi geldi mi o çok kolay …

A: Ya ben teknolojiye karşı bir insan olduğum için kahve makinelerini de pek sevmiyorum. (*gülüyor*) Ama aldım. Kalabalık geldiği zaman kolay oluyor. […] Ama iki kişilikken asla makineyi kullanmıyorum.

H: Ne kullanıyorsunuz?

A: Bakır cezve. Esas bakır cezve.

119. O şeyden oluyor, eğer çok tembel bir durumdaysam makinede yapıyorum. O daha çabuk yapıyor çünkü, beş-altı kişiye üç-beş dakikada hallediyorsun. Ama işin içine cezve girdiği zaman o süre çok daha uzuyor. Bir de cezvelerin en büyüğünde en fazla üç-dört kişiye kahve yapabilirsin, en büyüklerde bile. Bir de cezveler ne kadar büyük olursa tadı da o kadar gidiyor zaten. […] Eğer hani özel bir şeyler varsa, gelen insanla alakalı bir bağım varsa falan, özel şeyler kullanıyorsun, genel olunca makineyi kullanıyorsun.

120. Şimdi kalabalık olduğu zaman, gerçekten makine olduğu zaman, çok büyük rahatlık. Hem tadı güzel oluyor, hem çok çabuk yapıyorsun. Öbür türlü bekliyorsun. […] Yani, tabii, kalabalık olduğunu düşün şimdi. İki kişi orta istedi, biz sade istedik. Bekle Allah, bekle. Ev sahibi mutfakta kalıyor.

121. Ya bir de kalabalık misafirde çok çabuk pişirdiği için seri hareket ediyorsun bu elektriklide. […] Hemen yani anında biri daha ya bir yudum bir şey çekmeden öbürü de geliyor arkasından. Birlikte içiliyor kahve.

122. A: Şimdi eskiden o vardı.

B: O daha basit, plastik.

C: Basit, plastik.

A: Plastik. Evet. O basitti, şimdi daha …

B: Şimdikiler daha emniyetli.

D: Biz dairede çok yapardık onu.

A: Hemen iki dakikada değil mi, benim de vardı.

C: Onlar, eee, iki buçuk, üç milyon liraya alınır pazardan …

D: Ama bu daha güzel, sizin kullandıklarınız daha güzel.

C: Tabii biraz daha şey emniyetli, bunlar daha emniyetli yeniler.

A: Emniyetli hem de bu daha farklı, daha güzel.

123. Çok dayanmıyorlar, çok çabuk hani gidiyorlar. Çok sık kullanıma uygun olduklarını düşünmüyorum. Kullandığım, deneyimlediğim her çeşit makinede aynısı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Farklı evlerde, farklı insanların bunu hep söylediğini biliyorum. Kızlar da diyor, yani, 'Annem bu makineyi aldı, olmadı', işte, 'Evime bunu aldım, patladı, çatladı'.

124. A: Şey aslında ucuz plastikler var ya onları ben çok kullandım. Hani şimdi bu Arzum'un falan değil de. Oğlum 'Kullanma!', dedi, ondan sonra kullanmadım.

B: Benim de oğlum kızdı da ben bunu aldım o zaman. Yeni çıkmış bu, ben de senelerdir kullanıyorum.

H: O plastiklerin yerine aldınız?

A: O plastikleri attık.

B: Kanserojen madde üretiyor diye. Bizim yeğenimiz yeni kanser olmuştu o zaman da hani ondan oğlum kızdı bana, ben atıverdim.

C: Bir de psikolojikman, evet.

B: Allah'a şükür bunlar çıktı da.

[…]

A: Ama hepimiz onlardan kullanmışızdır.

(*Diğerleri onaylıyor.*)

B: Onlardan hepimiz kullandık yani.

C: Herkes kullandı.

