

“THE SHOW” IN THE RESTAURANT:
PERFORMING AFFECTIVE LABOR THROUGH
CULINARY FANTASIES IN ISTANBUL

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Thesis Abstract

Didem Derya Özdemir, “The Show In The Restaurant: Performing Affective Labor Through Culinary Fantasies In Istanbul”

In this thesis, I aim to make a contribution to the post-Fordist literature by exploring the neo-liberal transformation in the fine-dining sector in 2000s in Istanbul in order to rethink the concepts of immaterialization of labor and affective labor through Lacan. I psychoanalytically investigate the blurring of the boundary between work and enjoyment, a phenomenon explored in different terms in the post-Fordist literature, as immaterialization. Based on my ethnographic research in Istanbul, I offer a psychoanalytically informed analysis of this transformation, which refers to the blurring of the boundary between work and enjoyment. I suggest that this blurring emanates from the restructuring of the social imaginary with the fantasy of culinary work as art that constructs work as the primary object of desire. This research also investigates incorporation of a new architectural space called the show kitchen in the dining room, which provides the material conditions for cooks to perform their job as a form of art and identify with their representation as artists. To conclude, this thesis, which is in pursuit of enjoyment in the Lacanian sense of the term, claims that the key to understand both reproduction and displacement of post-Fordism is to conceptualize enjoyment as a dimension of affective labor as well as taking affective investments into consideration, as they are constitutive of the laborer subjectivity.

Tez Özeti

Didem Derya Özdemir, “Restoranda Şov: İstanbul’da, Mutfak Fantezileri
Bağlamında Duygulanım Emeğinin İfası”

Bu tez 2000’lerde, fine-dining sektöründeki neo-liberal dönüşüme odaklanarak, post-Fordist literatürdeki emeğin soyutlaşması ve duygulanım emeği tartışmalarına Lacan’cı bir katkı yapmaya çalışıyor. Post-Fordist literatürün üzerinde durduğu iş ve zevk arasındaki sınırın belirsizleşmesi olgusunu soyutlaşma olarak nitelendiriyor. İstanbul’da gerçekleştirilen etnografik saha araştırmasının verilerine dayanarak, bu dönüşümün birincil arzu nesnesi olarak işe işaret eden “bir sanat dalı olarak aşçılık” fantezisinin toplumsal tahayyülü yeniden kurması ile gerçekleştiğini ileri sürüyor. Tezin dördüncü bölümünde bu fantazinin “bir sanatçı olarak aşçı” göstereni ile özdeşleşen okullu aşçı öznelliğinde ve fine-dining restoranların mimarisinde maddileşmesi ele alınıyor. Fine-dining restoranlarda şov mutfağı adı verilen mimari akımın benimsenmesi ile birlikte aşçılara işlerini bir sanat dalı olarak performe edebilecekleri bir alan açıldığı ve aşçının sanatçı olarak temsili ile özdeşleşmesinin somut alt yapısı kurulduğu savunuluyor. Lacan’cı anlamda zevkin (*jouissance*) izini süren bu tez post-Fordizmin hem yeniden üretilişini hem de yerinden edilmesini anlamının yolunun zevki ve duygulanım yatırımını duygulanım emeğinin birer boyutu olarak kavramsallaştırmaktan geçtiğini öne sürüyor.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to make a Lacanian contribution to the discussions on immaterialization of labor and affective labor in the post-Fordist literature by focusing on the neo-liberal restructuring in the fine-dining sector in Istanbul. 2000s witnessed a remarkable expansion of the fine dining sector with escalating numbers of restaurants and culinary education establishments as well as adoption of a new architectural style known as “the show kitchen”. These transitions culminated in the invention of “the fine dining experience” as a novel commodity of which the spectacle staged in the show kitchen constitutes the central tenant. Incorporation of this spec(tac)ular dimension reorganized material and immaterial architecture of the restaurant in a manner to (re)constitute subjectivities in the visual field. Thereby, it materialized the representation of culinary production as a form of art that is performed with passion.

As narratives of love for culinary work circulated in traditional and social media, the representation of culinary laborer as an artist who enjoys his/her work served to normalize self-sacrifice and blurring of the boundary between work and life as well as work and enjoyment. The identification of graduates of newly established culinary schools -who participated in the construction of this imaginary- with the image of cook *qua* artist helped sustain intensive exploitation in the sector that

caused them physical and/or emotional suffering. Research on this new regime of culinary production provides a rare opportunity for an ethnographic study of the shift from material to immaterial forms of labor in the Post-Fordist era as dependent on “the singular affective investments of social subjects”¹.

Qualification of dining as an affective experience has its origins in the nineteenth century France.² The French intelligentsia coined the term “gastronomy” to signify appreciation of tastes in a manner to produce knowledge about and evaluate the aesthetics of culinary products; and the term “gastronome” to denote a bourgeois armed with the *savoir faire* of dining. Although the association of culinary consumption with knowledge and aesthetic pleasures dates back to the nineteenth century, culinary production and producers have not become objects of philosophical inquiry until the last decade of the twentieth century. Only then, the discourse on the artistic dimension of culinary production permeated the social imaginary.³

In the second half of the 1990s, this novel intellectual domain attracted contributors from Turkey. In 1995, the first gastronomic magazine of Turkey, i.e. *Sofra*, was published. At the time, rather than academic or sophisticated intellectual texts, cookbooks addressed to housewives dominated the gastronomic literature. In this period, gastronomic discussions concentrated on the local tastes of Anatolia and the Turkish national cuisine rather than western culinary techniques and culinary production as a form of art. In the departments of tourism and hospitality management in several universities, academics developed an interest in gastronomic

1 Yahya M. Madra and Ceren Özselçuk, “Jouissance and Antagonism in the Forms of the Commune: A Critique of Biopolitical Subjectivity,” *Rethinking Marxism* 22, no.3 (March 2013), p.482.

2 Piriscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, “A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in the 19th Century France,” *the American Journal of Sociology* 104, no.3 (November 1998), p.605.

3 Lisa M. Heldke, “Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice,” in *Cooking, Eating, Thinking*, ed. D. W. Curtin, et al. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), p.203-229.

tourism and the riches of the Turkish cuisine.⁴ Other intellectual persona such as Artun Ünsal, a former professor of political science, wrote literary texts based on ethnographic research in pursuit of local tastes of Anatolia.⁵ These endeavors enabled an academic and discursive exchange with western culinary literature and categorized culinary production as an object of literary, artistic and scientific pursuit. Adopting the methods of inquiry and conceptual tools present in western culinary research and discourse, they elevated fine dining to the status of an art form. In the last decade, the claim for culinary production with fine-dining techniques to be a form of art and an enjoyable practice has won the public argument thanks to accelerating circulation of culinary discourses in the gradually expanding gastronomic media (magazines, books, newspaper columns, TV programs, online blogs, etc.) and commercials of culinary schools. Since the formation of the first private establishment devoted to culinary arts education, i.e. the Culinary Arts Academy of İstanbul (MSA), in 2004 an insurmountable trend of private culinary schools and workshops set in place. According to a news article on the website of a Turkish cooks' network, today there are twenty-three public and fifteen private universities providing culinary arts and/or gastronomy programs.⁶

Multiplication of culinary media, marketing of culinary career opportunities, mounting of culinary arts schools and circulation of new culinary discourses all helped change the image of culinary practice from a low skill, dull, blue-collar work

4 Nevin Halıcı, *Güney Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi Yemekleri*, (Konya: Arı Ofset Matbaacılık, 1991); A. Baysal, et al., *Türk Mutfağından Örnekler*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları-1570, Tanıtma Eserleri Dizisi-56, 1996); M. S. Sürücüoğlu and M. Akman, "Türk Mutfağının Tarihsel Gelişimi Ve Bugünkü Değişim Nedenleri," *Standart Dergisi* 439, 1998, p.42-53.

5 Artun Ünsal, *Benim Lokantalarım*, (İstanbul: YKY, 1996); Artun Ünsal, *Süt Uyuyunca*, (İstanbul: YKY, 1997).

6 www.ascilardunyasi.com, "Türkiye'de Aşçılık Okulları ve Özel Kurslar," *Aşçılar Dünyası*, <http://www.ascilardunyasi.com/Guests/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsId=F599AD21B1E663BF> (accessed, May 28, 2014).

to a high-salaried, enjoyable, artistic occupation. Culinary work has become a desirable career path for those from middle or upper-middle class backgrounds. Besides, a whole novel field of culinary/gastronomic expertise was created from dish design to concept engineering, from food writing to cooking *à la art*. These changes in the representation of culinary work and cultivation of culinary workers have altered the division and organization of labor in the fine dining sector.

