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# A GASTROMUSICOLOGY RESEARCH ON MUSIC OF BOUTIQUE BURGER<sup>\*</sup>

BUTİK BURGERİN MÜZİĞİ ÜZERİNE BİR GASTROMÜZİKOLOJİ ARAŞTIRMASI

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#### Boutique Burger, Music, Gastronomy, Gastromusicology, Ethnography

#### Anahtar sözcükler

Butik Burger, Müzik, Gastronomi, Gastromüzikoloji, Etnografi

# Abstract

Music, in addition to being listened to live on stage or from a record, is a commercial tool used by people. It is known that music is used by businesses under various occupational groups to increase representation capability of their products, address a particular audience, stimulate shopping or create an atmosphere. The purpose of this study was to determine the genre(s) of music preferred by boutique burger establishments, to research the purpose(s) for preferring such music genres, and to identify whether there is a music genre that represents boutique burger. During preliminary studies conducted in line with this purpose, it was determined that Caferağa Neighborhood of Kadıköy District in İstanbul province has had improving social, cultural and gastronomic characteristics that were maintained throughout the years, and boutique burger establishments also gained prominence as social and gastronomic spaces in the recent years. 8 boutique burger establishments, which were shaped by the relationships between space, taste and music, were identified in Caferağa Neighborhood, and a gastromusicological study has been conducted with ethnographic methods in line with the purpose in question. In this qualitative study based on descriptive assessment, data was collected by application of observation and interview techniques on 6 managers, 4 cook-managers, 10 cooks and 16 customers in a total of 8 businesses. The data on research problem was analyzed with descriptive analysis and it was determined that boutique burger was represented by various American popular music genres such as Electronic (House, Electro House, Deep House, Techno), Funk, Pop, Rock, Country, Jazz, Reggae, Rap, Chill-out, R&B and Hip-hop.

# Öz

Farklı meslek gruplarından işletmelerin ürünlerinin temsil kabiliyetini arttırmak, belirli bir kesime hitap edebilmek, alışverişe teşvik etmek veya atmosfer yaratmak için müziği kullandıkları bilinmektedir. Bu araştırmada, butik burger işletmelerinin tercih ettiği müzik türünün/türlerinin belirlenmesi ve ilgili müzik türlerinin hangi amaçla(rla) tercih edildiğinin araştırılmasıyla butik burgeri temsil eden bir müzik türü/türleri olup olmadığının belirlenmesi amaçlanmıştır. İstanbul ili Kadıköy ilçesi Caferağa Mahallesi'nde mekân, lezzet ve müzik arasındaki ilişkilerle oluşan 8 butik burger işletmesi belirlenip ilgili amaç doğrultusunda etnografik yöntemli gastromüzikolojik araştırma yapılmıştır. Betimsel düzende durum tespitine dayalı bu nitel araştırmada, toplam 8 işletmede; 6 işletmeci, 4 aşçı-işletmeci, 10 aşçı ve 16 müşteriye gözlem ve görüşme tekniği uygulanarak veriler toplanmıştır. Araştırma problemine ilişkin veriler betimsel analiz tekniği ile analiz edilmiş ve butik burgerin Elektronik (House, Elektro House, Deep House, Techno), Funk, Pop, Rock, Country, Jazz, Reggae, Rap, Chill-out, R&B ve Hip-hop gibi çeşitli Amerikan popüler müzik türleri tarafından temsil edildiği belirlenmiştir.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>\*</sup> This article was produced from the first writer's MA thesis (see Erdoğan Türen, 2019). The thesis was supported by Scientific Research Project Coordination Unit of Istanbul University (Project Number: SYL-2018-28961).

# **1.** Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The act of nutrition, which used to be performed for reasons such as eating one's fill and the intake of energy required for survival, is not only a biological action, as addressed by many researchers. The phenomenon of eating, which played an important role in social practices even during the early ages (Goody, 2013), can be performed in modern societies of our day to fulfill needs such as satisfying personals taste, making new discoveries, and socializing.

The role of industrialization and modernization, which primarily began in Europe, in carrying the issue of nutrition up until this point, emerges as an undeniable fact. Nutritional habits in daily life went through a distinctive change since the Industrial Revolution, while the emergence of new industries brought along the need for more labor. Gradual inclusion of more people in the accelerating pace of work caused a decline in the time allocated to cooking, and created a demand for the development of the fast food sector, aimed at satisfying nutritional needs (Beardsworth & Keil, 2002, pp. 35-46).

McDonald's, which is the largest known representative of fast food, was initially established in 1937, in California, Pasadena by Richard and Maurice McDonald brothers (Ritzer, 2019, p. 27; Schlosser, 2004, p. 19). In comparison with other fast food establishments in their day, the restaurant of McDonald brothers produced burgers with more rationalized processes than their competitors, intending "to increase the speed, lower prices and raise the volume of sales" (Schlosser, 2004, p. 19). During this process, which was almost considered an 'assembly line' (Ritzer, 2019; Schlosser, 2004, p. 20), "one person grilled the hamburgers, another 'dressed' and wrapped it; another prepared the milk shake; another made the fries; and another worked the counter" (Schlosser, 2004, p. 20).

As cited in a paper published after entry of McDonald's into Turkish market in 1986, the statement "in recent years, hamburger replaced kebab, pizza replaced pidelahmacun, and pastry products replaced milk desserts due to the influence of Western culture[s]" (Baysal, 1993, pp. 12-21 as cited in Özçelik & Surucuöğlu, 1998, p. 444). This sets forth the change caused by Western cultures in Turkish cuisine and nutritional habits of Turkey's people within 7 years up to 1998.

However, entry of US-based burger into Turkish market means the transfer of not only a food, but also that culture to another country. According to Beardsworth and Keil, "when we eat [...] we are also consuming certain 'meanings and symbols". In this respect, foods that people prefer to consume can also ensure contact with the culture, where that food was produced (2002, pp. 51-54). One of the elements of this cultural contact are music, as it can be observed that the music choice of people accompany them when they eat.

It is seen that music is also involved in both the biological need of people to sustain their lives and actions, which have become functional as a culture-specific event or, at some places, a ritual (see Williams, 2006 & 2016). This reveals the representation of music. According to (2005, 209-225) who Bohlman pp. addressed representation aspect of music, sounds organized by people create music, and music conveys meaning with this organization. Sound material offers people a way to represent, giving many organizational possibilities. Societies turn their stories into music to tell or record, and music represents them with their own materials. Likewise, this representativeness of music is also seen in forms focused on description, such as "Ballad", "program music" or "symphonic poem" in European based classical music.