125. Annemin bir tane makinesi var cezve şeklinde, şöyle tombul geliyor. On kişilik falan bir anda kahve yapabiliyorsun. Tek bir tuşu var, açıyorsun, kapıyorsun. Sadece o, o bir-iki liralıkların bir üst versiyonu. […] Onu da kardeşim almıştı herhalde, 20 lira mı, 25 lira mı ne. Onun çok deli gibi fiyatları yok.

126. A: Yani şimdi bunlar çok köpük yapıyor açıkçası. Böyle kahve kaynayıp da tadı [suya] çıkmıyor. Öbür közde yapılan alttan kaynadığı için, çok ağır ateşte çok da güzel lezzeti, tadı çıkar şimdi. Bu elektrikliler 'pof' diye, yani kabartıyor, kahve yani şey olmuyor. Ama bir cezvede pişirdiğin bir kere böyle hani [köpüğünü] alır koyarsın …

(*Diğerleri onaylıyor.*)

B: Aslında var ya bu şey cezveleri daha ağırdan yapma, elektrikli şeyden …

A: Ha onu söyleyeceğim. Kullanışı, şeyi çok güzel, ama daha ağır ateşte pişirmesini istiyoruz.

(*Diğerleri onaylıyor.*)

B: Yani bir ayarı olması lazım.

127. Bir de şey yapamıyorsun, çok müdahale edemiyorsun o makinelere. Deli gibi

böyle anında taşıyor falan bir anda. Köpüğünü alamıyorsun, köpüğünü alamayınca da … Kahvenin mantığı o!

128. H: Çay makinesi peki? Kimisi ona da diyor, mesela çay makinesine …

A: Çay makinesini kullanıyorum. Ama alıştım yani, ilk başta sıcak bakmıyordum, sonradan kolayıma gitti. Şimdi de alıştım çay makinesine. […] Memnunum da. Ama çay makinesi daha normal sisteme uyarlı bir şey.

B: Çok iyi tiryakiler onu da kullanmıyor.

A: Öyle mi? Onu bilmiyorum. Ama o da alttan kaynatıyor. Çaydanlıkla ikisi aynı olay oluyor. Yani o daha aynı şey. Kahvede kahve makinesiyle kahve cezvesi arasında fark var yani. Pişirme… Yani farkı var. (*Duraksıyor.*) Bence. (*Duraksıyor.*) Değil mi?

C: Kahvenin detayları var. Makine o detayları kaçırdığı zaman tadı kaçıyor. Çayda öyle bir şey yok.

(*Diğerleri de onaylıyor.*)

A: Çayda yok. Sadette o da alttan kaynıyor, o da alttan kaynıyor.

B: Ama gerçek çay tiryakisi benim bir arkadaşım var, makine kullanmıyor. Çaydanlıkta yap diyor bana.

C: Onlar zaten porselen falan da kullanmayı tercih ederler.

D: Çay da porselende güzel oluyor.

A: Evet, tam tiryaki yani.

129. A: Mesela makinelerde önce ben köpüklü yapamadım. Şimdi baktım çok kolay yapılıyormuş. Önce beceremediğim için yapamamışım. […] Ama ben de şeye alışmışız ya hani, kahveyi yavaş, ben çok yavaş yapardım, bekleyerek.

B: Önce köpüğünü alırsın, bi daha kaynatırsın …

A: Hıhı. O yüzden sanki böyle aceleye gelmiş bir şey gibi geldi bana, önce yapamadım kahveyi makinede. Çünkü saniyede, brrrt! Tüh! ('*eyvah!' anlamında el çırparak*) Ben hemen taşırdım, çünkü yavaş yavaş olan bir şey değil.

B: Taşıyor hemen.

C: Başında bekliyorum ben, bırakmıyorum.

A: Yavaş olma imkanı yok. O beni biraz sarstı ve bilemedim yani.