Since the Ottoman times, cooks from the northwestern city of Bolu in the Black Sea region have populated the sites of haute-cuisine production including the royal kitchen in Istanbul.⁷ The Ottoman guild system provided the conditions for the hegemony of male cooks from Bolu in the sector. Esin explains the socio-political heritage from the Ottoman guild system in the sector:

It is very interesting that the adjectives people use in this sector are imminent to their culture. For instance, in Turkey they say “usta” (master) because it is like the guild system. They pass it (the trade) from father to son. For years... For example, you start from stewarding, toiling in a system in which the superior (in rank) completely oppresses the inferior you move upwards. Nowadays this (system) is being destroyed with education (facilities). Although there is also a hierarchy abroad, it (your status) is awarded on the basis of merit. And nobody calls you master cook. They call you chef. (...)

Let’s say a man works on the main courses, say he has years of experience on pasta. He would do certain things... He considers himself to be number-one pasta chef. However, this is not that kind of occupation. Someone who knows (how to cook) pasta, has to know (how to prepare) pastry as well, someone who knows (how to prepare) pastry has to know something else. It’s like (he thinks) “these are mine, I only help those I prefer, only those I prefer is my successor”. There is no such system! I mean I might be more talented than Ahmet. Mehmet might be more talented than me. If we are in the same path, we (should be) evaluated with our pros and cons. Whoever among us is better, h/se should be promoted. That’s how it should be. But with them, it does not work this way. This looks like the

⁷ In the food studies literature, the role of food production and consumption in nation-state formation, construction of national identity, and social stratification are extensively studied. (ex. Nuri Zafer Yenil, “Cooking’ the nation: Women, experiences of modernity and the girls’ institutes in Turkey,” in *Coping with Modernity: Greece and Turkey in their Encounters with Europe 1850-1950*, ed. Anna Frangoudaki et al., (I.B. Tauris Academic Studies, 2006)). However, this thesis engages with the post-Fordist literature since its main focus is the processes of post-Fordist food production and affective labor.

guild system. It (the trade and/or position) should be handed on from father to his son. That father will choose his son. Actually, he prefers someone who does not pose a risk because he shouldn't encounter any problems.

This recruitment method has certainly been subject to managerial control under capitalist relations of production. However, the experiential knowledge that cooks from Bolu have accumulated as well as the recipes that they have developed and kept as a trade secret throughout decades, made them irreplaceable until the establishment of culinary schools. My interviewees referred to the desire of cooks from Bolu to sustain their hegemony in the sector. For instance, Orkun says:

(...)it is not very easy not to have problem with Bolulu cooks. Plus, their mentality is that you should not share knowledge (with junior cooks, especially educated ones) because if you share it you lose it... You cannot gain anything by not sharing. I also criticize that they do not share some recipes with you. Or else, when you ask for a recipe, a Bolulu (cook) alters the recipe before handing it over to you. It's ridiculous... That is the case with traditional recipes that has been kept secret for years. Besides, why do you keep them as secret? I mean there are recipes that date back to Ottoman times and they are kept secret, never shared.
(...)

I do not know how much it changed (in the last two years) but in my time, the cooks from Bolu were dominant inside (the kitchen). (...)

These are like family establishments. This one is the other one's brother-in-law; the other one is who knows what of this one, etc. There is something very interesting; they lay traps for each other... But when a Bolulu gets in to trouble, they forget about the hostility among themselves. All of a sudden, they become brothers. They unite and form a nuclear family. Again, they support each other... And in matters of promotion, etc. they always support each other.

Orkun's account shows that culinary profession as well as the recipes that are considered personal properties of cooks are reserved for a certain social group that is the people of Bolu. Esin's experience reveals Bolulu cooks' will to reserve trade secrets and the sector for their kin.

My most recent employees owned an Italian restaurant. Since they love its food very much, they said "why don't you go and observe its kitchen so that you can cook them (the menu) for us". I accepted. On the first day... the department chefs have arrived. I met one of them. Then he ordered a commis chef to bring a wooden crate full of cherry tomatoes. They piled tones of cherry tomatoes in front of me. They examine whether I am fast... or (they think)" let's keep her

occupied with this so that she does not get in our way. She is a girl and wouldn't be of use anyway". He repeatedly confuses my name. He calls me Hande. At last I said "I guess you are confusing. I am not Hande. He asked "Aren't you... the architect of Mrs. A.? You were curious about the kitchen". I said "No. I am the private cook at Mr. X's house, your boss"... I still laugh when I remember how he turned pale. Then he turned and reprimanded the commis: "We weren't supposed to prepare so many cherry tomatoes today. Why did you bring so much?" Then suddenly all the cherry tomatoes in front of me were removed. Then they tested my skills with knife... Although I would normally work, I pulled myself aside. I stood there and constantly wrote. At the end of the working day, normally they would never give them (the recipes) to me... It's like their honor. Because they think when the recipes are gone (passed on to other hands, or revealed) their skills, or the reasons that keep them at their positions disappear. For this reason those recipes are very important, secret. And at the end of the working day he said "Do you know that he have sweated blood to be able to take these recipes here?"... I said "I know. But you are there (in your position, one of the many cooks in the restaurant) and I am here (in my position, the private cook of the same employer). This is a sentence he won't be able to forget for the rest of his life. This sentence is very painful for him. But that's true. How many times I have applies those recipes? I tried each of them once. That's it. Now, I keep them in my archive. I have recipes ten times more valuable than those recipes that are the specialties to my chef (in Italy).

Here we see how tightly recipes are kept as trade secrets and how much cooks from Bolu rely on them for privileged access to culinary work. Such trade secrets are considered crucial to secure access to waged occupation especially for people who migrate to the metropolitan city of Istanbul from the provinces. The people of Bolu try to inhibit others' access to culinary work to retain their hegemony in the sector by keeping them as their personal properties. Today, culinary work is more accessible for people without kinship ties to cooks from Bolu with the transitions in the culinary sector. Let me provide empirical data on this argument. Orkun says:

Now, if you look at Turkey in general (...) a man from Bolu can become no higher than a sous-chef in the hierarchy. That is, if he can speak English. I have never seen or heard a Bolulu become an executive chef in Turkey. (...) I do not know a fine-dining executive chef from Bolu who does not have higher education. That's why people used to import executive chefs from abroad. Recently, they have understood that. Because when you import a chef from abroad, there is a disadvantage to it, you have to give more money to him (than local chefs) because the man works in the position of an international. He is paid in dollar or euro in his home country. So, you have to pay him that way here, too. And you have to get him a residence, etc. (...) For instance you pay him 4000 euros, you say

“let’s find an educated cook, or someone graduated from MSA (Culinary Arts Academy in İstanbul)”. Nowadays people are looking for it. Lately, it does not seem preferable to bring executive chefs from abroad. At least, in terms of the financials... That’s because the alternatives have multiplied. Today, although cooks from Bolu are still dominant in the fine dining sector

in particular regions (ex. The Aegean) or in particular restaurants, cooks with culinary degrees pose a serious challenge. Nevertheless, this challenge did not emanate solely from the interest of a new generation of educated cooks in culinary work. The shift in employment preferences in the culinary sector, especially in fine-dining restaurants, that altered the representation of an ideal culinary worker also strengthened this challenge. Esin introduces the conception of culinary work before it was conceived as art:

The first time I quit (my job at my father-in-law’s house appliances store), MSA (culinary school) was recently established. And I had some money that I have saved. First I talked about it (my intention to have culinary education) to my mother and father. They looked at it as insanity. A married woman will come here (Istanbul) and will go to school. And what is she going to be? A cook. I even remember the phrases they have used. (This desire) always remained within me. (...)

Very important steps have been taken in the last decade. There is regeneration. What do I mean by regeneration? Before, there weren’t anybody above a certain level of education engaged in this occupation. It is not a preferred occupation. No parent wanted their children to become a cook. According to them, you should go to certain universities, have a degree, and it will provide you access to waged occupation. That’s what they consider as a job. So, to whom is the sector left? To those educated in the vocational schools... The only exception to this rule is the Bolulu (cooks from Bolu)... There is the concept of Bolulu (from Bolu). Those attain positions through kinship ties and are promoted to... Because according to them even if you are only capable to prepare scrambled eggs, you can get accepted (to a restaurant), you wait there for three years, or five years. You move up the ladders in one way or another.