In terms of representation of music, the focus point of this study is whether music represents a food belonging to a certain culture. It is known that music belonging to a certain culture may sometimes remind the consumers of food (or food-drink) belonging to that culture (North, Hargreaves & McKendrick, 1997; Yeoh & North, 2010). This is directly associated with the culture represented by music. Considering this representational situation of music, it is supposed that it can represent burgers as specific food.

Although there are various studies on the relationship of food (or food-drink) and music, there is still little research that focus directly on 'gastromusicology'. In this regard, original topics can be found to examine the relationship between food and music in an interdisciplinary approach within the framework of musicology. Foods (or food-drink) have attained significant diversification, particularly in the 21st century, due to becoming a constantly growing sector. A gastromusicological study, to be determined in such diversity and conducted among dining businesses, should be directly related to music. In this respect, it was seen in observations, performed during preliminary studies, that the boutique burger businesses are distinctive (specific) from other conventional food businesses. Therefore, it became necessary to conduct a study on determination of whether this sector, which gradually gained prominence in gastronomic terms, has a specific music.

It was determined that the boutique burger sector, which operates on an international scale, was also available in all districts of İstanbul. Since all boutique burger businesses in Istanbul could not be researched with limitations such as the research schedule and cost, it was determined a geographical limitation. So, the research was conducted on the boutique burger businesses, which

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  The information in this section was cited from Erdoğan Türen, 2019, pp. 1-5.

have been observed to be increasing in numbers since 2015, in Caferağa Neighborhood of Kadıköy District in İstanbul. The research was conducted in the 8 boutique burger businesses<sup>2</sup> that continued to work between September and January 2019. The 8 businesses included 36 people<sup>3</sup> interviewed with them. The research was completed with financial support of Scientific Research Project Coordination Unit of Istanbul University, observations and available written resources. The findings determined as a result of the research based on the question 'does the boutique burger have a specific music genre(s) and musical representation were reported in this study.

#### 2. Method<sup>4</sup>

This research, conducted on the 8 boutique burger businesses in Kadıköy district of İstanbul, was based on ethnography to respond to the basic question as the problem of the research. In line with the requirements of the research, qualitative research methods and techniques, based on descriptive assessment, were used in the research. As no universe was to be represented in the research, focus group study, which relies on opinions of participants determined in respect of the problem, was preferred. However, this focus group was related to common circumstances and the businesses in respect of the research subject (boutique burger and music), and the interviews were made one by one.

Implemented data collection techniques were document scanning and analysis, interview, observation and audio/visual recording. Pursuant to the problem in question, an interview form, comprising semi-structured common and separate questions, was prepared and 36 people (6 managers, i.e. business owners), 4 cookmanagers (both cook and business owners), 10 cooks and 16 customers, who were reached under the research subject, were interviewed. In addition, the characteristics and atmosphere of the spaces were observed in the 8 businesses and the recorded musical works presented in the businesses were determined by the Shazam application.

Photographs of visuals within spaces were shot with NIKON D7100, and voices of interviewees<sup>5</sup> were recorded with Sony ICD-SX2000. Briefly, the data of the research were collected by written, visual, auditory document analysis, observation and interview techniques, and the findings were determined by analyzing the descriptive data analysis technique, which is a qualitative data analysis technique. As the research was being reported at the end of descriptive analysis, individual and businesses names of 36 interviewees were hidden, and they were

coded with the letters (M: Manager, CM: Cook-Manager, C: Cook, CR: Customer) and the numbers (such as M-1, CM-2, C-4, CR-5) according to their statuses in the businesses. Also, the businesses were coded as a 'space' (i.e. venue) by adding the numbers (i.e. Space-3)<sup>6</sup>. Some web resources (beatport.com and discogs.com) were used to determine musical works recorded with the Shazam, and their genres.

#### 3. Theoretical Framework<sup>7</sup>

#### 3.1. Gastronomy

In consideration of the term *gastronomy*, there is a consistency between the statement of Athenaeus and etymological origin of the word. With its implication of norms related to eating and drinking, the term *gastronomy*, coined from the Greek words of *gastros*, meaning stomach and the whole digestive system, and *nomos*, meaning law/rule, covers what will be eaten how much, how, when, why and from where (Kivela &Crotts, 2006, p. 355; Santich, 2004, p. 16).

Historically, the first mention of the term gastronomy was in the poem titled *La Gastronomie, ou l'homme des champs à table. Poëme didactique en IV Chants*, written by French poet Joseph de Berchoux in 1804. In 1835, due to increasing use of the term, it became a part of the literature, meaning *the art of good eating* (Scarpato, 2002, p. 53).

Brillat-Savarin accepts gastronomy as a whole discipline and, according to him, subjects of gastronomy involve the effects of nutrients on human physiology, necessary consumption amounts and combinations, preparation and storage of these nutrients, as well as amount and order of consumption. According to Brillat-Savarin (2015), *the art of cookery* is a subject under gastronomy.

In his book, Brillat-Savarin (2015) also attempted to address some recipes, theoretical and practical information on food and drinks, physiology of taste and digestion, effects of eating habits on human body, as well as origin, definition, subjects and the need for gastronomy, and based it on a scientific foundation. As a result, all this gastronomic information not only increases the pleasure given by foods, but also aims to protect human health.

Kivela and Crotts (2006, pp. 354-355) also referred to gastronomy as a study in interdisciplinary relations with fields of science such as "chemistry, literature, biology, geology, history, agronomy, anthropology, music, philosophy, psychology and sociology" in the context of examination of "the relationship between culture and

 $<sup>^2</sup>$ B.O.B Best of Burger, Brox Burger&More, Bykush Street Food, Byte Street Food, Mini Eatry, Simple Street Grill, Smash Food Works, Zapata Burger.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For their names see Erdoğan Türen, 2019, pp. 75-76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The information in this section was cited from Erdoğan Türen, 2019, pp. 75-76.