130. A: Bir de ben onu beceremiyorum. Haşlıyor kahveyi. Yani şimdi onu kaynadığı anda kapatacakmışsın. O gene foşur foşur oluyor ya, üstüne gelinceye kadar. Öyle daha iyi oluyormuş. Ben onu genelde taşırıyorum. Biraz kaynıyor ondan sonra kapatıyorum o taşıyor veya şey oluyor yani …

B: Makinelerde pişen mi?

A: Ben sevmiyorum çok onu.

131. A: Aslında tabii siz biliyorsunuz, yani soğuk su koyuluyor önce, ondan sonra kahve, şeker, bilmem ne koyuluyor değil mi? Yani benim bildiğim kadarıyla öyle. Ondan sonra normal ateşte işte ben bakır cezveyle yapmayı tercih ediyorum.

Hele tek kendime yaparsam kahve makinesi hiç kullanmıyorum.

H: Var mı peki evde?

A: Var. Aldık, daha doğrusu getirdi birisi, hediye getirdi. Ama işte böyle üç-beş kişi olduğu zaman kullanıyorum. Ayrıca onu bile tam beceremiyorum herhalde, onun da bir ayarı var. Kaynadığı anda kapatılması gerekiyor diyorlar. O ısıyla içindeki şey tekrar kaynamaya devam ediyor. Ya onda iki defa yapman olmuyor yani. Bence kahve makinesinden kahvedense bildiğimiz kahve, cezvede kahve çok daha güzel. […]

B: Ben de makineyi kullanmam. Kahve dedin mi şey, cezve yani. Kahve, ateşte cezve …

132. Kahve yaparken insanlar beş tane kahve yapacaksa beş tane fincan su koyarlar, beş kahve olsun diye. Ama öyle değil. Altı fincan su koyması lazım ve beş kaşık değil, altı kaşık kahve koyması lazım. Yani bir fazla olması lazım. Çünkü üzerindeki kahve köpüğünün biraz daha bol olması lazım, lezzeti vermesi için. […] Ve bunu makinenin üzerinde çay kaşığıyla alıyorsun, fincanın içine koyuyorsun önce, tam pişmeden. Tabii piştikten sonra kahveyi doldurduğunda alttaki tadı üzere veriyor. Üstüne verince de tabii ki kahve lezzetli oluyor.

133. A: Yalnız ne dedi geçen gün? Bir arkadaşımız almış, yeni. Acaba hangisini aldı? Dedi hani, 'Kaynıyor, taşmıyor'. (*duraksıyor*)

B: Yeni bir makine çıkmış. Soracaktık onu, taşırmıyormuş yani unutsa da.

C: O ilginç. Yani kahve taşıyor çünkü bizimkilerde.

A: Nasıl olur?

B: Geçen gün toplantıda söylüyordu da biz 'Bakalım', falan dedik, 'nasıl bir şey'. […] Almış o, 'Çok güzel', dedi. 'Taşırmıyor', dedi.

A: 'Yok,' dedim, 'bir de taşırmıyor'. 'Evet, taşırmıyor', dedi. Ben öylesine, dalga geçtim aslında …

134. A: Ama ben şimdi bir daha istiyorum. Öbür şeylerden, ayarlılardan almak istiyorum.

B: 'Ayarlı' nasıl?

A: Ya o da böyle şey gibi … İçine cezve malzemesini atıyorsun, koyuyorsun içine, şey ediyor, o piştiği anda üç kere 'dıt dıt dıt' diyor.

C: Kendi atıyor.

A: Kendi atıyor. Yani taşma özelliği yok. Gidip alıyorsun.

C: Güzelmiş.

D: A, çok güzel!

E: Öbürlerinde çok çabuk taşıyor.

A: Taşma özelliği yok.

135. A: Bizimkiler eski modele girdi artık. […] Şimdi öbürleri daha güzel.

B: Cezve … bakır cezveler …

A: Bakır cezve de, bir de yeni çıktı ya. Koyuyorsun, kaynıyor, kendi kendine taşma olayı da yok. Duruyor piştikten sonra.