The regeneration in the last decade that Esin tries to explain is facilitated by the change in criteria for employability in the sector. Being young, dynamic, educated (in a culinary school), having foreign language skills, familiarity with western culinary techniques, and “good manners” are the skills currently demanded from culinary workers. Nowadays, fine-dining cooks are separated into the categories of

educated cooks and trained cooks, whereas the representation of the ideal culinary worker is imagined to coincide with educated cooks. That is to say, fantasy narratives within which a binary opposition is constructed between signifiers of “educated cook”⁸ and “trained cook”⁹ circulate in culinary circles. For instance Erol differentiates himself from trained cooks in his restaurant on the basis of his “ability to speak foreign languages, listen to advice¹⁰, have right conduct¹¹, helping the man (executive chef) more, or else, understanding his mood better and faster” which provide him an advantage over them in spite of his technical shortcoming.

As I will discuss further in the fourth chapter, in these narratives trained cooks are represented as ignorant, resistant to change, jealous, rude, inaeesthetic, etc. as opposed to a cook *qua* artist as a passionate lover of culinary work. This binary opposition underwrites the neo-liberal transition in fine-dining sector and the institutionalization of a post-Fordist production regime. The centrality of love for work (or its absence) in these representations led me direct my attention to affective investments in work and the relationship between work and enjoyment as crucial to the constitution of the worker subjectivity.

In *the End of Dissatisfaction?*, Todd McGowan argues that from 1989 onwards, organization of society around a prohibitive law (the incest taboo), which

8 I translated “okullu aşçı” in to English as “educated cook”. This phrase denotes cooks with culinary education although the signifier is articulated with many others in a manner to broaden the imaginary evoked by this representation, as is argued in this chapter and in the third one.

9 I translated “alaylı aşçı” in to English as “trained cook”. This phrase denotes cooks who have gained their professional skills and know-how at their place of work without any former culinary education. As the trained cooks from Bolu have been dominant in the sector for decades, signifier of “Bolulu” (from Bolu) and “trained cook” are mostly used interchangeably, although a trained cook is not necessarily from Bolu.

10 I translated the idiom “laf anlamak” in to English as “listen to advice”. The idiom means to understand and apply an order or an advice.

11 I translated the idiom “yol yordam bilmek” in to English as “have right conduct”. The idiom means to be knowlgable about the appropriate method to do something, or having good manners.

demanded sacrifice from enjoyment (*jouissance*), was replaced with the domination of the superegoic imperative to enjoy in a manner that elevate enjoyment to the status of duty.¹² For McGowan, the condition of possibility of this shift is the weakening of the symbolic in the expense of the imaginary in mediating social relations.¹³ That is to say, although imaginary identification with the image of subject of enjoyment is strengthened, enjoyment in the psychoanalytical sense of the term, i.e. *jouissance*, diminishes. McGowan supports his argument -that as the impact of the symbolic on society diminishes, social subjects will be able to attain less *jouissance*- with the Lacanian insight that the symbolic is productive of *jouissance*. Let me suspend the discussion on the relationship between the symbolic and *jouissance*, until the third chapter but pose a hopefully thought provoking question: If superego is the psychic agent of prohibitions, how are we to think that in the neo-liberal era superegoic commandment to enjoy is strengthened but prohibition is losing its force? Does not these two hypotheses contradict each other by suggesting that the superego is simultaneously stronger and weaker in the neo-liberal era in comparison to the past? As McGowan's argument raises questions, I suggest that we take the replacement of the prohibition of enjoyment with the commandment to enjoy rather than the weakening of the symbolic as the milestone of the transition to neoliberalism.

In Turkey, neoliberal policies of economic restructuring disturbed income distribution to an extent never seen in the history of the country in 1980s. These policies benefited only one tenth of the metropolitan population to the disadvantage

12 Todd McGowan, *The End of Dissatisfaction?: Jacques Lacan and the emerging society of enjoyment*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), p.34.

13 Ibid, p.35.

of the rest.¹⁴ Consumerism in general and niche consumerism in particular has rapidly escalated. Investors in the tourism sector were among the beneficiaries of these developments due to the preferential credits provided by the state.¹⁵ Neoliberal policies encouraged enjoyment of consumption to an unseen extent as the expansion of tourism and hospitality sector illustrate. McGowan's discussion on the commandment to enjoy that focuses on the sphere of consumption helps us understand these phenomena. Nevertheless, in this thesis I aim to push McGowan's argument a step further by claiming that commanded enjoyment operates also in the sphere of production. This approach helps me understand: first, why work is represented as the most intimate object of love and the primary object of enjoyment; and second, how the boundaries between material and immaterial labor as well as work and life have been dissolving. In the light of this discussion, I further suggest that representation of educated cook as a cook *qua* artist with a passionate love for his/her work as opposed to the representation of trained cook as indifferent towards his/her occupation has material impacts on the constitution of culinary worker because it reorganizes identification and affective investment.

The discussion on the ascend of immaterial labor to a higher stance in the hierarchy between material and immaterial forms of labor, the blurring of the boundary between material labor/immaterial labor and work/life, and the role of affective labor in constitution of the sociality occupied a central position in the post-Fordist literature. Autonomist Marxists among which are Maurizio Lazzarato, Paul Virno, Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, Mariarosa Dalla Costa, and Silvia Federici,

14 Feroz Ahmad, *Bir kimlik peşinde Türkiye*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), p.198.

15 Aysın Bugra, "The place of the economy in Turkish society," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102, no.2/3, (Spring/Summer 2003), pp.453-470.

have extensively studied the post Fordist regime of production and directed our attention to immaterialization of labor, with which I aim to denote the incorporation of immaterial forms of production into material forms of production as well as liquidation of boundaries in these binary oppositions. In this literature in particular, and in studies on affective labor in general, affect has been conceptualized as an immaterial dimension of commodity that is productive of the sociality. A form of labor is qualified as affective if its product is “a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion”¹⁶, etc.. Drawing on a Spinozist conceptualization, affect is understood as a positive product of social interaction. Nevertheless, affective engagement with work (that is affective investments in work) and its role in the constitution of the social has been largely neglected. That is to say, the negativity of affect in the constitution of the social as elaborated in psychoanalysis remains untheorized. By staging an encounter between conceptualizations affect and affective labor in the post-Fordist and Lacanian literatures, I aim to provide a new approach to affective labor. This new approach will be based on reconceptualization of work/enjoyment and the blurring of the boundary that separate work from enjoyment in Lacanian terms. That is to say, I suggest that we understand Fordist production regime as that which castrates social subjects by introducing the imperative (Law) to sacrifice enjoyment (*jouissance*) for work, thus productive of surplus *jouissance*; and, post-Fordist production regime as that which institutes the superegoic commandment to enjoy work in a manner to suffocate enjoyment (*jouissance*).

Although this argument begs elaboration, let me suspend it for the moment since I will discuss it further in the following chapters.

16 Michael Hardt, “Affective Labour,” *Boundary 2* 26, no. 2, (Summer 1999), p.96.

Before I briefly introduce the outline of the chapters of the thesis, let me explain my methodology. I conducted this research on the fine-dining sector in İstanbul. However, my ethnographic data is restricted to the number of establishments where three acquaintances –two of which I have made through the primary informants- and seven other interviewees worked. The transitions in the culinary sector attracted my attention in 2009 when respectively my sister, my flat-mate and another friend of mine from the university decided to enroll in culinary schools. I had the chance to closely observe how they developed an interest in culinary career. They were all women, aged between twenty-five and thirty, graduates of economic and administrative sciences departments in prestigious universities. Although their degrees could have provided them successful careers in the public or the private sector in white-collar or executive positions, they decided to follow their passion for culinary practice. When I was applying for my master’s study at the sociology department, they had recently graduated from culinary schools and were working either as a trainee or commis-chef in three different fine dining restaurants. They were praising me the artistic, creative and exciting aspects of culinary production while at the same time complaining about the current condition of fine dining kitchens in Turkey. The contrast between the culinary practice they imagined -on which they continued to make affective investments- and their wearisome experiences on the ground was outstanding. So I designed my research in an endeavor to understand construction of educated cook subjectivity as well as the psychic mechanisms that helped sustain their identification with cook *qua* artist.