 $<sup>^5</sup>$  Interviewees refer to the business owners, cook-managers, cooks and customers interviewed for this research.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  The encoding mentioned here is based on English. Different words and letters were used in Turkish (in Erdoğan Türen, 2019, pp. 22-50).

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  The information in this section, with its sub-titles, was cited from Erdoğan Türen, 2019, pp. 9-21.

food", in addition to being "the art of cooking and good eating".

According to Gillespie (2001, p. 2), who briefly defined gastronomy as "the art or science of good eating", the reason for an individual to like or unlike a gastronomic experience with a food or drink is associated with "cultural, geographical, social and alimentary socialization" in terms of "individual gastronomic values". He also addressed atmosphere, which is a factor that affects gastronomic experiences of individuals (2001, p. 26). Atmosphere is a part and a factor of the gastronomic experience of an individual in a space (venue) (Hegarty, 2009, p. 5). Atmosphere studies, which are mostly conducted in marketing field in the academy, deal with music as an element of atmosphere, and examine its effects on purchasing experiences in restaurants or various stores.

For this research, the boutique burger businesses, which are spaces where dining is performed outside, were selected. Cooks or managers with gastronomy training, working in these businesses, offer gastronomic information to their customers. While the customers consume this information, music also participates in their experience in the space. In this respect, the ability to understand the role- played by music, which is an element of gastronomic experience, in the relationship between individual, space and food (taste), requires an examination in the gastromusicological framework. In this context, first of all, information on gastromusicology is below.

## **3.2. Gastromusicology**

The term *gastromusicology* was first coined by Pierpaolo Polzonetti. In his study conducted with the historical method of musicology, gastromusicology was used to imply that foods and drinks (gastronomic codes) in banquet scenes of Verdi's operas functioned as a visual code to point out different social layers of the society (Polzonetti, 1999). In this context, based on the definition of gastronomy, gastromusicology can be briefly defined as *musicology of food and drink*.

On the other hand, Braus (2007) mentioned that the composers frequently expressed their delight of food in musical concepts or used these concepts interchangeably. For example, exaggeration of ornaments, which is a musical element, was compared to an over-seasoned food, while Braus considered statements of composers, which implied a gastronomic pleasure in the musical sense, as gastromusicology.

The term gastromusicology, also used by Sean Williams (2006), indicates that there are studies addressing relationships between food, music and human also in the branch of ethnomusicology. According to Williams based on her field study experience, food and music have a common cultural dimension, which "tells us [...] who we are" (2006, p. 2). Williams addressed the connection between food and music, also in terms of the similarity between two actions. As a consequence, his two books containing local recipes, proverbs specific to those dishes, records that should be listened to while eating, and articles discussing local food and music, were prepared ethnomusicologists from different countries bv throughout the world. These books focusing on food, music and culture, and based on ethnographic and cultural experience, are an example of gastromusicology according to Williams (2006 & 2016).

A Symphony of Flavors (2015), a book addressing situations where food and music come together, which contains examples from different cultures, also refers to studies where both phenomena (eating/food and music) meet on a common ground. For example, Murray (2015, p. 1) exemplified the function of music in different societies by mentioning that women in Cape Verde sung as if they were blessing life as they were sowing seeds.

These studies, which directly use the term or fit within the meaning of the term in the literature, are distinctive sources about what gastromusicology can imply. Accordingly, gastromusicology can be briefly defined as a discipline, under which the relationship between fooddrink, music, human and culture are researched. The scope of gastromusicology not only involves studies conducted with historical and ethnographic methods, but it is also open to studies were experimental method can be used. However, disciplines that use other scientific methods, particularly marketing, neurogastronomy<sup>8</sup> and gastrophysics9, can also be implemented in terms of understanding the role of sound and music in gastronomic experience and offering new methods and different perspectives than historical and ethnographic methods to gastromusicology.

While gastromusicology studies the representation of food with music or the representation of music with food, it also deals with the entirety of environments where all these are offered. This also was expressed for the first time by Kotler (1974) with the term "atmosphere". According to Kotler, atmosphere is perceived with senses. It involves "visual dimensions (color, brightness, size and shape)", "olfactory dimensions (scent and freshness)", "tactile dimensions (softness, smoothness, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The term was coined by Gordon M. Shepherd (2012). It studies how cognitive activities taking place in the brain affect our gastronomic experience during consumptions of foods. According to Shepherd, who particularly points out olfactory process in this regard, the perception of taste is created by brain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Charles Spence, who developed the term, defines the gastrophysics "as the scientific study of those factors that influence our multisensory experience while tasting food and drink. The term itself comes from the

merging of 'gastronomy' and 'psychophysics': gastronomy here emphasizes the fine culinary experiences that are the source of inspiration for much of the research in this discipline, while psychophysics references the scientific study of perception" (2017, p. [15]). Gastrophysics is also in contact with disciplines such as "experimental psychology, cognitive neuroscience, sensory science, neurogastronomy, marketing, design and behavioral economics" (2017, p. [14]).

temperature)", and "aural dimensions (volume and pitch)". While tasting is not directly used for perception of atmosphere, some objects "can activate remembered tastes" (Kotler, 1974, p. 51). The music constitutes a part of atmosphere in a background context in terms of accompanying offered food or other products, i.e. being a tool. In terms of foods or other products representing music or that is represented by music, numerous studies have been conducted on the concept of background music in different fields (see Baker, Grewal & Parasuraman, 1994; Milliman, 1982 & 1986; North, Shilcock & Hargreaves, 2003). These may serve as an example to the relationship of gastromusicology with interdisciplinary studies.

The term gastromusicology, which was first used to imply that foods acted as a visual code indicating social layers in Verdi's operas, manifests that it can become a distinctive field of study for musicology with information and findings obtained from different scientific disciplines. Thus, gastromusicology extends far beyond the meaning used by Polzonetti (1999).

Accordingly, while this study addresses the role of music in gastronomic experience in the context of food, music, human and culture it contains a gastromusicological study example capitalizing on different studies in the literature, from both within and outside the discipline.

