

Turkish Ethnicity in Restaurants



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Preface

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Of the things that I have learned during the last eight weeks, there is only a part written in this thesis. The experiences, inspirations and lessons will always be close to me. My way of thinking about (Turkish) ethnicity has certainly changed.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the performance of ethnicity in restaurants owned by Turkish immigrants. By doing literature research, interviews and observation, an explanation will be found for the different types of restaurants.

According to Barth, ethnicity is a form of social organization instead of an expression of culture. Nowadays, the focus is on the boundary itself. It is no longer about the "cultural stuff" that encloses the boundaries. His main position is that ethnicity is situational and therefore dependent on the place where you are and with who you are. Ethnicity can only occur when there are interactions because then cultural difference become relevant.

Foodscapes are dynamic in the base and therefore always changing. A foodscape consist of spaces – physical, organization and social cultural - where all the imaginable issues related to food meet each other. It is a much broader and more complex concept than simply places where you can sell and buy food.

The ways in which Turkish ethnicity in restaurants is commoditized varies. Many categorizations can be found in literature about the commoditization of ethnicity. After the comparisons of the categorizations, two broad categories remained. The first category consists of ordinary restaurants where ethnicity of the owner is mainly affected by the consumers. Both consumers and the owner do not care about the original ethnicity. The second category comprises traditional restaurants, where ethnicity is used in a different way. The owner is proud of his Turkish ethnicity and wants to transfer it to his customer. Also, the customers in this type of restaurant do care about the ethnicity of owner.

Both types of restaurants, express the Turkish ethnicity of the owner by using images, objects, food and bodies. However, the way this is done differs. The point is that each of the four aspects can become part of the identity of the Turkish immigrant, even though it is not Turkish from origin, such as *kapsalon*.

The different types of ethnicity in restaurants are caused by rational choices and passions of both owners and consumers. Each individual makes his own trade-off between rational choices and passions, thus balancing between two desirable but incompatible desires, and will lead to different types of restaurants owned by immigrants.

1. INTRODUCTION

The last decades, population demographics have changed substantially by migrants. This can be due asylum, labor, study, family formation and family reunification (Roodenburg et al, 2003). As a result, a lot of societies have become multi-cultural. This phenomenon has lot of aspects, but this paper focuses on the changing food culture caused by migrants.

Food practices are an important part of culture. Migration of people leads to an exchange of diets, such as preparation techniques and eating rituals. Food can also be seen as a means of cultural exchange when migrants set up restaurants and use their ethnicity, directly and/or indirectly, to sell food from their country of origin (Schulp and Tirali, 2008). Thus food must be seen as a means that is maintaining identity but also as a means that allows cultural exchange.

1.1 PROBLEM INDICATION AND RESEARCH AIM

This paper is about Turkish immigrants who started a restaurant in Europe. The Central Bureau of Statistics provides data for 2014 indicating that 395.302 Turkish people are living in the Netherlands and that number is still growing (CPB, Kerncijfers van de bevolking). Some of the immigrants started a restaurant in their new country and this thesis focuses on these immigrants.

In the twentieth century, the Turkish population was a minority and therefore their enterprises felt in the "niche" category. Today, many Turkish restaurants can be found in big cities, and that is considered as normal. However, there are big differences between Turkish restaurants. The aim of this research is to explore and disentangle the interrelation between restaurants and Turkish ethnicity and therefore to find connections between these different themes. This will hopefully lead to an explanation why there are so many different Turkish restaurants who express their ethnicity in a different way.

1.2 RESEARCH METHODS

Because of the information provided previously, the central research question is:

How is ethnicity performed in restaurants run by Turkish immigrants in Europe and how can this be explained?

The sub-questions are:

1. How can we describe ethnicity and the foodscape of international Turkish immigrants?
2. In which ways is Turkish ethnicity commoditized in restaurants owned by Turkish immigrants?
3. What role is played by images, objects, food and bodies in the performance of Turkish ethnicity in migrants' restaurants?
4. Why is it that there is diversity in focus on Turkish ethnicity in restaurants?

For this thesis, a period of eight weeks was available. In order to answer the research question and corresponding sub-questions within the given timeframe, a methodology of mixed research techniques was composed to obtain qualitative data.

The main research technique was literature research. Different kinds of databases were used from the library site of Wageningen University; Google Scholar, Scopus and Web of Science. The most important keywords in all the databases were: "Turkish", "restaurants", "global", "cuisines", "immigrants", "migration", "ethnicity" and "ethnic food". The problem with these words is that in all databases, too many articles were available so the search was narrowed by using one subject area in the database such as "social sciences". Another way to reduce the results was to set a limit on the year of publication of the articles. In the first instance, my limit on the year of publication was 2012. If I didn't find good articles or books, I lowered my year of publication to 2010. Also, a limit was set in the document type because I wanted only book chapters and articles so the book reviews, articles in press and reviews were removed. After this limitation, many articles remained. This number varied because by zooming in on results, other results appeared. See for an example Appendix 1 (figure 5).

The next part will give an example of the search for articles in the Scopus database, which is an abstract and citation database.

- Website of Wageningen University → Scopus database and searched for "documents";
- Results were limited by using search terms (such as "global" and "cuisines") and limits on date and subject area (Appendix 1, figure 6);
- The references of the chosen articles contained an URL. By zooming in on that reference, other (related) articles were found of which some were also used (Appendix 1, figure 7).

This is just one example with the keywords "global" and "cuisines" in the database Scopus. I tried many other combinations in both Scopus and other databases but the follow-up actions of the study remained the same.

The second research technique which is used is interviewing. Two interviews were held, the first one in Utrecht and the second one in Haastrecht. Prior to the interviews, websites were visited and on that basis restaurants in Utrecht were contacted. One restaurant replied, which was restaurant "Ana's Kuzin". The interview took one hour and was based on a list of questions, but it was more an informal conversation. During the interview, notes were made. The results of this interview have been documented (Appendix 2, Ana's Kuzin).

The second interview was really different. First of all, that restaurant is located in my hometown, so in a comfortable environment. Secondly, the restaurant is very different than the first restaurant that was visited. As a result, different questions were asked compared to the first interview. The second interview took about half an hour. The results of this interview have been documented (Appendix 4, Portofino).

During the interviews, the third research technique was carried out: observations.

I looked at many things such as objects, personnel, menu cards, number of customers et cetera.

1.3 CONTENTS THESIS

This thesis consists of the following structure:

- *Introduction to Turkish foodscapes*: this chapter describes the concepts relating to the topic of this research. It will only look at the Turkish foodscape outside Turkey.
- *Categorization of Turkish restaurants*: this chapter is about different types of Turkish restaurants in migrant countries. The different types are based on categorizations mentioned in literature. After the description of the existing categorizations, an analysis will be applied on those categorizations.
- *The creation of Turkish-ness*: this chapter is about the ways in which objects, images, food and bodies create some kind of Turkish-ness in restaurants. This chapter will also use information obtained from interviews and observations.
- *Passions versus Rationality*: this chapter will look at the reasons behind the different types of ethnicity in restaurant. Specific attention will be given to the owners of the restaurants and the consumers.
- *Conclusion*

2. TURKISH FOODSCAPES IN MIGRANT COUNTRIES

This research uses the definition of ethnicity provided by Frederick Barth and will be explained by the next section. After that section, the concept foodscape will be discussed and relations will be established between foodscapes and ethnicity with the help of Turkish foodscapes in migrant countries.

2.1 ETHNICITY

Fredrik Barth is a key thinker in the field of ethnic studies. His essay addresses the problems of the definition of ethnic groups. Barth argues that social anthropologists only looked at the differences between cultures and the corresponding historic boundaries and connections. Those anthropologists use the highly abstracted word "society" to define the comprehensive social system, but it is more complex. They ignored the constitution of ethnic groups and the nature of boundaries between them (Barth, 1969).

"Ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built"

(Barth, 1969: 10)

Barth states that ethnic identity is the feature of social organization instead of culture because the concept culture is too vague. Before Barth's revolutionary approach, the main focus was on cultural difference as the basic of ethnic groups. After his approach, the social organization of culture differences became the main focus. So ethnicity is seen as a form of social organization instead of an expression of culture. He also shifted the focus from the "cultural stuff" that encloses the boundaries to the focus on the boundary itself. He looked at the maintenance and the recruitment of the boundaries. The point is that ethnic groups are situational. External factors, such as historical and political circumstances, are responsible for the production and maintaining of ethnic groups. Another critical feature of ethnic groups is the characteristic of self-ascription and ascription by others. Individuals are responsible for the fact that ethnicity makes an organizational difference because they are the one who embrace it, are constrained by it, act on it and experience it (Barth, 1969).

In other words, Barth added another element on the definition of ethnic groups: social interaction. You can only talk about ethnic groups when there is an interaction because then the cultural differences become relevant. There can only be a difference compared to something or someone. Ethnicity always assumed a relation. The focus should be on the boundaries which defining a group and less on the cultural content they include. Boundaries are not specific physical, but are social and invisible between two groups. He also argues that boundaries are permeable and that it is quite possible that individuals can move from one ethnic group to another ethnic group. Also, it is not necessarily that individuals of an ethnic group share all the same features of that ethnic group.

2.2 TURKISH FOODSCAPES

Cook and Crang (1996) argue that food as a cultural artefact is both 'placed' and 'misplaced'. In the first place, food can be seen in a local context because food is directly available or consumed. Secondly, food is part of a complex network of flows of culture, materials and knowledge. The authors are using the case of London to demonstrate the globalization of culinary culture. In London, food from other countries is now locally available and that is why Time Out, a London listings magazine, described London as 'the world on a plate' (Cook and Crang, 1996: 132). This shows that there is both a relation between food and cultural flows (migration, travel) as a relation between food and local places where you can buy that foreign food. Those two aspects mutually constitute each other. In their article, displacement which refers to cultural mixing and to the globalized food system, is mentioned. The distant places of production are connected with the local places through a complex network of actors. To conclude, food can be valued both for global origins, concrete availability and their local visibility (Cook and Crang, 1996).

In literature about food, foodscapes are often used as a potent frame of analysis. The word "foodscape" refers to the landscape of food. According to Winson (2004: 301) the definition of a *foodscape* is "the multiplicity of sites where food is displayed for purchase, and where it may be consumed." That definition is not meaningful because a foodscape is much more than just sites where you can sell and buy food. Matus (2012) gives a definition provided by Johnston et al. which is more useful and displayed on the next page.

"A foodscape has a mediated, indirect relationship to physical ontology or place; a foodscape may variously capture or obscure the ecological sites and social relations of food production, consumption and distribution. Foodscapes involve elements of materiality and ideology and are contested spaces where actors struggle to define the terrain of political action, including the extent of market involvement and private ownership of food"

(Matus, 2012: 18)

Thus each foodscape has different faces, and you can imagine that it gains more complexity when it is experienced abroad. Foods are redefined, reconstructed and become fragmented (Timur Öğüt, 2008). For example, Turkish food has become embedded in the Dutch foodscape as Turkish food businesses opened up in cities and towns across the Netherlands. As a result of the presence of other food cultures, transformations are occurring within Turkish food. The Turkish foodscape is reproduced, represented and/or transformed in a Dutch context.

However, the ways in which Turkish food is transformed differs. One of the reasons for those transformations is the importance that immigrants give to their ethnicity. There are Turkish restaurants where you can only find 'upgrade Turkish food', such as *kapsalon* and *Turkish pizzas* (the Dutch name for *lahmacun*), which is adapted to the wishes of the consumers. On the other side, there are Turkish restaurants where traditional Turkish dishes are prepared. But the point is that in both restaurants ethnicity is performed, but only in a different shape. Ethnicity arises in contact with others, and contact is actually very important in restaurants. The interaction between the consumer and the owner creates ethnicity in the restaurants. The next chapter will look closer to the different types of restaurants.

3. CATEGORIZATIONS OF TURKISH RESTAURANTS

Restaurants are more than just public consumption places. According to Karaosmanoglu (2013), restaurants must be seen as localities to express the migrant's identity and culture. The culinary means of the restaurants can reinforce and/or retain the ethnicity of the migrants. The degree in which this happens differs. For example, there are many Turkish entrepreneurs who are selling dishes in the Netherlands, such as *kapsalon*, while you can't find those type of food in Turkey. On the other side, there are restaurants where the food is prepared in a more traditional way with other ingredients. This is often seen as central in the Turkish ethnicity. This chapter focuses on the different types of Turkish restaurants in migrant countries. The different types are based on categorizations mentioned in literature. Within these categorizations, different categories describe how Turkish ethnicity is used in the daily management of the restaurant.

3.1 VARIED WAYS TO CATEGORIZE

Karaosmanoglu (2013) tries to understand the different ways in which the restaurateurs stage a particular type of Turkish-ness to manage their business. In his article, four categories of restaurants can be found.

The first category of restaurants which create a certain type of Turkish-ness is the *multi-national restaurant*. Standardization is the main characteristic. The author argues that the Turkish people have a bad reputation and thereby the focus is shifted from traditional Turkish food to global Turkish food. Instead of the word "Turkish", the entrepreneurs are using the word "Middle Eastern cuisine". Also, they are replicating successful dishes from other countries to familiarize the Turkish cuisine for Londoners. The next quote is a statement of a Turkish chef in London and illustrates that the artisanal Turkish cuisine disappeared.

"There is no such thing as Turkish cuisine in London but only Turkish entrepreneurs"

(Karaosmanoglu, 2013: 375)

The second category is the *modernized restaurant*. This category implies that the Turkish cuisine is melting with other cuisines. The construction of the Turkish cuisine is different from the cuisine in Turkey, because the Turkish entrepreneurs have to deal with specific tastes in their new homeland and need to address that taste. As a result, the dishes on the menu are changing all the time.

The third category is the *global restaurant*. The restaurateurs see their restaurant as a universal place. Emphasizing ethnicity is seen as a disadvantage to business. Instead of claiming local identities and differences, the creation of a global identity will make the entrepreneurs successful.

The last category of Karaosmanoglu's (2013) categorization is the *traditional restaurant*. This category opposes the other three categories. For example, in traditional restaurants you can find many local dishes on their menu and even the menu card is partly written in Turkish. They do not avoid their ethnicity when it has a bad reputation because they are proud of their ethnicity. If we look to those four categories of restaurants, we can state that the Turkish cuisine is often about turning differences into a familiar global product instead of turning differences into a marketable commodity because ethnicity is seen as a drawback to business. It is easier to serve safe and familiar food than unknown traditional food (Karaosmanoglu, 2013).

A second way to look at the different types of restaurants is provided by Schulp and Tirali (2008). In their article, they describe Driver's approach. Driver states that there is still a majority of restaurants which are serving authentic food but only in their own way. Naturally, there are adjustments to other tastes but the dishes themselves are authentic. There are five factors for success abroad: differentiation, propensity to evolve, limitability, accessibility and vulnerability. The concept ethnicity is not involved in the success factors and their claim that dishes are still authentic, only adapted to other tastes, is not realistic. It is not realistic, because the word 'authentic' is misused in this case. While authenticity is certainly a meaning that people attach to dishes, no real distinction can be made. All dishes change constantly and we can't freeze a particular dish as being authentic. So if we look at Driver's approach, we see a paradox. How can food still be authentic while it is adapted to other tastes? If we compare this way to categorize restaurants with Karaosmanoglu's (2013) categorization, we can state that Driver's approach is not really useful for this thesis. The only asset the approach brings are the five success factors, which are of course largely determinative for the success of the restaurants and must not be forgotten.