My everyday encounters with these three people, to whom several others from my close circle of affiliations would be joined, and visiting the restaurant where

my sister worked provided me the initial access to the field. I used the snowballing technique so as to expand my list of informants. That is to say, I used the networks of my informants so as to reach other educated cooks. I also contacted a few of their friends through the social media and explained my research interests. Unfortunately, only one person was available for an interview. I have conducted in-depth interviews with seven different educated cooks who had work experience in twelve different fine-dining restaurants in total. I have also attended four social gatherings with educated cooks and had the opportunity of having numerous chance encounters in different occasions in which I conducted unstructured, informal interviews. In this thesis I will be using pseudonyms to disguise my informants, their places of work, schools they have attended, etc.. That is because first, I would like to conform to ethical norms; second, I am afraid that the information and thoughts my informants have shared with me may jeopardize their career; and third, I would like to restrain from making them feel offended. Lastly, I have followed traditional and social media on gastronomy and culinary practice during my research process in order to have a broader understanding of my field.

I visited two fine-dining restaurants, and once each. In order to gather information on the material architecture of the restaurants, I not only asked my informants for their description, but also searched for the photographs of each restaurant on the Internet and achieved to get a few images for half of them. Although this lack of ethnographic support limits the representative rigor of my theses, I suggest that it will not densely cloud on my findings. That is because, my approach to analysis of architecture is based on Joan Copjec's assertion that "semiotics, not optics, is the science that enlightens for us the structure of the visual

domain”¹⁷. That is to say, I am not interested in the material architecture in itself because only signification renders it meaningful. To put it in other words, as I will discuss in the last chapter, I am interested in the overlap of material and immaterial architecture within which *objet a* materializes. For this reason, I gave priority to the narratives of my informants in shedding light on how fantasies materialize.

In the second chapter, I will introduce culinary production in its artistic form. Focusing on the transformations in labor processes in the fine-dining sector, I will try to show that they had both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. I consider especially the qualitative change in division, organization and nature of culinary labor as emblematic of a broader structural change in relations of production with transition from Fordism to post-Fordism. Following the post-Fordist literature on immaterialization of labor, I will first demonstrate that culinary production gained an affective dimension with the incorporation of the spectacle staged in the show kitchen. Lastly, I will try to stage an encounter between conceptualization of affect on the basis of a positive ontology by Hardt and Negri, and of a negative ontology by Lacan to understand their implications for affective labor. (Let me elaborate on the concepts of positive and negative ontology in the second chapter.)

In the third chapter, I will study how culinary fantasies materialize in the subjectivity of the educated cook -that identifies with the representation of a cook *qua* artist- as well as the architecture of the restaurant. With the incorporation of a space called the show kitchen in the fine dining restaurants, the visual field has been reformed in 2000s. By opening a space to perform culinary labor as a form of art, the

¹⁷ Joan Copjec, *Imagine There is No Woman: Ethics and Sublimation*, (Massachusetts Institute of Technology: United States of America, 2002), p.34.

show kitchen has provided the material basis for identification of the cook with his/her representation as an artist. The fourth chapter studies this visual field as the psychic space where the material and immaterial architecture overlap and the material architecture serve as a representation that separate the social subject from his/her object cause of desire. I attribute importance to the analysis of the material architecture to the extent that it effects the constitution of the producing subject and his/her relation to *jouissance* by making it possible for him/her to imagine *objet a* in the immaterial architectural space.

In the fourth chapter, I will primarily focus on love for culinary practice and self-sacrifice (of enjoyment) for work as the main pillars of post-Fordist culinary fantasies. I will try to open a new space through psychoanalysis for the discussion of affect and affective labor by looking at the impact of fantasies on the organization of affective investments and the modalities of enjoyment. My primary endeavor will be to understand the superegoic imperative to enjoy work by elaborating on love and affect. I hope that this will help me to demonstrate that self-sacrifice produces enjoyment.

Finally, I will conclude the thesis with a discussion on the implications of studying affective labor psychoanalytically. Affect has a central role in the constitution of the social subject as it provides the material support for identification and the stuff of affective investment, although it also constantly displaces him/her. Second, as desire is directed to an object imagined to exist beyond the symbolic, the socio-symbolic is constantly reconstructed. Therefore, this thesis, which is in pursuit of enjoyment in the Lacanian sense of the term, claims that the key to understand both reproduction and displacement of post-Fordism is to conceptualize enjoyment

as a dimension of affective labor as well as taking affective investments into consideration, as they are constitutive of the laborer subjectivity. Focusing on affective investments and fantasies gives the opportunity to bring particular modalities of subject formation into light. In so doing, I aim to provide a plausible response to the critique against psychoanalysis for having a tendency to universalize. I suggest that psychoanalytically inflected social research serves to reveal the radical contingency of the social upon temporary affective attachments that are formed in various modalities. In brief, I consider this thesis as a psychoanalytical contribution to the discipline of sociology in particular, and to the use of psychoanalytical theory outside the clinique in general.

CHAPTER II

AFFECT UNBOUND?: A LACANIAN APPROACH TO AFFECTIVE LABOR

Didem: Today, when I came here (the restaurant), I got so bored! You get me? I felt so bad, I mean emotionally... But when the midday service begins here, you put on a mask and you act accordingly. And today I rebelled against... By the way, I am being too honest with you. I should not tell you those so openly. I do not want to play that role any more. Can you be this way (pretending) all the time? I have been. Then, I was on the phone with my boyfriend. "I do not wanna be. I do not", I said. Then, he said: this is your job. I never see this as work. I do not see what I am doing as work. But I've come to that moment of realization. "This is your job. You earn money from this. You have to do this." I have never thought this way because I do not see it as work. This is the first time I thought about it. That thought helped me pull myself together. Yes, I have to do it (pretend).

Didem is a twenty seven-year-old, educated, fine-dining cook from Istanbul, currently working as a guest relationship design manager at a niche café-restaurant. Although her position necessitates multi-tasking (concept engineering, human resources, creation of new recipes, production management, cooking, etc.) she is primarily responsible for building pleasurable relations with the customers so as to guarantee a permanent customer portfolio. Therefore, we can define her job as a communicational service job. In the excerpt, there are three points I find crucial to understand: First, she states that she has never considered her productive activity as work until she had the telephone conversation with his boyfriend on the day I conducted the interview. Second, although she found it wearisome to pretend as a happy host in performing her job, she found relief in the idea that it is a requirement of her profession. That is to say, performing the

role of happy host is exhausting not because it is a commandment from the outside but because it is experienced as an authoritative call from the inside. Third, drawing the conceptual contours of work -that is defining what constitutes work and differentiating it from (other) objects of love- changes her affective state (relieves her from boredom) and recovers her orientation towards work (pulls her together). In this chapter I will try to understand what these three observations can tell us about the co-constitution of educated cook subjectivity and the post-Fordist regime of production by providing a Lacanian approach to affective labor. In so doing, I hope to contribute to the post-Fordist literature, which studies the change in capitalist production relations in terms of the quality (nature), division and organization of labor. With immaterial labor ascending to a higher stance in the hierarchy between material and immaterial forms of labor, not only the services sector expanded but also the sectors depending on material forms of labor have adopted qualities and organizational forms of immaterial labor in the post-Fordist era.

The modern binaries of production/reproduction, material labor/immaterial labor, work/life, men's work/women's work, etc. have become even more elusive than they were in the Fordist era. Immaterialization of labor, with which I aim to denote the incorporation of immaterial forms of production into material forms of production as well as liquidation of boundaries in these binary oppositions, is considered as emblematic of post-Fordism in the post-Fordist literature. I suggest that the excerpt from my interview with Didem provided above is a remarkable example to liquidation of the boundary between work and enjoyment in which case the social subject has difficulty in differentiating her life from her work. In

the light of my research, I suggest that Didem's experience is part of a broader phenomenon that manifests transition to post-Fordism in the fine-dining sector in Istanbul. Esin not only supports this observation but also provides another example for the post-Fordist engagement with waged culinary practice as more than work:

Here, culinary work is in the crawling phase. I mean there is a significant transformation. I am among the people who have realised much earlier. In that sense, I am lucky. Maybe I haven't taken the necessary steps in time but I have seen it. But today, unfortunately, I see that some schools –and its pioneer is MSA– sweeten it (culinary work) up. In summer or in September they publish huge advertisements. (Writing) “Everybody who graduates from our school finds a job”. It means that they look at it (culinary practice) as a job. I mean a degree does not equal to money because this is not that kind of job.

These examples draw attention to the centrality of affective investment on culinary practice as more than work in blurring the boundary between work and enjoyment, or work and life.