#### 4. Findings and Interpretations<sup>10</sup>

Findings, determined upon analysis of data collected as a result of conducted research, were presented in this section under the following sub-titles in the contexts of area, neighborhood, space, taste, production and music specific to boutique burger:

#### 4.1. Boutique Burger Spaces and Kadıköy/Caferağa Neighborhood

Caferağa Neighborhood, also known as Moda, in Kadıköy<sup>11</sup>, which has been observed to experience a considerable gastronomic dynamism in the last few years, hosts many businesses operating in different branches of food and beverage industry. Among these, the boutique burger businesses have come to the fore as businesses that focus on a specific area, as their number gradually increases and reached 8 in the neighborhood. In this regard, it was determined that boutique burger spaces subject to the study had reasons, based on perceptions of interviewees and environmental factors, for being in Caferağa Neighborhood of Kadıköy:

<sup>10</sup> All findings and their sub-titles in this section were generated and presented based on the data collected from the interviewees (Erdoğan Türen, 2019, pp. 22-50).

Specific characteristics of the area are particularly determinant in the preference of Kadıköy/Caferağa Interviewees Neighborhood by business owners. expressed the reasons for their preference as the presence of target audience here, the high demand of the young population for this area, the fact that this area was open to trends, the presence of their targeted customer profile here, and the fact that it was a place where their burgers could yield adequate revenue. In addition, according to them, Caferağa Neighborhood has advantages over other neighborhoods of Kadıköy due to its location. From a business perspective, the interviewees indicated the characteristic that provided this advantage as the variety of the means of transportation (particularly metro), which enables the neighborhood, as a neighborhood where people spend time outdoors and there is a nightlife scene, to become an eating or entertainment stop for people passing through Kadıköy, even if they do not directly aim to visit Kadıköy.

Certain business owners indicated residing or having grown up here as another reason for engaging in boutique burger business in Caferağa. It is observed that Caferağa Neighborhood is not only a place where people visit for business purposes, but it is also a living space, which has become almost an outdoor mall with businesses from different business lines embedded into the neighborhood, where businesses such as cafés, restaurants and pubs have been opened around apartment buildings and schools in a residential area. However, according to M-3, who lives in Caferağa Neighborhood, "neighborhood culture" still continues. M-3 stated that besides being "popular" in terms of business, Caferağa Neighborhood had "its own community", continuation of neighborhood culture enabled them to become friends with their customers and, thus, this characteristic of the neighborhood was the reason for their preference. M-2, who indicated that they spent/were able to spend their private life, in addition to their business life, in Caferağa, despite not living there, stated that the reason for opening their businesses there was the "diversity" and "creativity" in Caferağa. In consideration of these opinions, two reasons gain prominence in operating the boutique burger businesses in Kadıköy/Caferağa: the first one involves above mentioned specific characteristics of Kadıköy/Caferağa, and the second one involves, directly or indirectly in relationship with these characteristics, the fact that business owners live or grew up here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> While Kadıköy district of İstanbul comprises 21 neighborhoods, in speech, Kadıköy refers to Caferağa and Osmanağa neighborhoods, which constitute the central area of the district. However, the interviewees only referred to Caferağa Neighborhood. During the interviewes, it was observed that the interviewees frequently substituted Caferağa for Kadıköy and Kadıköy for Caferağa. The fact that Caferağa Neighborhood is a central neighborhood of Kadıköy and it has vast

means of transportation due to its geographical location is considered playing a role in substitution of these two concepts by the interviewees. Therefore, although Kadıköy and Caferağa are separately used in the interviewees' statements, as it was observed that they were overlapping concepts for them, the statements were written as they were made by the interviewees. However, when specific characteristics of Kadıköy or Caferağa were determined, they were separately indicated.

In respect of engaging in boutique burger business, it was found out that, in addition to specific characteristics of the area, the location of the space and its surface area must meet certain conditions for eligibility in terms of physical characteristics: According to the information obtained from interviews, while certain business owners found physically eligible locations for boutique burger spaces to be opened, others (M-5, CM-3) converted their businesses that previously offered services in another line of business into a boutique burger business. Yet, others adapted the spaces that they currently use to their businesses as they could not acquire spaces that they desired due to reasons such as high rents (CM-4, CM-2 and M-4) or ineligible physical properties of the building (CM-1).

The most important physical properties, taken into consideration by business owners in respect of boutique burger spaces to be opened, are primarily the location of the space and availability of a suitable chimney in the building containing the space to be opened. Interviewees generally stated that suitable locations for them were locations where people passed by, eating out was preferred, nightlife was vibrant, and people preferred to socialize. For example, CM-2 explained that there are certain demanders for their business and their locations were selected accordingly: "At the end of the day, our products appeal to a certain audience, this is a reality. If you are making a special, gournet product... It is more important for us those people care about food in that area".

According to the interviewees, surface the areas of spaces also play an important role in ensuring taste and sustainability throughout the whole process involving storage, preparation, cooking and presentation of foods. Another finding, observed as a common characteristic, was that boutique burger spaces are not very large in general. Some business representatives outsourced certain products with their own recipes as they did not have enough storage and preparation areas, while some others stated that they established production facilities at a separate location to save time and space, and to ensure that production was under their control. In addition, M-2 and M-3 also indicated that surface the area of the space also sets a capacity in terms of production of burgers, exceeding which could reduce the quality of production.

Another matter that drew attention was that business owners considered having small spaces as a positive impact. For example, CM-3 underlined that having a small space was favorable also in terms of being able to pay attention to customers, establishing "*friendships*" and, thus, ensuring "*sincerity*". In this regard, it is seen that having small spaces enables business owners to pay attention to their customers, thus contributing to the sustainability of business in a sense.

In terms of physical design of boutique burger spaces, it was determined that there were certain characteristics specific to the spaces, both inside and outside. Primarily, it was observed that there were numerous pubs around the spaces, they were located at entrance floors of apartments, and business owners had murals, specific to the space or the area, painted. Frequently observed common characteristics within the spaces comprise the use of stools, bar counter designs, open and observable kitchens, the presence of various decorative objects specific to the space, sharing gastronomic event and training brochures, growing potted plants, space-specific presentation material designs, the absence of wash basins and toilets for the most part, widespread use of expressions in English on menus<sup>12</sup> and the presence of murals or (English) graffiti specific to the space. In respect of space design, business owners mostly stated that an interior designer prepared samples for them, and they together use these samples. It was also determined that some businesses took inspiration from social media platforms such as "Pinterest" (M-3) or by direct observation (CM-1) about worldwide boutique burger spaces models and architectural features, without assistance from an interior designer.