In the article of Kesteloot and Mistiaen (1997) another categorization can be found. They mention a typology of ethnic minorities enterprises. The motive to start a business can arise from within the minority ethnic group itself, or can be generated by the host society. So there are internal and external factors. Those factors ensure changes in the characteristics and location of the restaurants. For example, the authors say that in the early 1970s the restaurants were an ethnic minority niche (snack bar); in the late 1970s and early 1980s the snack bars transformed into restaurants because there was a first

wave of innovation; in the 1980s new ethnic minority niche came up (Turkish pizzerias); in the 1990s there came waves of investments related on economic assimilation and the need to express their ethnic identity disappeared. The advantage of this approach is the attention to the history of restaurants. According to Kesteloot and Mistiaen (1997), there is a clear timeline to define. The two previous categorizations do not pay any attention to the development of restaurants. Another advantage is the statement that there are internal and external factors that affect the ethnic minority's enterprises.

A fourth way to categorize restaurants is given in the article of Timur Öğüt (2008). He distinguishes three types of restaurants: traditional food in a modern Turkish restaurant, traditional food in a traditional/authentic restaurant and tasty food with good prices in an ordinary Turkish restaurant. In the ordinary restaurants, the motivation of consumers to consume Turkish food is just the good prices or taste, and is not to discover a new ethnic taste. This is a very simple categorization but it is a really clear and appropriate one. There is a downside on this approach, because Timur Öğüt (2008) argues that there is a difference between traditional food and tasty food. Why? Is traditional food not tasty? Also, he states that traditional Turkish food is more expensive than the tasty Turkish food. According to the traditional restaurant Ana's Kuzin in Utrecht, that is not true. The point is that Dutch people expect that the traditional Turkish food is cheap because in Turkey it is cheap. They forget that the restaurants have to deal with Dutch prices such as the rent, purchase and labour (Appendix 2, Ana's Kuzin). On the other side, the restaurant Portofino does also have to deal with Dutch prices, but for many people it is affordable. You can buy a *Turkish pizza* for dinner from 3 euro to 8 euro, which is the most expensive one (Appendix 5, Portofino). It is difficult to judge here, but Öğüt makes a statement about prices of food without looking at the quality of food. That is not realistic.

The different categorizations have overlapping and contrasting categories. The next section is about the analysis of the categorizations.

3.2 ANALYSIS OF THE CATEGORIZATIONS

As stated above, there are several ways to categorize restaurants. It is limited to say that just internal factors, such as interest and background of the researcher, and external factors, such as the research area, determine which categorization is preferred. There is more than just the preference for one over the other. That is why an analysis of the categorizations is necessary. All the categories are using the Turkish ethnicity in the restaurants, but the extend and manner in which this is done varies. To make it more organized, some overlapping categories will be pooled and the contrasting categories will

be examined. During the analysis, the final categorization which this thesis will use in the next chapters will be exposed. On the next page, figure 1 gives a short summary of the elaborated categorizations of section 3.1.

Categorization provided by	Categories
Karaosmanoglu (2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-national restaurants • Modernized restaurants • Global restaurants • Traditional restaurants
Schulp and Tirali (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authentic restaurants
Kesteloot and Mistiaen (1997)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Snack bars • Restaurants • Turkish pizzerias
Timur Ögüt (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional food in modern restaurants • Traditional food in traditional restaurants • Tasty food with good prices in an ordinary restaurant

FIGURE 1. CATEGORIZATIONS OF RESTAURANTS

3.2.1 OVERLAPPING CATEGORIES

First of all, the first three categories of Karaosmanoglu (2013) can be pooled because those three categories see ethnicity as a drawback to business. Restaurateurs do use the Turkish ethnicity, but in a way that the consumers want. Their Turkish education, background, culture, norms and values etc. do not play a role in the decision-making process related to their business. The Turkish-ness is created by the consumers, which is actually pretty astonishing and a paradox itself. But like Barth said; ethnicity assumes a relation – the relation between the consumers and the owner – and does not have fixed features. In this sense, it isn't astonishing and a paradox at all (Barth, 1969).

This category has overlap with the category "Turkish pizzerias" provided by Schulp and Tirali (2008) because in that category the need of the restaurateurs to express their ethnic identity disappeared because of the economic assimilation. This is also the case in the category "tasty food with good prices in an ordinary restaurant", described by Timur Ögüt (2008). The consumers don't care about the ethnicity of the Turkish entrepreneurs; they only want good food for a good price.

Those 5 categories have one thing in common: the original Turkish ethnicity does not play a role in the daily management. However, we must not forget that this does not

mean that the Turkish ethnicity doesn't play any role. On the contrary, think of the hundreds of Turkish restaurants where you can buy *kapsalon* and *Turkish pizzas*. In the following chapters, those categories will be merged and described as *ordinary restaurants*. The restaurant Portofino is a good example of an ordinary restaurant. The Turkish origin of the owner doesn't play any role in his daily management (Appendix 4, Portofino).

The counter stream consists of 4 categories: traditional restaurants (Karaosmonoglu, 2013), restaurants (Schulp and Tirali, 2008), traditional food in modern restaurants and traditional food in traditional restaurants (Timur Öğüt, 2008). In those restaurants, you can find dishes which are of the same type of food in Turkey itself. This stream cares about the original ethnicity and wants to transfer it to their customers. The restaurant Ana's Kuzin is a good example. The owner refuses to sell kebab from a kebab stock, Turkish pizzas adapted to the Dutch, and so on. She called the entrepreneurs of the ordinary restaurants "barbarians" because they ensure that the Turkish culture looks ridiculous with all that unhealthy and cheap food (Ana's Kuzin, Appendix 2). This counter stream will be described as *traditional restaurants* in the next chapters. Within this stream, the way in which the ethnicity is performed differs. For example, you can show ethnicity by preparing food in a traditional way, or by using Turkish objects, images and bodies. It is also possible that a part of the restaurant is traditional while the other part is ordinary. This will be explained in the next chapter.

3.2.2 CONTRASTING CATEGORIES

The categories "authentic restaurants" and "snack bars" will not be used in this thesis. Like already mentioned, the term authentic is misused in that category and therefore not useful. Also, their approach that dishes can still be authentic even when it is adapted to the wishes of the consumers, is contrasting with the characteristics of the ordinary and traditional restaurants (mentioned above). The category "snack bar" refers to the seventies and is the precursor of the restaurant.

4. THE CREATION OF TURKISH-NESS

From the previous chapter, we know that there are different ways in which Turkish immigrants commoditize ethnicity in their restaurants. This chapter will have a closer look on how images, objects, food and bodies in Turkish restaurants are used to perform the Turkish ethnicity of the immigrants. This chapter starts with a vignette, based on a traditional Turkish restaurant in Utrecht which I visited for an interview. The vignette will give a first impression about the creation of Turkish-ness in restaurants. Thereafter, the role of the images, objects, food and bodies will be discussed.

4.1 ANA'S KUZIN

I walked from the railway station through the street "Neude" to Ana's Kuzin (located at "Voorstraat 62" in Utrecht). It was two o'clock in the sunny afternoon and it was very busy on the streets and terraces. My walk took about ten minutes, but I passed several Turkish restaurants. They shared the same characteristics: hanging/sitting youth in front of the restaurants eating *doner rolls* and *kapsalons*, a big menu board outside, and a "Turkish doner kebab stock" inside the restaurants. When I arrived at Ana's Kuzin, which means "mothers kitchen", there were no tables, chairs and menus outside, and no kebab stock and people inside. It was quiet.