The post-Fordist literature suggests that on the one hand commodities attain an immaterial (informational and/or affective) quality/dimension, on the other, affective labor occupies a primary position in constitution of the collective subject (population as the totality of living labor).¹⁸ Nevertheless, as Yahya M. Madra and Ceren Özselçuk have argued, this literature does not account for “the singular affective investments of social subjects”¹⁹. Therefore, not only the psychic mechanisms that (re)produce capitalist sociality by constantly decentering and reorienting subject(s) towards novel identifications remain unearthed, but also a crucial dimension of affective labor, i.e. affective investments, remain untheorized. In this thesis, by focusing on affective investments, I aim to explore the fantasmatic support of post-Fordist production relations. Such a perspective

18 Hardt, “Affective Labour,” p.96.

19 Madra and Özselçuk, “Jouissance and Antagonism in the Forms of the Commune,” p.482.

opens new possibilities to theorize immaterialization of labor as well as conceptualization of affective labor as productive activity smeared by *jouissance*.

Post-Fordism as a Quantitative and Qualitative Shift in Production

From 1980s onwards, the services have rapidly grown in Turkey. Hotels and luxurious restaurants benefitted from both preferential credits and the interest of Özal's *nouveau riche* in niche consumerism. Especially in 1990s fine-dining restaurants have attracted investors to the tourism sector. The expansion of the fine-dining sector with escalating numbers of private establishments and employment in the sector is part of a broader neoliberal restructuring. The expansion of the services (wider than the expansion of the industrial sector) at the expense of agricultural sector in 2000s is a phenomenon representable in numbers. Hansjörg Herr and Zeynep M. Sonat write that:

From the year 2000 until 2007, the number of people employed in the industrial sector increased from 3.8 million to 4.3 million; in the service sector from 10 million to 11.6 million, whereas in the agricultural sector employment decreased from 7.8 million to 4.9 million (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development, 2012) (...)

The share of agricultural sector employment in total employment was around 36 per cent; the share of industrial sector employment around 17.7 per cent and the share of services sector employment around 46 per cent in the year 2000. In 2011, the share of agriculture decreased to around 25.5 per cent; the share of industry increased to around 19.5 per cent and the share of services increased to around 55 per cent of total employment (AMECO, 2012; Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development, 2012; authors' calculations).²⁰

In *Empire*, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue that capitalism has been marked by shifts in economic paradigm first, from agricultural to industrial and

20 Hansjörg Herr and Zeynep M. Sonat, "The Turkish Neoliberal Unshared Growth Regime of the Post 2001 Period" (paper presented at the World Economics Association □ Conferences, October 28- November 24, 2013), p.6.

second, from industrial to informational.²¹ The former (industrial) paradigm materialized in the quantitative expansion of manufacturing and industry as well as the qualitative transition it imposed on traditional forms of production as could be illustrated by the mechanization of agriculture. Rather than eradicating non-capitalist forms of production, Fordism introduced a new labor regime to all sectors in a way to produce multiplicity in the local articulations of capitalist and non-capitalist production relations.²² The latter, i.e. informational, paradigm has become hegemonic in the post-Fordist era. It is materialized in the expansion of services, export of its organizational forms to the industry, and informatization of industrial production. Note that Hardt and Negri refrain from a developmentalist analysis of these production regimes. They emphasize the co-existence of agricultural, industrial and informational production in different countries, although in various forms and achieved through different paths.²³ Therefore, the post-Fordist era, if we might use a temporal reference, denotes the moment of a tendency to immaterialize labor (in the industrial or the service sector) observable in the industrialized countries from 1970s onwards.²⁴ Such an approach helps us understand institutionalization of post-Fordism in Turkey from 1980s onwards -including the economic restructuring in Turkey in 2000s-, as a tendency towards immaterialization rather than a historical break with the Fordist production regime.

In the fine-dining sector as well, qualitative changes accompany the

21 Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), p.280.

22 Ibid., p.280.

23 Ibid., p. 280.

24 Ibid., p. 285.

quantitative ones as is also argued in the introduction.²⁵ In 2000s, the general public has come to categorize culinary production as a form of art. The new culinary commodity of “fine-dining experience” has been introduced. With the rearrangement of the architectural structure and the sensual texture of the fine-dining restaurant, the various sensory stimuli in the restaurant as an ensemble became constitutive of the culinary commodity. Therefore, “fine-dining experience” as culinary commodity in its immaterial dimensions exceeded the material commodity of the dish.

A central constituent of this the novel sensual rearrangement in the restaurant was a new architectural style called “show kitchen”. The trend is named after an architectural space separated from the main kitchen with a service window and from the dining room with a kitchen counter. It extends the space of culinary production towards the dining room in which the tables are arranged in a way to surround this space. The show kitchen, as its name also suggests, appeals primarily to the visual sense. As it registers a part of culinary production as a spectacle to be displayed, it assigns the role of performance artist to the cooks in the show and the role of spectator to culinary consumers. The second crucial impact of show kitchen on culinary production is that it reunites cooks and diners in the dining room where they co-produce the dining experience with their differential bodily, sensual, and (as I will later explain) affective capabilities depending on their subject positions.

Erol conveys all the quantitative changes that I have mentioned and will soon

25 Unfortunately, I was unable to find reliable statistical data on the expansion of the sector. In Turkey, there is not yet an established food guide similar to Michelin Guide that provides standardized qualification for fine-dining restaurants. Therefore, I can not provide the precise number of restaurants qualified as fine-dining. However, based on my research on the internet and my interviews, I can provide an estimated number of 20. Most of these restaurants are established in 2000s. Let me provide a number of examples for which the dates of establishment are available on their website: Niş in 2002, Mikla in 2005, Topaz in 2007, Mimolett 2010, Frankie 2012, Galliard 2013, Gile 2013.

introduce in a nutshell:

-Are those employed in the show kitchen are women or men?

First of all, there (in the fine-dining restaurant where Erol temporarily worked)²⁶ are more women (than men) in that restaurant. Before, it was not like that. Bolulu masters were more in numbers. There were many old Bolulus. There were those whom we call “Koca Usta”²⁷. Now, there has been a restructuration and their kitchen has changed, there was repair and alteration. First of all, none of those masters are in the show kitchen. They have locked them in (the main kitchen). They (the management) have put them (the old trained cooks) in the back burner and they are mostly (assigned) legwork... They are now applying a sickening policy to those (cooks) in order to change it (the staff).

-The staff?

In order to change the structure of the staff... Because, they will have to pay high amounts of termination compensation if they fire them. It is their policy right now. Outside (in the show kitchen) are mostly the young and the educated. That’s what I have seen, observed in two days. I did not know any of them (the young and educated cooks). But there are young people in their 20s. Half of them are women, half of them are men. But I don’t know whether this is an intended outcome of employment strategies. The Bolulu masters were in the backstage when I went there. Before these were very ferocious. And they were men who would give you a hard time. Now, they have changed roles in that kitchen.

-When you say before... In how many years did this transformation take place?

Before, the (executive) chef tried to realize this transformation in 2 years. He couldn’t. For a year, there is a new (executive) chef there. It should be the product of three years’ endeavor, I don’t know. I mean they have strived for it for three years.

-Do you (the staff at your restaurant) hear about this? How do you know about it?

We feel it. Or, I knew it partially as my wife worked there but eventually you feel something like that.

Another dimension of the qualitative shift in the sector is reorganization of

26 Erol is working in the same hotel chain as Esin but in two different hotels. The restaurant he talks about here is the one where Esin was employed. As Erol and Esin are married, he has been familiar with the inner workings of this particular restaurant much earlier than he has worked there himself. At the time I conducted this interview, there were temporary arrangements between the restaurant where he is employed and the other restaurant where he visited. These arrangements organized exchange of staff for short-term when needed. On top of that, Bolulu cooks in both restaurants are mostly relatives. Therefore, there is a permanent flow of rumors and information between two restaurants.

27 Koca Usta can be translated into English as “old master”. As I have explained earlier, “usta” means “master” and is used to refer to cooks higher in rank. The word “koca” denotes both old age and grandeur (here, in terms of experience and/or knowledge).

the division of labor in the fine-dining restaurant as the change in 2000s in employment strategies displays. Especially while recruiting cooks for the show kitchen, employers started to demand familiarity with western culinary techniques; being young, dynamic, educated, having foreign language skills, and “good manners” whereas until recently cooks were recruited through kinship ties and/or on the basis of culinary experience. Didem says:

At R., I worked at the breakfast section in the beginning... I was working face to face with the guests at the breakfast buffet. There, there was the counter for omelette outside (of the kitchen), where you cook it together with the guest (the consumer and the cook decide which ingredients to use, etc. according to the preferences of the consumer, whereas the cook carries out cooking). They (employers) prefer a lady, and one with foreign language skills (in this section) because there are many foreign guests. We attended so many trainings at R.. We were like training, training, and training all the time. And, these (trainings) are irrelevant to cuisine (culinary practice). (They are) trainings on guest relations. They (management) are really concerned about it. About (the cook) being a lady and presentable... And, they generally assign ladies among the newly arrived trainers to the buffet, outside.