In consideration of the boutique burger businesses with the characteristics described above, it is primarily seen that lifestyle and level of income in the area are factors in the emergence of this business in Caferağa (Moda). In a broader framework, abundance of the means of transportation in Caferağa due to its location, diversity of educational, social, and cultural areas of activity, and being a vicinity where entertainment opportunities are also available, attracts particularly the youth to Caferağa. It was determined that this fact played an important role in the occurrence of the demand here and so, emergence of the boutique burger businesses in Caferağa. In addition, specific characteristics of Caferağa also contributed to this situation, in connection with the fact that certain business owners live here. Although boutique burger spaces are the business spaces of these business owners, as a matter of fact, they started their businesses within their living spaces. This specific characteristic of Caferağa, which can be both a business and a living space, can be said to have constituted a reason for business owners, who suggested living here as the reason for engaging in this business in Kadıköy.

As a result, as it can be seen, connections that support each other, in terms of being present among specific characteristics of boutique burger spaces and their areas, can be summarized as follows: Setting up a business in a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> According to Hall (2017, p. 7), "language is one of the 'media' through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture". In this regard, English expressions in the menus of boutique burger establishments can be considered, as indicators of representation of another culture.

neighborhood, which is also habitat, where you grew up or live; appealing to a certain taste and establishing a business in an area, where people with a certain level of income reside; parallelism between lifestyles of interviewees and lifestyle in the neighborhood. These parallels are certain factors that model spaces according to surroundings and lifestyle. On the other hand, it is seen that is rapidly developing technology, diversity of the means of communication, and particularly social media applications offer resources from outside Turkey to business owners in terms of designing the boutique burger spaces.

### 4.2. Production and Taste of the Boutique Burgers

Burger, which is a type of fast food, initially became a part of the dietary habits of Turkish people by means of the chain burger businesses (Schlosser, 2004, p. 229). However, it is observed that opinions on both its negative impacts on health and poor hygienic conditions, which gradually spread in time, tarnished the initial good reputation of burger. Upon emergence of the non-chain boutique burger businesses, which made qualified and specific burgers, in the recent years, it was observed that burger regained popularity and received demand. In this context, it is seen that there are a number of differences that distinguish the boutique burgers and the boutique burger businesses from the approach of the chain burger and the chain burger businesses:

During interviews were conducted with managers, cookmanagers and cooks as the producers of boutique burgers, they identified the approach that distinguished them from the chain burger businesses as making their own products and having designed their own recipes. They indicated the differences, which distinguished them from the chain burger businesses in terms of taste, as avoiding the use of additives in their burgers, avoiding frozen foods, placing emphasis on quality of ingredients, and paying attention to their business. Another difference that draws attention is that they particularly emphasized that they did not use processed meat.

First, essential components of the boutique burgers, which underline the difference of taste in terms of physical properties, stand out as 'meat, sauce and burger bun.' It was determined according to their statements and our observations that all business owners tried to be meticulous in choosing the meat to be used in the boutique burgers, had certain recipes specific to them, and they had fundamental principles concerning meat. For example, M-3 indicated that they bought their meat especially from Metro GrossMarket, and explained its reason as follows;

> This is because [meat] is prepared according to our recipe of choice. We provide them with a recipe indicating the ratio of fat, rib, and brisket. They prepare and send us that recipe. They have thorough cold chains, inspections,

health inspections, etc. and we consider them to be safe. After all, it is food... (M-3, personal communication, Nov. 7, 2018).

It can be considered that the standard for meat, which is in question here, determines both the manner of production and the taste of burger patty. M-3 stated that they attempted to implement a certain standard to ensure a "one hundred percent taste" that could represent their own business (Space-3). C-1 and CM-1 emphasized that the very low level of standardization in production, as compared to the chain burger businesses, was caused by the fact that production was made by people rather than "machinery". C-5 stated that limits could be more flexible as they were working with people and, therefore, it was possible that not every dish was served in exactly the same manner as in the chain burger businesses, which was a favorable difference.

It was observed that sauce, which was one of the main elements of the competition between businesses, was also an important component served with and/or inside the boutique burgers, and all businesses stated that they had their special sauces prepared by them. During the interviews, it was observed that businesses served their own sauces inside or with the burger, while outsourced ready-made sauces, such as ketchup, mayonnaise, barbecue and mustard, were also constantly available on tables.

It was observed that another component, which required as much attention as burger patty and sauce, was the burger bun. It was determined that certain businesses (Space-2, Space-3, Space-4) made their own burger buns, certain ones had their own recipes but had them made by a certain bakery (Space-1, Space-6, Space-7), while others (Space-5, Space-8) outsourced burger buns without having a particular recipe. Some businesses that made their own buns stated that even if they did not have sufficient area in the space, they made buns in their own facilities at a separate location to add character to their business. It was determined that businesses that have their own burger bun recipes made by certain bakeries do not have enough space and separate facilities, too.

It was observed that the duration from ordering until serving took longer for the boutique burgers as compared to the chain burger businesses. Interviewed business owners and cooks stated that there were certain factors that determined the duration for the boutique burgers to become ready for serving, and the duration could be extended or shortened due to these reasons. These factors are the workload of businesses at different times of the day, type of burger (vegetarian or beef), cooking equipment, thickness of patty, and doneness (rare, medium, well-done).

Average duration of serving a burger in the boutique burger businesses was calculated as minimum 7 minutes and maximum 11 minutes after orderin. According to the determined characteristics, production stages of the boutique burgers are briefly preparation, cooking, and presentation. It was observed that businesses generally started production with preparation a few hours before 12.00 PM, which is the opening time, and closed at 12:00 AM, with longer work hours on Friday and Saturday, thus having shorter work hours than the chain burger businesses, which open earlier in the morning.

It was determined that all the differences of the boutique burgers in terms of taste, as mentioned above, were also distinctive for customers as the consumer of the product. Accordingly, customers stated that they preferred a particular boutique burger business, where they were eating, due to its taste, quality, and reliability. On the other hand, customers distinguished the boutique burger businesses from the chain burger businesses in terms of taste, quality of ingredients, hygiene, observation of the cooking process, presentation and especially the quality of the meat. In addition, during the interviews, most of the customers stated that they were re-visiting a burger business, which they had visited before. Accordingly, it was determined that the preference of customers for the boutique burgers when they wanted to eat burgers, instead of the chain burger businesses, was not coincidental. This is because, apart from the taste of meat, doneness, burger buns and sauces specific to the businesses; open kitchen, hygiene and presentation are the main quality indicators conveyed by customers and reasons for preference.