136. A: Büyük cezvesi de var, küçük cezvesi de var. İki tane yan yana olan. Yani—

[…]

H: Cezve şeklinde mi o zaman?

A: Cezve de, […] makinesi değişik. Koyduğun makine değişik. Yoksa cezve. Kulplu bayağı cezve … Daha o şey gibi, bayağı bakır cezvelerimiz gibi şekli. Ama koyacak makinesi değişik. Böyle bir kare kutu. (*eliyle havada kare çiziyor*) Üç tarafı kapalı. Üstü kapalı. Böyle aradan şeyi var, oraya koyuyorsun cezveyi.

137. Makinenin içinde cezvesi var. Şöyle bir makine (*eliyle kutu gösteriyor*). İki gözü var, cezveler onun içinde. Arka bölümünde su alma, su bölümü var. Orası devamlı su dolu bırakıyorum. Ben sadece kahvesini şekerini koyup düğmesine basıyorum, bir kişilik mi iki kişilik mi.

138. Cezve olarak ele alınmamış, tasarım tarafından.

139. Kullandım. Hatta şey yaptım, yanlış kullandım. Meğersem onların bir şeyi varmış, su haznesi varmış, o su haznesini kadın zaten hep dolduruyormuş. İçinden suyu alıyor. Ben de zannediyorum ki cezvenin içine koyuyorsun suyu, öyle yapıyorsun. Tabii ben orada şimdi kadın yokken cezvenin içine koydum suyu, yerleştirdim cezveyi bastım. Sonra tabii bir de yukarıdan hazneden koyunca hepsi taştı.

140. Valla esasında ben daha önceleri bakır cezvede, kısık ateşte, yavaş yavaş pişirmeyi çok seviyordum. Ama artık böyle bazen çabuk olsun gibilerini düşünürseniz … Bir de tabii, artık teknolojinin ilerlemesiyle bakır cezveler tarihi olmağa başladı. Hoş şimdi tekrardan döküldü piyasaya gene var ama o eski dövme bakır cezveler. Onda kısık ateşte, yavaş yavaş pişen kahvenin tadı kokusu daha bir başka oluyor tabi. E ondan sonra ııı… emaye cezveler kullandık, ee, onların çünkü bakırların kalay problemi vardı, e ondan sonra emaye cezveler çıktı, emaye cezvelerde pişirdik. Ondan sonra çelik-krom cezveler çıktı. Şimdi tabi iyice modernleşti yaşam, elektrikli cezveler var. Onları da güzel, hoşuma gidiyor yani. O da hoşuma gidiyor ama, yalnız içtiğim zaman normal çelik cezvede pişiriyorum.

141. A: Ben hala güzel kahve yapamam. Makinede yapıyorum. (*gülüyor*) Onun için makineye bayılıyorum. Yani ocağı taşırma yok. Kesinlikle! Sıcaklığı çok çok güzel. Köpüğün gitme durumu yok. Onun için makineden çok memnunum.

H: Ne zaman aldınız makineyi?

A: Üç yıl oldu. Daha önce diğer makineleri kullandım. Daha basit olanları, basit kahve makinelerini … Önce [elektrikli cezve] aldım. Hani ne bileyim, eskiler vardır, fişini takardın fokurdardı. Arada bir de patlardı. Kaç ayda bir de birer tane almamız gerekirdi. Tehlikeli bir şeydi. Ama üç yıl önce [otomatik] aldım. O müthiş. Ondan çok memnun kaldım. Bugüne kadar beş-altı tane kahve makinesi eskittim ama bundaki güzelliği hiç birinde alamamıştım.

[…]

[Otomatik olanda] makinenin içine iki tane cezveyi sokuyorsunuz. Diğerleri tek cezve. 'Daha önce kullandım, memnun kalmadım,' dediklerim de o. Tek cezve şeklinde olanlar.