It is clearly seen in this statement that the show kitchen turns culinary production into communicational labor. Although restaurant sector has always been a part of the services, the cook who has been in the backstage before the installment of show kitchen has become part of the team who work face to face with the customers. Therefore, the signifier of material labor lost its vigor as a conceptual tool to categorize culinary labor of the cook who produces a spectacle along with the dish and communicates with consumers.

Last but not least, Didem openly expresses and my observations support that the show kitchen restructures gender segregation in the fine-dining sector. A reputable cook and food-editor Ali Rıza Dölkeleş writes on a website:

Is there a lady cook in the kitchen? Those female cooks who have developed an interest in our cuisine... When I look back at the past years, let alone seeing a

lady working in the kitchen, she would not even pass by. But in the last few years, either from culinary schools or from elsewhere, many female friends are working in our kitchens. This is good news for our cuisine. We have friends who perform their job with love, who have goals and ambition. These colleagues have changed the atmosphere in the kitchen. In terms of manners of speech and conduct, there is a positive change (in terms of relations) among departments. But if we, chefs, are to self-criticize, we do not trust them enough, or give them enough attention. We need to provide them the trust and the support they need. I am sure we will have female cooks in higher positions in the future. We will see them also as chefs in establishments. My advice is that female cooks do not give up on their goal and struggle to become good chefs. That they always be inquisitory and innovative...²⁸

Dölkeleş makes explicit that until recently fine-dining restaurants almost exclusively employed male cooks since culinary production was considered as “man’s job”. Culinary practice at home has been a part of unwaged reproductive labor allocated to women, whereas its waged form has been reserved for men in compliance with gendered division of labor. Esin was among the pioneer women in the culinary sector. She says:

I was accepted to an exceptional hotel. When I began to work there were incredible prejudices against me. (They said behind my back) “A married woman from Izmir arrived. She was educated in Italy. She wanders around saying that she is a cook. Where is her husband? He is not around”. Even if people thought so, they did not say it out loud.

In her critique of Hardt and Negri’s *Empire*, Susanne Schultz²⁹ argues that while post-Fordism displaced the boundaries between paid and unpaid labor, women’s inclusion in the work force and capitalist valorization of domestic labor are far from eliminating gendered division of labor. Her argument is based on the allocation of waged reproductive labor (especially in the form of care work) to women in a manner to reproduce gender norms. According to her, gender

28 Ali Rıza Dölkeleş, “Türkiye’de Aşçılık Okulları ve Özel Kurslar,” *Aşçılar Dünyası*, <http://www.ascilardunyasi.com/Guests/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsId=F024DFE509842160> (accessed, Aug. 11, 2012).

29 Susanne Schultz, “Dissolved Boundaries and ‘Affective Labor’: On the Disappearance of Reproductive Labor and Feminist Critique in Empire,” *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 17, no.1 (August 2006), pp.77-82.

segregation on the basis of sectors or ranks persists in the post-Fordist regime. The fine-dining sector in Turkey supports her argument.

According to my interviewee Ozan (a thirty three-year-old, educated, male cook) the number of male and female students were equal at the culinary school where he attended. Nevertheless, women were encouraged to specialize on pastry production, which was conceived as a more feminine work than the preparation of main dishes. Therefore, a gendered division of labor between organizational departments within fine-dining restaurants was established. On the other hand, female cooks who insisted on working in the main kitchen were mostly assigned to the show kitchen.³⁰ Remember that Didem also disclosed the managerial strategy to assign presentable women to the show kitchen. As I have already discussed, the show kitchen is a site of immaterial production as what is being produced is a spectacle. Women's assignment to this position emanates from the surplus value attained from gendering this spectacle.

Arlie Russel Hochschild analyzed productivity of gendered performances in communicational service jobs as early as 1983. She wrote:

More women than men go into public-contact work and especially into work in which status is the essential social-psychological task. In some jobs such as that of the flight attendant, women may perform this task by playing Woman. Such women are more vulnerable, on this account, to feeling estranged from their capacity to perform and enjoy two traditional feminine roles –offering status

³⁰ Esin is the only cook among my interviewees who does not agree that women are strategically assigned to the show kitchen. She asserts that starters are prepared in the show kitchen and the commis chefs are responsible for their preparation. That's why she argues that she was assigned to that position on the basis of merit. However, my other interviewees disagree with this argument. Also, the division of labor between the main kitchen and the show kitchen varies. In some occasions the work in the show kitchen necessitates more knowhow. Nevertheless, women are employed there even if they are less experienced. In fact, Esin admits that her demand to be assigned to a position in the main kitchen after gaining the necessary skills was refused.

enhancement and sexual attractiveness to others. These capacities are now under corporate as well as personal management.³¹

Hochschild's analysis was groundbreaking in several respects. First, she analyzed "enhancing the status of others" as productive of surplus value. Thereby she has laid the foundation for Hardt's conceptualization of affective labor that is today widely accepted in the affective labor debate. According to Hardt, affective labor is activity productive of "a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion"³², which almost reproduces Hochschild's definition. Post-Fordist literature diverges from emotional labor debate initiated by Hochschild not on the basis of how they diagnosed affectivity of labor but on the basis of their ontological grid. Although I will try to elaborate on ontology in post-Fordist theorization in the following section, let me briefly mention that Hardt's theory of affective labor diverge from Hochschild's theory of emotional labor in terms of the ontology of the subject. Hochschild follows Hegel, Marx and Lukács respectively in their negative ontology when she discusses emotional laborer's alienation through exploitation of his/her affective capacities, whereas Hardt adopts Spinozist positive ontology. Second, Hochschild adopted Ivan Illich's "shadow labor"³³ to explain the apparitional existence of affective labor. Like housework, affective labor was unwaged and unacknowledged as productive activity, although it entered the valorization process. Affective labor as a surplus dimension to material labor destabilized the boundaries between waged/unwaged and productive/reproductive labor with its unacknowledged role in valorization. Third, Hochschild conceived of affective service labor as performative not only of the happy host (the flight

31 Arlie Russel Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), p.184.

32 Hardt, "Affective Labor," p.96.

33 Hochschild, *the Managed Heart*, p.167.

attendant) but also of one's proper gender identity. Thereby, she questioned the naturalization of gender norms by general public and normalized essentialism dominant in scientific discourse.³⁴ Such naturalization is common also in current culinary circles in Turkey. Let me give you an example. Fulya -a female, educated cook at the age of thirty- answers my question whether women are preferred over men in show kitchens:

Yes. Why? Because you should be able to communicate a little bit with the customer when she likes. Especially 90% of the customers at M. (one of the restaurants where she worked) were foreigners. What would S. (a male co-worker) tell them? He will hem and haw. He cannot speak or act properly. He might scratch his ass. He can! Because (trained, male) cooks are like that. That's why, people who are more presentable, capable to have a dialogue with the customer, able to explain (method of preparation), tell their story, where did this ingredient come from... You need to be curious...

At first sight, Fulya seems to define gender-blind norms that a cook in the show is expected to obey. But in fact, she reproduces heterosexual duality of gender roles. She assigns aesthetics, politeness, capacity for emotion work to women and their opposite to men. Her emphasis on bodily gestures highlights a certain socially acceptable manner of performing gender in the show kitchen and supports Hochschild's argument. Therefore, we can conclude that, similar to flight attendance, cooking "is one sort of job for a woman and another sort of job for a man"³⁵. A proper culinary performance depends on a cook's ability to use in tandem his/her affective and aesthetic capacities in a manner delimited by gender norms. As Fulya's account reveals, performing gender is no less productive of surplus value than performing culinary work as an artistic spectacle.

34 Ibid., p.167.

35 Ibid., p.171.

From the restructuring of the sector to reorganization of fine-dining restaurants in terms of its architectural style and labor formation, the transitions introduced in this section have radically changed processes of culinary labor in qualitative terms. As Hardt and Negri suggest “today productivity, wealth, and the creation of social surpluses take the form of cooperative interactivity through linguistic, communicational, and affective networks”³⁶. In the next section I will focus on culinary labor in its artistic form so as to discuss the concept of affective labor on the basis of my ethnographic study. Although I follow post-Fordist literature in exploring immaterialization of culinary labor, I will stage an encounter between conceptualizations of affective labor in post-Fordist and Lacanian literatures so as to provide a plausible understanding of affective investment as a crucial dimension of affective labor and as constitutive of the post-Fordist subject.