Likewise, it was observed that the boutique burger producers also valued palates of their consumers, who particularly preferred the boutique burgers over nonqualified burgers. In this regard, the producers frequently used the expressions *"conversant"* and *"understands"* for their customers and addressed their customers' palate in the context of consciousness, thus describing the palates that preferred them with positive discrimination, using the statements in the examples.

The boutique burger producers defined the consciousness of customers with the following statements; "Reaching a certain palate" (CM-1), "developed palate" (M-3), "able to distinguish flavors" (CM-1), "understands from food" (M-4), "gourmet" (M-4, CM-3), "seeking different tastes" (C-3), "enjoying" (from food) (C-5) and "able to comment" (about food) (M-6), "more conscious" (about food) (M-5). Here, it is seen that the defined consciousness is not only intended to eat, but it also describes a palate that has a special interest in food.

It was established that there were different reasons revolving around commercial purposes for making boutique burgers, which is demanded by conscious customers: Upon examination of the reasons of interviewed business owners for engaging in boutique burger business, it was determined that the main reasons were that they had prior gastronomy education, or they were interested in this sector.

It was observed that many cafés in Caferağa Neighborhood were in side-by-side competition. Accordingly, M-5 stated that they transformed their space from a café into a boutique burger business to "more effectively use" their space, while CM-3 did the same as they knew boutique burger business would "explode". In this regard, it was determined that increasing competition between cafés prompted M-5 and CM-3 to take action in the commercial sense, and weaker competition was a factor in the shift from café to boutique burger business. Similarly, M-3 also stated that they separated burger business from café business and opened a separate space, specific to boutique burger, due to the increase of the demand for burgers, which was simultaneously served in their café. In this example, it is seen that the increased demand for the boutique burgers are a requirement to start a boutique burger business.

The boutique burger businesses, which were observed to have a rather idealist approach in terms of quality than the chain burger businesses, can be considered, as a quality alternative to the chain burger businesses on the market by prioritizing taste. M-6, who -according to himwas competing against the chain burger businesses with qualified burgers, stated that boutique burger business was an "investment", while CM-1 indicated that they definitely considered boutique burger business as an "income source". Also, he emphasized "fine-dining culture" was "mediocre" in Turkey, it was not preferred by customers, so come chefs left fine-dining restaurants and gravitated towards street foods. These statements of M-6 and CM-1 underlines the fact that some boutique burger businesses were opened particularly to earn money as an alternative to the chain burger.

It was determined that boutique burger business, which started for the first time in 2015 upon opening of Space-1 in Caferağa Neighborhood, also transformed business owners, operating in other fields, into suppliers of this business as the demand increased in time. The opinions of some business owners regarding the reasons for the increase in the boutique burger places in Caferağa Neighborhood since 2015, are as follows:

According to M-3 and M-4, the use of social media plays a major role in the increase of the boutique burger businesses. M-3 emphasized that "*Instagram*" increased acquaintance with street foods among different cultures, which created awareness in the context of "*street food*" and became a "*movement*". M-4 expressed that individuality (emphasizing individual characteristics, specificity) gradually gained more importance as social media provided people with a space where they could share their personal interests and impressions with other people, thus having an influence that leads people to discovering new tastes.

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According to M-5 and M-1, burger initially became a part of dietary habits of people thanks to the chain burger businesses, and the society got used to fast food in time. On the other hand, M-5 stated that very fast adaptation of the youth to new trends resulted in the continuous emergence of new trends, and the combination of these factors created a demand for business owners. In addition, it is seen that M-4 and M-5 reached a consensus in terms of mentioning the impact of the interest of customers, as the demanding party, to discovering the new, on rise of the boutique burger business. CM-1 addressing the matter in terms of the demanding party, and stated that the stated that the consciousness of people about the lack of quality of burgers made by the chain burger businesses caused the demand for the chain burgers to decrease. He also stressed that the prices of the boutique burgers and the chain burgers are close to each other, thus leading to gravitation of demand toward "burger businesses that made boutique burgers."

According to the cooks, who approached the matter in terms of demand, people started to gain nutrition "consciousness" and prefer qualified products, they who did not have the time to cook but also wanted to eat qualified food created demand, and therefore burger businesses increased and started to stand out as a highquality but fast alternative. The cook-managers, who approached the subject in terms of supplier, stated that business owners gravitated towards this area due to the recent popularization of boutique burger. According to C-8 and C-10 who addressed the subject in terms of the supplier, entrepreneurs, who witnessed the growing field of competition against chain businesses and wanted to earn money, established the boutique burger businesses and leading to the increased these businesses. C-8 also emphasized that this situation was an impact of "capitalism".

At this point, in connection with capitalism, the business owners linked a relationship between the chain burgers, which is a sign of capitalism, and taste. It was determined that they addressed this relationship in the context of quality and negatively approached the concept of being a chain. Here, the negative approach to the concept of being a chain stems from the fact that businesses compromise the quality of the burger as a result of being a chain. However, it was seen that certain businesses were positive towards establishing branches, although they<sup>13</sup> indicated that they wanted to protect the quality of the boutique burger. This can be considered, as being a small chain burger, too. Some interviewees admitted that being a chain could negatively affect taste, but they still claimed that if a central kitchen system and maximum five branches are established, the quality of the boutique burgers will not deteriorate, as a common statement. According to them, taste can be preserved if burgers are prepared in a properly organized central kitchen belonging to a business and distributed to the branches of the same business. However, in this plan, which has not been realized yet, there is an important gap overlooked by the interviewees. This gap is the fact that even though the same taste reaches every branch, they will have already changed their manner of production to be capable of doing that. Another factor that gravitates businesses towards central kitchen system in their branch plans is the increase in their production capacity. Nevertheless, branching and central cuisine will change the burger taste peculiar to each business and create a new taste. This is because more branches mean more production. According to M-5, even now, some businesses that have to establish a workshop to meet the demand will have to freeze the burgers produced in their central kitchens to be distributed to their branches, in order not to spoil during distribution, like the chain burgers. This may mean compromising the quality of a business.