I entered Ana's Kuzin and the colourful big canvas with photos of a grandmother who is preparing food drew my attention directly! The second phenomenon which drew my attention, were the three Turkish women in an open kitchen and small appetizers in the showcase.



FIGURE 2. PICTURES OF ANA'S KUZIN IN UTRECHT

When she saw me, the female owner came to me and shook my hand. "Do you want Turkish tea or something else?". I sat down on a chair covered with a Turkish rug and received a Turkish tea in a nice small Turkish cup. During the interview, she told me a lot about her family (apparently it was her mother on the pictures), Turkey and about the healthy traditional Turkish food in her restaurant. We talked about the ordinary

restaurants and she said: “there is no chance that I will have such a *kebab stock* in my restaurant. I would rather close my doors because all those stocks are not what they seem to be and are certainly not Turkish”. She was a little angry. After the interview had ended, I received a few Turkish appetizers for free.

The way in which ethnicity is performed in Ana’s Kuzin is just one way to create some Turkish-ness. The canvas on the wall with pictures of her mother, the Turkish bodies in the kitchen, the Turkish words she used for her dishes, Turkish words on the menu card, her kindness, the Turkish rugs on the chairs, the marble floor and the showcase with small Turkish appetizers generate the impression of being in an authentic Turkish restaurant. But like we already know from the previous chapter, it is not that simple. The Turkish cuisine is always changing so also the term “traditional” becomes ambiguous.

On the other side, can’t we state that in the meantime kebab stocks, *kapsalons* and other similar meals have become part of the Turkish foodscape in the Netherlands and in many other countries? So instead of using Turkish words on the menu cards etcetera, those restaurants are using kebab stocks to create some kind of Turkish-ness.



FIGURE 3: PICTURE OF A TURKISH RESTAURANTS WITH KEBAB STOCKS

According to De Groot and Van der Horst (2014), being modern can become part of one’s ethnic identity so the kebab stocks are indeed part of the identity of the Turkish immigrants. The identity is both “Turkish” and “modern” and that type of ethnicity can’t be gained if those values are being experienced as contrary. She also talks about stereotyping, which implies “a dominant image, and a plethora of nuanced images exist but are all anchored to these basic presumptions, based on partial realities” (2014: 307). From my experiences during the interviews and observation, I know that I also stereotyped the Turkish restaurants and that the information obtained by those research techniques fit perfectly into my stereotype. What I am saying is that Turkish-ness can be created by using the “traditional” ethnicity of the Turkish immigrants, but can also be created by associated images, objects, food and bodies in the Turkish restaurant. Matus (2012) agrees with this statement because he argues that, in his case *Mexican-ness*, is produced by attachments to objects and images of a foreign land.

4.2 TURKISH DISHES IN THE NETHERLANDS

This section will look at multiple typical Turkish dishes in the Netherlands and tries to broaden the understanding of what a Turkish dish is. First of all, the *kapsalon* is a dish sold in doner restaurants in the Netherlands. The *kapsalon* is composed of different layers; fries at the bottom, on top of that doner or shawarma, then a layer of melted cheese and on top a layer of green salad. In general, the dish is served with garlic sauce and sambal, which is a hot red sauce. Another characteristic of the *kapsalon* is that it is unhealthy because the *kapsalon* has approximately 1800 calories. The *kapsalon* is originated in 2003 by a request of Nathaniël Gomes. He was a Cape Verdean hairdresser in Rotterdam who ordered by his neighboring Turkish shawarma store “El Aviva” all his favourite ingredients, resulting in the *kapsalon* (Broekeart, 2013). Within a few years, the *kapsalon* became a wanted dish among the youth. Nowadays, in many Turkish restaurants you can buy varied *kapsalons* and it became a typical Turkish dish in that sense.

A second famous dish in the Netherlands is the Turkish pizza. The *Turkish pizza* has its roots in the Middle East and there it's known as *Lahmacun*. *Lahmacun* is a pizza-like dish that can be found throughout the Middle East and Turkey, and is composed of a thin, elongated dough base which is topped with minced meat, a mixture of vegetables and sometimes sauce. In the Middle East, they cut the pizza in small slices and eat them (Turkse kok, visited 17-06-14). In the Netherlands, we know the *Turkish pizza* in another way. The Dutch know the *Turkish pizza* in a different way compared to how it originally was invented. In figure 4, the two types of *lahmacun* are illustrated. The *Turkish pizza* (as the Dutch call it) on the right side is wrapped in silver foil and contains more ingredients than the two *lahmacuns* (the original dish) on the left side.



FIGURE 4. DIFFERENT KINDS OF LAHMACUN

Of course, there are many products in Europe who originally come from

Turkey is yoghurt. It was made by Turkish people and spread all over the world. In Turkey, yoghurt has a unique place in the Turkish foodscape (Cekal, 2014). The point is that yoghurt isn't widely claimed as Turkish compared to *kapsalon*, what indicates the multifaceted of the Turkish ethnicity of immigrants. As long as no country or group claims a product, there will be no attention

for that product. According to Comaroff and Comaroff, “*ethnicity is, has always been, both one thing and many, the same yet infinitely diverse*” (2009: 1).

4.3 THE ROLE OF IMAGES, OBJECTS, FOOD AND BODIES

The previous sections have shown that Turkish-ness can be performed by different aspects. This section will have a closer look to the role of images, objects, food and bodies in restaurants.

First of all, Cook and Crang (1996) argue that food products can be associated with places and people and can therefore be labelled as “ethnic”. It can also be associated with material culture, because consumers are often “*increasingly being encouraged to gaze upon and collect the signs and images of many cultures*” (1996: 135). The existing imageries of people and places are the result of those signs and images. Timur Öğüt (2008) agrees with Cook and Crang (1996) and states that there is not one Turkish cuisine; the material culture of the restaurants reveals the multiple identities and representations. This is reflected in interior design, furniture, decoration, menus and other things.

If we look at the ordinary restaurants, the street signs of the restaurants are similar. The identifiable typologies affect the outlook of the street. Figure 5 shows the outlook of multiple restaurants in London. In the Netherlands, they look exactly the same. In this sense, the stereotypical similarities of the outlook of restaurants create



FIGURE 5. TURKISH RESTAURANTS IN LONDON, TIMUR ÖĞÜT (2008)

Turkish-ness. Timur Öğüt (2008) argues that because of the widely accepted outlook of those restaurants, the ordinary restaurants therefore become the “natural” and truly “authentic” Turkish restaurants in the eyes of many people.

A menu card is also an object which can create a certain Turkish-ness. The menu card of Ana’s Kuzin is a good example (Appendix 3). Her menu card does not consist of Dutch names on a paper but is much more than that; both Turkish traditions and Turkish dishes are discussed and you can find the Turkish names of the dishes on the card.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that Turkish ethnicity is produced in a dynamic interaction with objects and individual (Matus, 2012).

Another way to create Turkish-ness is the use of bodies. In London, there is often an open space where you can watch the preparation of the food. Women are working on a special platform inside the restaurants along with consumers. The consumers can see the cooks, wearing clothes which they also carry home. Timur Öğüt (2008) state that the platform turn the female cooks into an act of "staged authenticity". This was also the case by Ana's Kuzin and by Portofino. Both have an open kitchen and reinforce the sense of community and identity.

But from section 4.1 and 4.2, we already know that food and images can also create Turkish-ness, while the food and the images do not have to be Turkish from origin.

This chapter has shown that the concepts used within studies about immigrants need to be adapted within novel contexts. The Turkish ethnicity is not only found in traditional restaurants such as Ana's Kuzin, but is also present in the ordinary restaurants, only in another way. The way in which bodies, image, food and objects are used in the performance of the Turkish ethnicity in restaurants varies, but at the end they all have the same goal. They are all part of the performance of contemporary Turkish ethnicity.