Quality (Nature) of Post-Fordist Culinary Labor, or Culinary Labor in Its Artistic Form

In the previous section I defined immaterialization of labor based on three criteria: incorporation of an immaterial dimension to a material commodity (immaterialization of commodity), adoption of organizational forms dominant in immaterial production (immaterialization of organization of labor), and liquidation of the boundaries in modern binaries of production/reproduction, material labor/immaterial labor, men’s work/women’s work, work/life, etc. In this section I will primarily focus on the latter criterion. I hope that this will provide me the chance

³⁶ Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, p. 294.

to elaborate on an affective dimension of labor that is central to co-constitution of post-Fordist production regime and the post-Fordist subject. In discussing affective labor in the post-Fordist literature, I will primarily focus on Hardt and Negri's contribution since their conceptualization is commonly adopted without much dispute in sociological and anthropological research.

In *Empire*, Hardt and Negri focus on processes of production so as to understand how the prime commodity in post-Fordism, i.e. subjectivity, is produced. Drawing on Foucault's biopolitical paradigm, they argue that the change in power regime from disciplinary to biopolitics is marked by the hold of power on the social subject from the inside (of bodies and minds) as opposed to disciplinary power that addressed subjects as individuals in an effort to align, command and subjugate them to its social grid.³⁷ Hardt and Negri understand Foucault's intervention as an effort to reintegrate reproduction into production so as to develop a materialist understanding of biopolitical production, or production of life. Hardt and Negri analyze the phenomenon of indistinguishability between life and work in the post-Fordist era by approaching valorization process as the continuum of production and reproduction. Let me give an example from culinary production in its artistic form to illustrate this thesis.

Esin is an educated cook who has been among the first generation of educated cooks. She graduated from a culinary arts institution in Italy. After her graduation, she worked in two different fine-dining restaurants with Michelin stars as a trainee and then, was employed in a fine-dining restaurant in Istanbul. She says:

³⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

Being a chef is something else. Knowing every cuisine (culinary culture) from A to Z, having *savoir faire*, having a vision... First of all, they (chefs) have an intellectual background. They travel the world. I mean everything, politics, liberal education; they are equipped with knowledge from every field... So, this is not only a job, a way to earn money. This is a way of life. That is to say, from A to Z with your family and social environment, at every moment of the day you are doing something about this occupation and you enjoy it. Neither you come before your job nor it comes before you. It is something into which you can integrate your life.

Reviving capitalist subsumption thesis, Hardt and Negri understand disciplinarity as the horizontal expansion of capitalist production (quantitative shift) and biopolitical production as the vertical expansion of capitalist production into the depths of body and psyche (qualitative shift) in a manner to subsume all of life under capital.³⁸ Therefore, in Hardt and Negri's theoretical scheme, there is neither any conscious or unconscious constituent of subjectivity, nor any material or immaterial aspect of political body that escapes the grasp of capitalism under the biopolitical regime. It is an all-constitutive, omnipotent form of power with a multiplicity of local articulations. However, that is not to say that there is no opening to an alternative social organization. On the contrary, Hardt and Negri claim that it is precisely this absorption of the social into capital that produces a potentiality for organizing the society (or production, for that matter) otherwise.

For Hardt and Negri, non-capitalist alternatives are formed within the virtual space produced collectively with immaterial labor. As is conveyed before, the concept of immaterial labor is used to define activities productive of communicational, affective and informational networks. Within these networks a collective subjectivity with its body, mind and affectivity is produced. Therefore, this labor produces on the one hand virtual commons comprised of immaterial products, on the other a collective ontological being with its corporeal and affective

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

dimensions. Whereas capitalism aims at subsuming this totality, which is conceived as life itself by Hardt and Negri, the virtual realm exceeds the command of biopower by creating the conditions of possibility for collective action. At this point Hardt and Negri converges Marx's negative ontology, which presumes that private property will be abolished as collective subject formed in industrial production will tear the straightjacket of monopolized means of production. Marx in industrial paradigm, Hardt and Negri in informational paradigm see a contradiction between means and relations of production to be resolved through a labor struggle. Nevertheless, Hardt and Negri's intervention to capitalist subsumption thesis differentiates their approach by adopting a positive ontology right at this point of convergence.

Hardt and Negri stage an encounter between Marx, Nietzsche and Spinoza so as to replace Hegelian negativity with a positive ontology. They adopt Spinozist conceptualization of affect as "power to act"³⁹ and Nietzsche's theorization of the social as a field of forces in order to conceptualize the virtual terrain of affect, information and communication in positive terms. A multiplicity of forces joins in a fray within this virtual space. Their relation is based on an immediate encounter and struggle rather than mediation between social subjects.⁴⁰ Therefore, subjects are attributed an "omniversality"⁴¹, a will to power and difference. Drawing on Nietzsche's critique of slave morality and Spinoza's positive ontology of the subject, they argue that "power to act" is immanent to the subject. The task of non-capitalist politics is to enhance and ethically direct this power by following desires not mediated through capitalist production relations. That is to say, the germs to non-

39 Hardt, "Affective Labor," p.96.

40 Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, p. 26.

41 Ibid., p. 27.

capitalist sociality are present in the virtual that is prosperous in terms of affect, although capitalist relations of production castrates desire and confines social subjects to slave morality. Thereby, they historicize negativity as the condition of capitalist desire rather than an ontological human quality. To better explain their theoretical scheme, let me provide a brief comparison of ontology à la Hegel and Nietzsche.

Nietzsche understands the social realm as the field of differential forces struggling for domination. Force is not an intrinsic quality or a capacity of any subject but is constitutive of bodies. In that sense, social subjects are effects of forces rather than a priori social units. The contingent encounter of forces, their taking possession of or domination over some part of reality is constitutive of social relations of domination. His ontology is a radical critique of subject/object duality. He is concerned with life, which he conceives as activity and affirmation. He asserts that there is only a “doing”, a moment of manifestation of both the doer and the effect of doing when the two of them are inseparable. There is no ‘...neutral agent, free to manifest its strength or contain it. No such agent exists; there is no “being” behind the doing, acting, becoming...’⁴²

In contrast to Nietzsche, Hegel constructs a duality of subject and object within a dialectical relationship. In “Lordship and Bondage”, Hegel illustrates his dialectics with a mythical encounter between two subjects-to-be in the wilderness.⁴³ Before a social encounter, each subject has a particular desire. When two of them

42 Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and The Genealogy of Morals*, (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1956), p.178.

43 G. W. F. Hegel, “Independence and Dependence of Self-Consciousness: Lordship and Bondage,” in *Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp.111-119.

have the first encounter, a conflict arises between their desires. To avoid a struggle to death, one of the parties has to abstain from her own desire and submit to the other's desire. Thereby, the submitting party becomes the slave whose desire is negated and the other becomes the master. Yet, the master's domination depends on the slave's recognition. In his/her labor for the master, the slave understands the contingency of this recognition by contemplating the particularity of her own desire and deducing that the master's desire is also particular. This gesture towards universal reason is negation of negation necessitating mutual recognition. With this narrative, Hegel's aim is to construct a subject of consciousness desiring freedom. The historical subject is a becoming in pursuit of a proper account for her own ways of knowing. As such, it is a subject that has to take herself as its object of knowledge. The historical agent, in her endeavor to make knowledge claims, develops a form of consciousness peculiar to her time and determining her actions in making history. The tension between the particular and the universal (subject/object), which the historical agent tries to resolve, is constitutive of the dialectical movement of history through negation.