Another matter that is overlooked by the interviewees is that they independently evaluate the production stage as if it is not a part or a factor of providing taste, and only focus on the result. Even during this research, it was determined that some burger businesses could not completely produce in the same space. However, according to M-5, even if businesses are willing to open branches, as there is no business with a branch at the present time, the discourse of opening branches<sup>14</sup> by preserving the same quality and taste are an "*utopia*".

As a result, upon assessment of the difference of boutique burger establishments from the chain burger establishments in terms of taste, it is seen that the interviewees express this as "specificity". Since the boutique burgers of each business is prepared by cooks who have gastronomy training, these productions are carried to the gastronomic level and the 'self-specificity' of the business is provided., The businesses have prepared their own burger recipes to reveal their tastes and be different from each other, adopting a more flexible approach instead of standardizing the production, thus demonstrating their self-specificity. In addition, according to the interviews with the customers, it has been observed that they prefer the boutique burgers with a focus on taste and consciously.

On the other hand, the trend that emerges worldwide and in Turkey in the context of street foods, particularly due to the influence of social media, causes the numbers of boutique burger spaces to gradually increase as it creates new demanders and new suppliers that will respond to the demand. However, this situation also has two sides in creation of a demander by business owners by introducing burger concept to Turkey; both the effect of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Space-1, Space-2, Space-6, Space-8.

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>$  After this research, as of 2022, Space-2 has three branches besides the main business.

globalization resulting from developing technology, and their individual impressions formed abroad.

In both cases, the influence of abroad can be clearly seen both in the perception of the space that the business owners have set up and in their orientation to a product (burger) originating abroad. Initial introduction of burger, which was already a foreign-based food, to Turkey by means of the chain burger businesses set the first model for the concepts of burger and burger business for both consumers and business owners. In this study, although the chain burger businesses are specified as the opposite of the boutique burger businesses in terms of production and taste, the boutique burger businesses, due to certain business owners aiming to establish branches, may change sides in the future as a capitalist approach.

# 4.3. Music and Its Representation in the Boutique Burger Businesses

Besides the production and space elements of the boutique burger businesses, the main problem of this research was music as an element in businesses. So, it was whether the boutique burgers had music. The answer to this question was determined as follows:

In short, in all of the boutique burger businesses in this research were presented (played) with songs from American popular music genres<sup>15\_16</sup> (Electronic [House, Electro House, Deep House, Techno], Funk, Pop, Rock, Country, Jazz, Reggae, Rap, Chill-out, R&B, Hip-hop), and it turned out that the boutique burger had its own distinctive music. However, it has been determined that not just one of these genres, all of them are boutique burger music.

In terms of representation, it was observed that these music genres were a part of the atmosphere together with space characteristics and boutique burger types of each business. The interviewees provided various opinions in terms of selection, presentation and representation of these music genres:

It was determined that the musical works<sup>17</sup> presented in the boutique burger businesses were mostly chosen by the producers (managers, cook-managers, cooks) from web platforms such as SoundCloud, YouTube and especially Spotify.

It was also determined that some businesses created space-specific or individual playlists on Spotify. Most of the business owners stated that they updated the music presented in the space, and they added new musical works that they discovered to their playlists. Some of the interviewees (producers) stated that the relationship between the musical genres/works selected by them in the space and the customers are positive, based on their own observations, the selected music is also liked by the customers. In fact, the producers emphasized that some customers asked them to learn what presented musical work was at that moment, or that some also tried to find musical work by mobile phone applications.

Also, most of the business owners stated that they changed the music genre presented in the space throughout the day according to customer traffic. However, some business owners emphasized that, in addition to the genres mentioned above, they also listened to some national musicians (i.e. Turkish musical works) before opening or after closing time of the space.

According to the interviews, the following three results were determined regarding the selection of the music offered by boutique burger managers: 1. They listen to other genres or national music when there are no customers in their businesses; 2. They present music that they listened to in their daily lives to customers, too; 3. They do not listen to the music they offer in their businesses in their daily lives.

When these three results are questioned in terms of the purpose of using music in the boutique burger places, they differ between those who listen to the music presented in the spaces in their daily lives and those who do not. Some of the managers stated that they preferred to share the music they already listen to in their daily lives with customers without any business purpose. Some of them also indicated that they present customers designated music genres to match their burger concept, even if they don't listen to them themselves.

In this case, it is seen that music genres and musical works offered in the spaces are preferred for two different purposes. First, the presentation of music that fits the concept, especially to support the business, and the second is that the managers share musical genres of personal interest with customers. These music genres also overlap with boutique burgers. However, the fact that some managers or cooks listen to music they personally enjoy before the opening time or after the closing time of their spaces when there are no customers shows that they sometimes act in a controlled manner in presenting their personal interests and strive to offer customers appropriate music genres that can support their trades.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> American popular music and American popular music genre concepts mean the popular music genres with different origins, which evolved in US music industry and spread to the international arena (see Mauch, MacCallum, Levy & Leroi, 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Based on the opinion of Mutabaruka, who stated that globalization was essentially Americanization (Cooke, 2012), it is seen that American popular music is a reflection of Americanization –also called "cultural globalization and McDonaldization"– in music due to the fact that most

of the multinational companies, dominating global markets for films, television, music, news, books and magazines, are based in the USA; therefore, American popular music has a global representation (Seago, 2000, pp. 119, 122-126).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> As works in music genres identified in the boutique burger businesses could be vocal or instrumental, the terms "music" and "musical work" were used by means of generalization throughout this article.

One of the determinations about the use of music is the consideration of music genres in terms of speed by the interviewees. It was determined that the managers, who offered fast music when there was a heavy customer traffic, defined music genres as up-tempo, fast, calm and slow due to the function assigned to music in the space. At this point, it was revealed during the interviews that the tempo of music had certain effects in terms of production: Most cook-managers and cooks stated that they listened to the music present in their spaces as they worked, music was a source of motivation for them, listening to fast music made them work faster, while listening to slow music caused them to slow down and reduce productivity. In this regard, it was found out that compatibility between working tempo and genre/tempo of music, especially being fast or up-tempo, provided advantages to cook-managers and cooks in terms of productivity. Upon evaluation of the reason the consideration of genre and tempo in the same context by the interviewees, it is seen that the most important element of presented music that influences burger production is *tempo*.