5. PASSION VERSUS RATIONALITY

From the previous chapters, we know that some Turkish restaurants look quite similar to each other and sell the same type of food. However, other restaurants are very different in their look and sell a different type of food. This chapter is about the question why some entrepreneurs decide to commoditize certain foods in relation to particular objects and images related to Turkey, while other entrepreneurs don't. We will specifically look at two approaches for this, that of the entrepreneurs and of the consumers.

5.1 ENTREPRENEURS

According to Matus (2012), Gabriel Tarde's approach is very useful. He described different roles, which passions of entrepreneurs play in the commoditization of food. His approach is the opposite of the neoclassical approach.

"Instead of showing how structures and superstructures are reproduced by class exploitation, or trying to establish the rationality behind consumer's economic behaviour, Tarde argued that inventions are the real motor of economy"

(Matus, 2012: 7)

The inventors, in this thesis the Turkish immigrants, discover contradictions everywhere and therefore they discover new possibilities. The possibilities lie outside the familiar ones. They try to create something by recombining the "rubbish" – which was already present as a potential in the traditional version. In this sense, the main characteristic of innovation is creative destruction, but is dependent on the inventions of others. Creative destruction is not a linear process and it is too simple to say that the "old" is destroyed and that the inventors create the "new". On the contrary, the "new" inventions arise through the recombination of the successful "old" inventions (Rothe, 2012). The point is that intentions and interests are shaped by affective and passionate interests and are never stable (Wydra, 2011). The coalition of passions produce innovations and that is why Matus (2012) argues that the entanglement of passions, objects and images led to the emergence and differentiation of Mexican restaurants (his research was about Mexican restaurants). In the book of Matus (2012), Spinoza goes even one step further and argues that desires, of all things, are the essence of humans. People are led more by desire than by reason.

Matus (2012) is arguing that passions are specifically a relevant actor in the commoditization of immigrant foods abroad. The passions arise from humans' relations with objects and images.

*"Passions are products of hybrid entanglements
in which a particular belief has been fixed"*

(Matus, 2012: 7)

Thus the passions of the Turkish entrepreneurs for objects and images associated with Turkish foodscape are largely responsible for their entrepreneurial projects. The food which they are serving in their restaurants is the product of those intimate passions. From this point of view, entrepreneurial projects can also be the realized dreams of individuals, motivated by passions (Matus, 2012).

An opposite of Gabriel Tarde's approach is the neoclassical approach. This approach argues that entrepreneurial objects have less to do with passions, because there are three driving forces for economic growth: technology, labour and capital. Supply and demand determine the prices, outputs and income distribution in markets. The rationality of individuals will maximize the profits and will lead to an equilibrium (Henning, 2008). Rationality is a difficult concept but the general definition is that "people respond correctly to reasons and are therefore measurable" (Broome, 2007).

Matus (2012) noticed that many owners of Mexican restaurants had gone to Mexico before they established their Mexican restaurant in a foreign country. Their experiences in Mexico have ensured that individuals decided to open a Mexican restaurant in their living country. During a trip to Mexico, they fell in love with the food, the country or even a particular man or woman. This example shows that choices are not always made by rational, goal-orientated individuals.

The two approaches are both limited. Tarde's approach is too focused on inventions and passions. I do agree with the fact that passions are sometimes important in the restaurants like in the case of Ana's Kuzin. During the interview, the owner was passionate about Turkey and the related Turkish food. I have never heard anyone talking about food in that way. On the other side, we have to remain realistic and that she, besides expressing her passions, also seeks to maximize her profit. She will and must adapt to the demand of the consumers. The way in which she adapts to the demand of the consumers is different than ordinary restaurants. Portofino is such an ordinary restaurant and fits better in the neoclassical approach. The owner is also an entrepreneur but with a more commercial approach and does everything to make as much profit as he

can. The way in which he has to adapt to the demand of the consumers doesn't bother him and he possibly will sell products like typical Dutch snacks (for example *frikandellen* and *kroketten*) or any other type of food if any demand is present, while the owner of Ana's Kuzin will not. However, if she would adapt, she will ruin her business because her "brand" will disappear.

To conclude, the entrepreneurs can both use their passions and rationality in their restaurants. The proportion of passions and rationality varies among the different types of restaurants.

5.2 CONSUMERS

As we already know, entrepreneurs' passions and rationality have an impact on the emergence and differentiation of Turkish restaurants. Another actor which is important, are the consumers. Consumers also have a proportion in the emergence of the different types of restaurants. The choices of the consumers, such as their choice to purchase some commodities and not others, or their decision related to the amount of commodities they want to purchase, are influential. There are many economic explanations that are using resources such as indifference curves and budget lines to predict consumer's behaviour. The indifference curve focuses on preferences and tastes while the budget line focuses on the income and price constraints faced by the consumers. In brief, preferences, tastes, income and prices are the causers of different choices of the consumers (Salvatore, 2009).

But like the neoclassical approach, the economics arguing that all the consumers are rational consumers.

"An individual who seeks to maximize utility or satisfaction in spending his or her income"

(Salvatore, 2009: 74)

So in economic terms, the consumers are always maximizing utility; trying to achieve the highest indifference curve as possible, given his or her budget line (Salvatore, 2009).

From this point of view, passions of themselves do not directly affect the behaviour of the consumer, and even if they do, there is always a trade-off between passions and budget.

Another point of view is provided by Khan (2004). He argues that consumers are buying products according to needs, preferences and buying power. Thus, the choices we made, what we buy, how much we buy, where and when we buy, etcetera, are determined by "our perception, self concept, social and cultural background and our age and family cycle, our attitudes, beliefs values, motivations, personality, social class and many other

factors that are both internal and external to us" (2004:1). This perspective is more social-cultural based than the previous economic perspective. However, it does not mean that consumers do not make a trade-off. For example, if your family has a passion for a certain product and they have passed on this passion to you, your income must be adequate enough to meet your passion (Khan, 2004).

Consumers also create a passion for certain food by going to restaurants. In this sense, the familiar feeling for a certain dish can become a passion. The consumers are not going to the restaurants to try something new, but to eat a dish what they already know (Matus, 2012). This implies more the ordinary restaurants, because those restaurants sell typical dishes such as *kapsalon*.

The conclusion of this chapter is that both the entrepreneurs and the consumers are responsible for the commoditization of food in restaurants. First of all, the entrepreneurs decide what kind of food they are selling in their restaurant. Those decisions are affected by the rational choices and passions of the owner. The trade-off between rational choices and passions differs for every restaurant owner. Secondly, the consumers are the ones who are buying food in restaurants and are therefore also an important factor in the commoditization of food.

6. CONCLUSION

The research question in this study is about the ways in which ethnicity is performed in restaurants run by Turkish immigrants in Europe and how that can be explained. Foodscapes and ethnicity are therefore two important concepts. It is necessary to create a good understanding of those two concepts, and that is much more difficult than you would think in the first instance. Barth's approach is helpful in order to develop a good understanding about ethnicity. According to Barth, ethnicity is situational. Thus your ethnicity is mainly dependent of the place where you are and with who you are. There is no such thing as one Turkish ethnicity. According this definition, ethnicity is complex because it is multifaceted convertible and place dependent. Each Turkish restaurant can have or use another kind of ethnicity. So not only Turkish food which is prepared in the same way as Turkish people did hundreds years ago is part of the Turkish ethnicity. Also "new" dishes, such as *kapsalon*, can become part of the Turkish ethnicity.