Besides those that produce burgers and determine musical works to be presented in the spaces; customers, as consumers, also have opinions on the relationship between burger and music: During the research, when customers were inquired about whether the burger that they were eating at the moment was compatible with the music presented in the space, some customers went beyond the limits of boutique burger and music genre, and directly matched boutique burger type and music genre. Thus, they indicated the depth of the relationship formed between taste and music. The customers stated that American popular music genres such as Electronic (House, Electro House, Deep House, Techno), Funk, Pop, Rock, Country, Jazz, Reggae, Rap, Chill-out, R&B and Hip-hop would be suitable for the boutique burgers and only recommended these genres. Therefore, deviating from these genres can cause customers to avoid buying the boutique burger and revisiting the same business. Upon consideration of the reason for provision of American popular music genre examples by the interviewees, it was determined that this situation was caused by the relationship formed with the fact that burger was a food popularized by USA-based companies. According to the findings, it is also seen that matching food with suitable music is perceived as a sign that the business is conscious about their own foods and creates a sense of reassurance in preference of that business by the customers.

As a result of the statements of the interviewees, it was determined that musical works and music genres of choice in the space, in terms of both customers and the boutique burger producers, were preferred with the aim of offering suitable music that could support commerce or sharing personal interests in music. As a matter of fact, in either case, musical works and music genres constitute a part of the atmosphere and, accordingly, it is a product marketed and purchased at the same time (see Kotler, 1974). In fact, according to the statements of the interviewees, music can stand out in the spaces, even as the product itself. Therefore, it is seen that, between food and space, controlling personal interests and the selection of suitable music are also important for both sides (customers and producers).

Finally, it was established that web platforms, applications and particularly Spotify has an important function in terms of musical representation of establishments in offering music suitable for boutique burger spaces. It is seen that the businesses express their own specificity with music, in addition to production, flavor and space characteristics, by creating profiles specific to their own spaces, with such profiles or playlists<sup>18</sup>. The business owners try to harmonize their boutique burgers, which have a gastronomic flavor design, and their professionally designed the spaces to the perceptions of their customers. For this harmony, their presenting to customers American popular music genres along with the burger that has become widespread with the USA, shows that they take advantage of the representative power of music in name of commercial purposes.

#### 5. Conclusion and Recommendation<sup>19</sup>

During this study, conducted in the context of the relationship between food, music and human within the scope of the fundamental research problem, the following results were obtained in respect of why and how American popular music, which was determined to be preferred in boutique burger establishments, represented boutique burger:

First, it was seen that business owners offered American popular music in their spaces in consideration of the fact that burger is food of *American* (USA) origin. Therefore, it the music genres preferred in establishments were chosen with the aim of supporting commercial development of the establishment, in compliance with offered products.

Thus, it was determined that the intended atmosphere was consciously designed to match the food eaten by customers with the space they occupy. In addition, it was seen that, besides managers, cook-managers and cooks, the group of customers, as the people that directly has the gastronomic experience, also matched boutique burger with American popular music and approved this preference of establishments. It was determined that such match was caused by the fact that burger

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> As an example study on representation of a certain mood, concept or user personality with a playlist created by users on Spotify (see Siles, Segura-Castillo, Sancho & Solis-Quesada, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The information in this section was cited from Erdoğan Türen, 2019, pp. 51-53.

represented America according to the interviewees. In addition, it is considered that inspiration of business owners in terms of space design, gained from foreign boutique burger establishments, as well as English expressions used on menus or murals (as signs of a nonlocal culture), contribute visually to customers under the representation relationship formed with America.

Accordingly, the auditory contribution of identified musical works, made to the relationship formed by customers with America, is those lyrics are in English and/or musical elements are different from traditional musical elements specific to Turkey in terms of common structural characteristics.

Playlists specific to spaces, created on Spotify application, were seen to be musical means of the expression of specificity as a representation of the musical preference of the space. At the same time, it was determined that playing examples of American popular music offered in the space to customers, and their accessibility on the application, provided an area of contact with American culture.

It was seen that a reason for inconvenience of music genres, other than American popular music, for boutique burger was the function of music in the environment. It was established that this function was to increase work tempo of cooks throughout the production process in the day by increasing the tempo of music as the day progresses and ensuring productivity in this context. It was identified that expression of music genres with concepts such as up-tempo, fast, calm or slow was due to this function of music in the environment. In this respect, it was determined that, in terms of the producers, the compatibility between music tempo/genre and production tempo emerged as a requirement in the context of productivity.

It was revealed that there were certain criteria in consideration of offered music genres as suitable by customers: firstly, type of the food and music genre should be compatible; secondly, determined music genre should promote the focus on food, not take precedence over eating, and accompany eating; and, thirdly, music should also be suitable for the type of food and the atmosphere of the space. However, these three criteria are fundamentally interconnected. This is because, in an example <sup>20</sup> where origin of taste and music did not match, gastronomic experience of the customer was manipulated, and music was not deemed suitable for the atmosphere.

In this regard, it was determined that direct participants of gastronomic experience formed a relationship between cultural codes of food and music, and a suitable match between these codes was a requirement for a complete gastronomic experience. Even though another study is required to explain why this situation occurs in this manner, studies, which exhibit that gastronomic experience is a process experienced with all senses and the more senses are stimulated during a gastronomic experience, better perception of the food is, lead to the consideration that – though there might be variance between cultures– we follow through our multisensory tendencies to match food and music for more pleasure.

The study also showed that the literature includes many studies on relationships between food, music and human from different disciplines outside Musicology, and a limited number of studies within Musicology. Upon evaluation of these results, a recommendation that might provide guidance for future studies could be as follows:

Previous deductions on the role of music in gastronomic experience, made under different scientific fields outside musicology, can be evaluated using methods of musicology and taken into consideration by gastromusicology to achieve musicological results and obtaining findings that can be generalized from these results. In this regard, classification of potential studies on this subject under gastromusicology title within musicology will not only determine studies addressing relationships between food (and drink), taste, flavor, music and human, but also make studies, focusing on this subject, directly available to researchers.

Briefly, in this research, which is the first in the branch of gastromusicology in terms of its subject and research model in the World, the scope of gastromusicology was also exemplified by both gastronomic and musicological findings.

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 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 20}$  See "M-16" and "A-8" in Erdoğan Türen, 2019, p. 48.

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