The Turkish foodscape is always changing because a foodscape has been dynamic in the base. A Turkish foodscape implies everything that has something to do with Turkish food. It is much more than sites where you can sell and buy food. You must see a foodscape as physical, organizational and socio-cultural spaces where all the imaginable food-related issues meet each other. So even health messages are part of a foodscape (Mikkelsen, 2011).

The ways in which Turkish ethnicity in restaurant is commoditized differs. Turkish-ness implies the way in which the owners of the restaurants use Turkish ethnicity to convince the consumers and give them the feeling that they are in a Turkish restaurant. This can be due the use of objects, images, food and bodies. There is much literature available with different categorizations regarding the commoditization of ethnicity. But in general, there are two main categories to distinguish: ordinary restaurants, such as Ana's Kuzin and traditional restaurants, such as Portofino. This broad categorization is an aggregation of existing categorizations, which all have certain shortcomings and therefore not completely usable. Both restaurants are commoditizing Turkish ethnicity, but in a total different way. The ordinary restaurants don't use their ethnicity in the original way, but in a way the consumers want to. The consumers in those restaurants don't care about the ethnicity; they only want good food for good prices. In contrast to the traditional restaurants, who are passionate by the original ethnicity and wants to transfer it to their customers. In those restaurants, you can't dishes like *kapsalons*, but rather dishes with a longer history.

Images, objects, food and bodies are used differently in traditional and ordinary restaurants to express the Turkish ethnicity of the owner. Indeed, each aspect can be used in many ways in both traditional restaurants as ordinary restaurants. The four different aspects, including all different shapes, can become part of the identity of the Turkish immigrant. So even the *kapsalon*, devised by a Cape Verdean hairdresser, has become part of the menus of restaurants owned by Turkish entrepreneurs. Thus, when a dish is associated with Turkey and/or Turkish people, it doesn't matter or the association is justified, the dish will be labelled as Turkish.

But what are actually the reasons behind those different types of ethnicity in restaurants? There are two parties that affect the choices made in restaurants: the owners and the consumers. They are both responsible for the commoditization of food in restaurants. The owners decide what kind of food they are selling in their restaurant. But there are many factors that affect the choices of the owner. A decision can be made by a rational explanation, such as profit maximization, or could arise from passion, which is a fixed particular belief in objects, food, images, products etc, or both. The trade-off between those factors differs for every restaurant owner.

The second party, the consumers, are the ones who are paying for food in restaurant. Without them, the owners don't sell anything. As a result, the owners have to respond to the needs of the consumers. In turn, consumers make a consideration between the costs and benefits of products. On the other side, consumers can also have feelings for a certain object or a specific dish in restaurants as a result of good memories sustained, for example, by a vacation. In this sense, the consideration can be affected by passions.

Thus, ethnicity will always be performed in different ways and that is why there is a wide range of restaurants owned by Turkish immigrants.

7. DISCUSSION

The approach of ethnicity is problematic, both scientific and non-scientific. It is non-scientific problematic because the word is often misused, during conversations and in the media. There are many misconceptions. In the scientific world, there is no consensus about the definition of the concept ethnicity. Apparently, it is hard for social scientists to find a definition in an unambiguous way. The only thing that is sure about ethnicity is that there is no consensus! I must admit that I think that there will be never a good unambiguous definition for ethnicity, because it is too complex.

Fortunately, Barth added the element "social interaction" to the concept ethnicity, which is from my opinion, one step in the right direction. A critical turning point is that cultural characteristics are not the main characteristics of ethnic groups. Instead, ethnic groups are inherently groups. By means ascription by others or self-ascription, individuals can become member. It doesn't matter how dissimilar the members may be in their behaviour.

During the writing of my thesis, I experienced the problems related to the definition of ethnicity. It was hard to apply a concept to restaurants without a clear definition. I tried to do it as well as possible.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH METHODS

Search history		Combine queries... e.g. #1 AND NOT #3	?
4	(TITLE-ABS-KEY(global)) AND (cuisines) AND (LIMIT-TO(SUBJAREA, "SOC")) AND (LIMIT-TO(PUBYEAR, 2013))		14 document results
3	(TITLE-ABS-KEY(global)) AND (cuisines) AND (LIMIT-TO(SUBJAREA, "SOC"))		117 document results
2	(TITLE-ABS-KEY(global)) AND (cuisines)		208 document results
1	TITLE-ABS-KEY(global)		852,214 document results

FIGURE 6. SEARCH HISTORY

1. Basu , A. and Altinay , E. , 2002 . The interaction between culture and entrepreneurship in London's immigrant businesses . *International small business journal* , 20 4 , 371 – 393 . doi: 10.1177/0266242602204001 [CrossRef] [Open URL](#)
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4. Çağlar , A. , 1999 . Mc Kebab: Döner Kebab and the social positioning struggle of German Turks . In : C. Lentz *Changing food habits: case studies from Africa, South America and Europe* . Amsterdam : Harwood Academic Publishers , 263 – 284 . [Open URL](#)
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FIGURE 7. WORK CITED

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW WITH THE OWNER OF ANA'S KUZIN

Ana's Kuzin is a Turkish restaurant in Utrecht. The owner migrated to the Netherlands when she was thirteen years old. She attaches much attention to her Turkish ethnicity. Visited 11-06-14.

1. Are you born in the Netherlands?

No I am not. My parents migrated when I was thirteen years old. I owe a lot to my parents because here we have a better life. My mum died a few years ago, but I know she is still here. My parents are very important for me.

2. Is this your own restaurant?

Yes it is! The restaurant exists for ten years now and we are very proud.

Did you experience negative reactions or something like that at the beginning of the restaurant?

No not at all, we were pretty well received. Actually, we heard a lot that we are more friendly and trustful than the Dutch people.

In which way?

If you have an appointment with a Dutch people, you have to sign etc. If we have here a new customer, we trust him. He doesn't have to sign things. That is something I learned from my mother. As long as people didn't cheat on you, you have to trust them.

Does that work here?

Yes it works pretty well. But I have to say that we have only world-oriented customers, so they attach values to good food and that is something I can offer them. They do not cheat on me.

Can you tell me another difference between Dutch and Turkish people?

I think that the Turkish people have a greater 'give-factor'. We don't want something back if I do something for you.

3. How would you describe your restaurant?

My restaurants is as far as possible Turkish and therefore healthy. We don't use flavour enhancers, mayonnaise etc. Also the preparations of the food are not done in fat butter but we prepare it in the oven. Everything is hand make, partly to honour my mother. She taught me how to cook and how important food is.

So the food in the showcase is all traditional artisanal Turkish food?

I try to but that is not possible. There are choices we have to make which are sometimes very difficult.

What choices do you mean?

Now for example, I know a few Turkish dishes which I know the Dutch people don't like because the lemon is too predominant. I can choose to remove that whole dish, or to adapt it a little bit. Of course in a healthy way!

In how far are the dishes than Turkish?

Everything is Turkish. If there is something not Turkish in the dishes, the dishes have my stamp.

4. What are your norms and values in the restaurants?

I have this restaurant for three reasons: first of all, we have to earn money and this is our way to do that, second, it feels like a reward because of the hard work and having fun is also a very important reason. The good quality of food is also very important for me, because the last years there are many diseases such as obesity.

5. Who is your clientele?

We have a lot of Dutch clients, it differs from 25 till 50.

And at the beginning of your restaurants, were there more Turkish customers?

No not at all, I think that the Turkish people eat Turkish at home so they do not want to buy for it in a restaurant. They only go to those 'fake' Turkish restaurants for fast food.

What is the reason that people below the 25 years old do not visit your restaurant?

They don't know anything about traditional Turkish food. They only want unhealthy and cheap food. They want bad *Turkish pizzas* and kebab, which has nothing to do with traditional Turkish food.

Can you blame them?

No we can't, but I have two sons which are really critical about food. They don't go to such restaurants. But the point is that even their Dutch friends learned to appreciate good food. They are playing football, and instead of calling one of those takeaways, they are calling me. I think that is really a good thing.

Is there a change that you are also selling kebab and those *Turkish pizzas* in your restaurants?

There is no change that I will have such a kebab stock in my restaurant. I would rather close my doors because all those stocks are not what they seem to be and are certainly not Turkish. A few years ago, there was a mega scandal about those kebab stocks. Don't ask me about the details.

6. Are you using objects or something like that to create a certain Turkish-ness?

As you can see, I don't have many Turkish things in my restaurants. The only real Turkish thing here is the food, and that is what matters. I have to admit that we only have Turkish employers here, but that is necessary because they are familiar with Turkish food and they know how I want it.

What do you want to achieve with the canvas on the wall?

Those are pictures of my mother and there you can see the food preparations techniques which we are still using here. I don't want to achieve anything with it, it is purely for myself.

7. What do you think of the 'fake' Turkish restaurants?

The point is that the Turkish culture is a difficult thing. Globalization has ensured that things had to change and are still changing. From my opinion, I think that the restaurant with all that westernized food make us look ridiculous. The owners of the restaurants are barbarians because they do not care about the condition of the customers. Also, they often sell lamb doner while it isn't lamb at all, but that is another story. Look at my restaurant, I also had to change things but it is still from my point of view healthy and Turkish restaurant.

Is there a change that about a few years you are also selling *Turkish pizzas*?

No way, if I have to do that, I will close my restaurant.

APPENDIX 3: MENU CARD OF ANA'S KUZIN

Menukaart



In veel landen en culturen is het de vrouw die kookt. Die eeuwenoude traditie wordt voortgezet in ana's kuzin. Turkse vrouwen bereiden er authentieke Turkse gerechten: kleine hapjes en complete maaltijden waarin je de liefde voor het koken en de natuurlijke ingrediënten heel duidelijk proeft. In de drukte van alledag biedt een maaltijd van ana's kuzin een moment van ontspanning en plezier.

ana's lokanta/uw eethuis
lunch, meenemen, catering

ana's kuzin

ana's hoofdgerechten

U stelt naar eigen keuze uit het assortiment een menu van een groenten-, vlees- en rijst gerechten samen. Voor de vegetariërs is er een ruim aanbod van groentengerechten.

8 Mant	€15,00
Deegkussentjes gevuld met gekruid rundergehakt met hangop yoghurt en tomatensaus	
9 Adana kebab	€15,00
Gehaktspies met groente	
10 Türlü	€15,00
Gemengde groenten uit de oven	
11 Karni yank	€15,00
Aubergine gevuld met gekruid rundergehakt	
12 Imam bayildi	€15,00
Aubergine gevuld met groente	
13 Karides	€15,00
Garnalen gebakken in olijfolie met bleekselderij en chilipepers	
14 Tavuk sis	€15,00
Kipspies met groente	

Elk hoofdgerecht wordt geserveerd met een groene salade en één van de volgende gerechten:

Bulgur pilav
Tarwegkiemen gestoomd met paprika-puree
Pirinc pilav
Rijst met kikkererwten of met groente
Lavaş
Traditioneel brood uit eigen oven
Sebzeli patates
Aardappelschijfjes met groente uit de oven

Koken a la Turca in ana's kuzin

Onder begeleiding van de kokkinen van ana's kuzin kan in groepjes kookles worden gevolgd. Informeer naar de mogelijkheden.

ana's lunch

Voor de Turken vormen mezeler het ultieme culinaire genot. In de hofkeuken van de Osmaanse sultans kregen de gerechten zelfs erotische namen mee. Zoals dilber dudagi (lippen der geliefden), kadin göbegi (de navel van een vrouw) en kadin budu (de dijen van een vrouw). In het kosmopolitische Istanbul laten vrienden een tafel versieren met kleine schaalijes mezeler, vers brood en een fles rak (nationale drank). Al pretend wordt er rustig gegeten tot diep in de nacht.

1 Mezelunch	€8,50
Lavaş, twee mezes en één hartige snack naar keuze	
2 Ekmek arası köfte	€8,00
Broodje met gehaktballen, rauwkost en meze	
3 Lahmacun	€4,50
Turkse pizza met rauwkost en sauzen	
4 Melemen en lavas	€8,50
Gebakken tomaten, paprika, tomaten, ui met of zonder ei	
5 Ispanaklı börek	€5,50
Luxe deegwaar van o.a. wilde spinazie en feta	
6 Gözleme	€5,50
Luxe deegwaar met o.a. aardappelpuree en gehakt of spinazie en feta	
7 Kısır	€6,50
Zomerse couscoussalade met rauwkost	

dranken

Ayran (yoghurt drank)	€1,50
Cola	€1,50
Cola light	€1,50
Fanta	€1,50
Spa blauw	€1,50
Spa rood	€1,50
Ice tea	€1,50
Appelsap	€1,50
Jus d'orange	€1,50
Turkse thee	€1,00
Turkse koffie	€3,00
Koffie	€3,00

desserts

15 Baklava	€4,50
Dunne deeglaagjes gevuld met pistache	
16 Ispanaklı kek	€4,50
Cake van o.a. spinazie en kwark	
17 Hurma tatlısı	€4,50
Taart van o.a. dadel en walnoten	
18 Irmik tatlısı	€2,50
Dessert van o.a. griesmeel en vanille	

catering/proeverij

Van kleine hapjes tot een compleet diner voor verjaardagen, bedrijfsborrel/lunch en andere evenementen. Neem contact met ons op voor een vrijblijvende proeverij.

ana's kuzin/moeder's keuken
Voorstraat 62, 3512 AR Utrecht
030 236 72 82
info@anaskuzin.nl
www.anaskuzin.nl

Openingstijden

dagelijks van 12:00 uur - 21:00 uur
op zaterdag van 11:00 uur - 21:00 uur

ana's groepsarrangement

Voor een besloten gezelschap kunt u ana's lokanta afhuren.

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW WITH A TURKISH EMPLOYEE OF PORTOFINO

Portofino is a pizzeria/grillroom in Haastrecht. The owner is a Turkish immigrant, who migrated eleven years ago to the Netherlands. Visited 18-06-14.



1. Is the owner of Portofino born in the Netherlands?

No he isn't. This year, Portofino exists ten years so the owner migrated 11 years ago from Turkey.

Do you know why he migrated to the Netherlands?

(smiling) Yeah, he felt in love with a Dutch woman.

2. For how long do you work here?

I work 8 years by Portofino, but we moved 2 years ago to this location.

I know, because I am living in Haastrecht. I got the feeling that Portofino as business is still growing. Is that right?

Yes it is! In the weekends, sometimes thirty people are working for Portofino, inclusive the delivery staff.

Does the owner make a distinction in the people which he includes in his business? For example, do you need a certain background?

No not at all, the delivery staff is largely young males because they are the cheapest. Everyone can work here.

3. Do you experience some Turkish culture, or ethnicity, in Portofino?

I know that in some dishes we are using Turkish spices. But as you know we are a pizzeria and grillroom. Where we come from, beer, shawarma and other products are not allowed but we do sell them here.

And how is the owner towards his employees?

(*smiling*) His management has nothing to do with the Turkish culture.

4. What do you think of the *Turkish pizzas* in the Netherlands? Because how you sell them here has nothing to do with the *Turkish pizza* in Turkey.

In Turkey, we call them *lahmacun* and there is indeed a big difference between the *lahmacun* in Turkey and the *lahmacun* here. In Turkey, they are elongated in contrast to the round pizzas over here. Also, in Turkey we only put hot meat on it.

And you do not roll them in Turkey, isn't it?

No that is true, you can compare it with a pie here. We cut them in pieces and we eat them.

But you make them round over here because that is easier?

(*smiling*) Yes of course!

Do you and/or the owner care about the fact that it is known as a *Turkish pizza* while actually there is not much left of the origin *Turkish pizza*?

No we do not, we are not that kind of Turkish people. And you must not forget that this is a business. We make them as efficiently as possible.

5. Why isn't Portofino a Turkish restaurant?

(*Smiling*) Because the people over here are not happy with only traditional Turkish food I think. In surroundings, there wasn't a pizzeria so that is why the owner starts a pizzeria. It was purely a choice based on the opportunities. And what do you see as a Turkish restaurant if I may ask?

(*Smiling*) That is where my thesis is about, and I know that things are changed. It is limited to say that only food which is made in Turkey is Turkish.

Yes, that is true. I think that by immigrants and therefore integration the Turkish food changed. Look at the Dutch people, nowadays they are eating much more things than only potatoes and vegetables.

6. Do you know the background of the "Turkish Kapsalon"?

No actually not (*smiling*). I live here my whole life and I don't feel that I have to live or think or something like the people in Turkey. I live here, they live there. But I am still a Turkish person.

Anyway, the Turkish *kapsalon* is originated by a Cape Verdean.

(*smiling*) Those things are beautiful aren't they? It doesn't bother me.

7. Last week, I went to a Turkish restaurant in Utrecht. She only sells things like baklava and köfte and she was a kind of angry about the "fake Turkish dishes", like you are selling over here. What do you think about that?

I don't know her background, but I can imagine that some Turkish people do not like it. But probably that is more something for the older people.

It was indeed an older woman and she also told me about the fact that the Dutch people don't know anything about the Turkish food culture.

I have to confess that I also do not know much about the history or things like that of Turkish food. I'm born here and I think at home we have the same food culture as many other Dutch people.

So you are saying that if you are born in the Netherlands, the feelings about your background are different than a people who migrated to the Netherlands?

Yes, of course.

But the boss of Portofino, do also not really pay attention to his background.

Yes, that is also true but he is now living for eleven years in the Netherlands with a Dutch wife and children. His family from Turkey is not here. Maybe that also makes a difference.

8. So to end this conversation, only some herbs are Turkish over here?

(*smiling*) Yes and me and the owner.

APPENDIX 5: MENU CARD OF PORTOFINO

Pizza's

01. Pizza Margherita	5.95
02. Pizza Salami	5.95
03. Pizza Napoli	5.95
04. Pizza Prosciutto	5.95
05. Pizza Funghi	5.95
06. Pizza Salsiccia	5.95
07. Pizza Quattro Stagioni	10.95
08. Pizza Diavolo	10.95
09. Pizza Bistecca	10.95
10. Pizza Capriccio	10.95
11. Pizza Fattoria	10.95
12. Pizza Regina	10.95
13. Pizza Napoli	10.95
14. Pizza Margherita	10.95
15. Pizza Salami	10.95
16. Pizza Napoli	10.95
17. Pizza Prosciutto	10.95
18. Pizza Funghi	10.95
19. Pizza Salsiccia	10.95
20. Pizza Quattro Stagioni	10.95
21. Pizza Diavolo	10.95
22. Pizza Bistecca	10.95
23. Pizza Capriccio	10.95
24. Pizza Fattoria	10.95
25. Pizza Regina	10.95

Pasta's

01. Penne alla Marinara	5.95
02. Spaghetti alla Carbonara	5.95
03. Ravioli alla Ricotta	5.95
04. Tortellini alla Bolognese	5.95
05. Lasagne alla Bolognese	5.95
06. Fettuccine alla Carbonara	5.95
07. Gnocchi alla Ricotta	5.95
08. Farfalle alla Bolognese	5.95
09. Fusilli alla Carbonara	5.95
10. Penne alla Bolognese	5.95
11. Spaghetti alla Carbonara	5.95
12. Ravioli alla Ricotta	5.95
13. Tortellini alla Bolognese	5.95
14. Lasagne alla Bolognese	5.95
15. Fettuccine alla Carbonara	5.95
16. Gnocchi alla Ricotta	5.95
17. Farfalle alla Bolognese	5.95
18. Fusilli alla Carbonara	5.95
19. Penne alla Bolognese	5.95
20. Spaghetti alla Carbonara	5.95
21. Ravioli alla Ricotta	5.95
22. Tortellini alla Bolognese	5.95
23. Lasagne alla Bolognese	5.95
24. Fettuccine alla Carbonara	5.95
25. Gnocchi alla Ricotta	5.95

Mezze Portate

01. Minestrone	5.95
02. Zuppa di Pasta	5.95
03. Crema di Funghi	5.95
04. Crema di Zucchini	5.95
05. Crema di Carciofi	5.95
06. Crema di Fagioli	5.95
07. Crema di Patate	5.95
08. Crema di Cavolfiori	5.95
09. Crema di Broccoli	5.95
10. Crema di Asparagi	5.95
11. Crema di Cetrioli	5.95
12. Crema di Melanzane	5.95
13. Crema di Pomodori	5.95
14. Crema di Basilico	5.95
15. Crema di Origano	5.95
16. Crema di Salvia	5.95
17. Crema di Rosmarino	5.95
18. Crema di Lavanda	5.95
19. Crema di Zingiber	5.95
20. Crema di Cardamomo	5.95
21. Crema di Vaniglia	5.95
22. Crema di Cacao	5.95
23. Crema di Cioccolato	5.95
24. Crema di Menta	5.95
25. Crema di Limone	5.95

Schotels

01. Schotel van Kip en Champignons	10.95
02. Schotel van Kip en Aardappelen	10.95
03. Schotel van Kip en Bieten	10.95
04. Schotel van Kip en Wortelen	10.95
05. Schotel van Kip en Peterselie	10.95
06. Schotel van Kip en Selderij	10.95
07. Schotel van Kip en Knoflook	10.95
08. Schotel van Kip en Ui	10.95
09. Schotel van Kip en Paprika	10.95
10. Schotel van Kip en Tomaten	10.95
11. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	10.95
12. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	10.95
13. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	10.95
14. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	10.95
15. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	10.95
16. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	10.95
17. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	10.95
18. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	10.95
19. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	10.95
20. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	10.95

Kleine Schotels

01. Schotel van Kip en Champignons	5.95
02. Schotel van Kip en Aardappelen	5.95
03. Schotel van Kip en Bieten	5.95
04. Schotel van Kip en Wortelen	5.95
05. Schotel van Kip en Peterselie	5.95
06. Schotel van Kip en Selderij	5.95
07. Schotel van Kip en Knoflook	5.95
08. Schotel van Kip en Ui	5.95
09. Schotel van Kip en Paprika	5.95
10. Schotel van Kip en Tomaten	5.95
11. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	5.95
12. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	5.95
13. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	5.95
14. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	5.95
15. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	5.95
16. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	5.95
17. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	5.95
18. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	5.95
19. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	5.95
20. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	5.95

Groote Schotels

01. Schotel van Kip en Champignons	15.95
02. Schotel van Kip en Aardappelen	15.95
03. Schotel van Kip en Bieten	15.95
04. Schotel van Kip en Wortelen	15.95
05. Schotel van Kip en Peterselie	15.95
06. Schotel van Kip en Selderij	15.95
07. Schotel van Kip en Knoflook	15.95
08. Schotel van Kip en Ui	15.95
09. Schotel van Kip en Paprika	15.95
10. Schotel van Kip en Tomaten	15.95
11. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	15.95
12. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	15.95
13. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	15.95
14. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	15.95
15. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	15.95
16. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	15.95
17. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	15.95
18. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	15.95
19. Schotel van Kip en Aubergine	15.95
20. Schotel van Kip en Courgette	15.95