As I have already conveyed, Nietzsche refuses that there is a unitary subject, constituted through a double negation, behind historical deed. If so, how does history unfold? In order to answer this question, I need to introduce the concept of "will to power". Will to power is will to augment strength, to dominate forces. Yet, it is not a means to an end different from itself, unlike desire in Hegel. It does not will anything else but itself. There is no idea of progress, evolution or telos activating will to power. According to Nietzsche,

"whatever exists, having somehow come into being, is again and again reinterpreted to new ends, taken over, transformed, and redirected by some power

superior to it; all events in the organic world are a subduing, becoming master...⁴⁴

For Nietzsche negation is the central tenant of slave morality as it suppresses under identity the affirmative feature of the organism, creativity, and active form-giving. Nietzsche disdains Hegel's conceptualization of freedom in terms of freedom of thought, reflexivity, and a universal wisdom as slave morality. The ascetic ideal underlying slave morality preaches the dominated to take responsibility for her own condition, to 'tame' him/herself, to self-discipline. The endeavor to spread the ascetic ideal is based on an assumption of a normative value, which is a social construct according to Nietzsche.⁴⁵ The modern science and philosophy follow moral-Christian tradition and its epistemological stance in its meta-narratives (of history) and Nietzsche considers Hegel to be a modern ascetic priest. For Nietzsche, historicists' endeavor to learn from the past and to construct a meta-narrative of progress is motivated by the will to move forward, although it is doomed to failure. That is because progressive acts are products of unhistorical thinking. Nietzsche's critical history celebrates contingency, difference, creativity and self-affirmation. Freedom in this paradigm is freedom of will to power, which is not derivative of another will or constrained by a normative regime.

Hardt and Negri adopt the concept of will to power in their plea for non-capitalist projects already unfolding within the virtual terrain of immaterial production.

The force that must instead drive forward theoretical practice to actualize these terrains of potential metamorphosis is still (and ever more intensely) the common experience of the new productive practices and the concentration of productive

44Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), II:12.

45 Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and The Genealogy of Morals*, p.288.

labor on the plastic and fluid terrain of the new communicative, biological, and mechanical technologies.

Being republican today, then, means first of all struggling within and constructing against Empire, on its hybrid, modulating terrains. And here we should add, against all moralisms and all positions of resentment and nostalgia, that this new imperial terrain provides greater possibilities for creation and liberation. The multitude, in its will to be-against and its desire for liberation, must push through Empire to come out the other side.⁴⁶

As is seen in the excerpt, Hardt and Negri replace the Hegelian desire that is based on negative dialectics with Nietzschean will to power. However, they also reconceptualize forces, over which social subjects seek domination, as affect in Spinozist terms, i.e. as power to act. The social totality produced with immaterial labor is a collective body bound with affect as its life-force. Affect is what moves the labor socialized in its immaterial productive activity in the direction dictated by its non-derivative desire (or will). However, this leads Hardt and Negri to reduce affects into joy (those affects leading to enhancement), although in Spinoza affect is categorized under joy and sadness. Therefore, in Hardt and Negri's theorization there is a latent assumption for affect to necessarily lead to connection, increase in power to act, creation of commons, etc. Let me remind Didem's experience with which I opened this chapter:

Today, when I came here (the restaurant), I got so bored! You get me? I felt so bad, I mean emotionally... But when the midday service begins here, you put on a mask and you act accordingly. And today I rebelled against... By the way, I am being too honest with you. I should not tell you those so openly. I do not want to play that role any more. Can you be this way (pretending) all the time? I have been.

We see in this narrative that although Didem performs affective labor producing “a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion”⁴⁷ in consumers with whom she is in contact with, her “power to act” is diminished. Therefore, the

46 Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, p. 218.

47 Hardt, “Affective Labor,” p.96.

supposition that affective labor necessarily creates an affective connectivity is proved wrong, at least in this case. As Susan Ruddick asserts:

Whether the ‘forced joy’ and collaboration of the affective labor can be equated with randomly experienced, poorly understood expansion of active powers (and thus ‘passive joy’ pace Spinoza), needs to be seriously interrogated.⁴⁸

In this direction, one might cling to Hardt and Negri’s conceptualization of affective labor by arguing that the failure to co-produce joy in the case presented above stems from the fact that Didem is motivated by her desire to meet the other’s desire. Her endeavor to perform the happy host so as to enhance the consumers’ well-being is a desire derived from the other’s desire. Therefore, hers is a slavish deed, rather than a self-affirming act out of will to power. This could lead to the hypothesis that if Didem acted upon her non-derivative desire, a joyous affect that would bind her to the consumer(s) in a manner to produce a new social body could be formed. However, there are two problems with this possible response. First, it does not comply with Hardt and Negri’s argument that immaterial labor is by nature productive of commons and irrespective of social subjects’ form of desire. They write:

The difference of immaterial labor, however, is that its products are themselves, in many respects, immediately social and common. Producing communication, affective relationships, and knowledges, in contrast to cars and typewriters, can directly expand the realm of what we share in common...⁴⁹

Second, it is a supposition that concerns itself with what is beyond the actual, or in fact what is mythical.

The argument that Hardt and Negri base their theoretical construct on a

48 Susan Ruddick, “The Politics of Affect □ Spinoza in the Work of Negri and Deleuze,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 27, no.4 (July 2010), p.33.

49 Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: the Penguin Press, 2004), p.100.

mythical virtual space where affect is produced in abundance is actually borrowed from Judith Butler's critique of Gilles Deleuze. Although Deleuze's reading of Spinoza differ from Hardt and Negri's, their shared theoretical ground make them susceptible to the same criticism. Butler writes:

Deleuze promotes appeals to a different kind of reification, namely, the reification of multiplicitous affect as the invariant, although largely repressed, ontological structure of desire. If the inquiry into the structure of desire takes place within a culturally constituted perspective, then the analysis of desire is always implicated in the cultural situation it seeks to explain. The postulation of natural multiplicity appears, then, insupportable metaphysical speculation on the part of Deleuze.⁵⁰

Butler puts forward in her critique that although Deleuze ontologizes affect as an unlimited source of life-affirming vitality to be unleashed from the bounds of castration, he fails to provide an empirical support to his claim (as his theory is based on a hypothetical post-capitalism) and a concrete political project to move beyond castration produced by socio-historical conditions (psychoanalysis and capitalism, according to Deleuze)⁵¹. Therefore, even before problematizing his ontology of non-derivative desire, suspicion is raised against the usefulness of his approach in understanding concrete historical phenomena under capitalism. For Butler, Hegelian Absolute, haunts Deleuze's theory in its understanding of capitalism as omnipotent and in the promise of an uncastrated affect in abundance immanent to social subjects. The same is true for Hardt and Negri as is evidenced in the following excerpt:

Now we will shift from biopower to biopolitical production. Both of them engage social life in its entirety- hence the common prefix *bio*-but they do so in very different ways. Biopower stands above society, transcendent, as a sovereign authority and imposes its order. Biopolitical production, in contrast, is immanent

50 Judith P. Butler, *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in the 20th Century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p.214.

51 Ibid., p.204.

to society and creates social relationships and forms through collaborative forms of labor.⁵²

If we were to subject Hardt and Negri's analysis of immaterial production in the post-Fordist era to Lacanian psychoanalysis, especially in the light of the excerpt above, we could say that they are constructing a fantasy narrative of capitalism. Within this narrative, capitalism appears as the Absolute, or as an all-encompassing Other without a lack.

Reading Hardt and Negri through Lacan

In Lacanian psychoanalysis, society is constituted within the symbolic domain of language. There are two main implications of this assertion. First, the relationship between social subjects is mediated through language. And second, it is only by way of being signified in language that one becomes a subject. Therefore, taking part in the social system is to be signified within the symbolic for the other signifiers and mediation of self-experience through language. The Other is the social totality of signification which is experienced as "a subject beyond all subjects"⁵³ in Žižek's words, occupying the social imaginary with its apparitional omnipresence. Žižek gives the examples of the Divinity and the Cause for the different names for the Other.⁵⁴ In Hardt and Negri's discourse, the Other appears as Capitalism (under the regime of biopower) as it is imagined to

52 Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, pp. 94-95.

53 Slavoj Žižek, "From Che vuoi? to Fantasy: Lacan with Eyes Wide Shut," in *How to Read Lacan*, <http://www.lacan.com/zizkubrick.htm>, accessed July 13, 2014.

54 Ibid.

subsume the social (subject) in its totality: “As the impersonal rule of capital extend throughout the globe, capitalist command tends to become a “non-place” or, really, an everyplace. There is no longer an outside to capital...”⁵⁵

In their theorization real subsumption through immaterial production, which permeates social subjects’ bodies, minds and the depths of their psyche, in a manner unseen in the history of capitalism, produces the sociality as a unified body. Their imagined all-encompassing Capitalism is productive of a desire –of Hardt and Negri as well as other autonomist Marxists who share their political imaginary- for commons able to enjoy boundless affect on condition that social subjects are formed into a whole, uncastrated, body under capitalism. They write:

From the socioeconomic perspective multitude is the common subject of labor, that is, the real flesh of postmodern production, and at the same time the object from which collective capital tries to make the body of its global development... When the flesh of the multitude is imprisoned and transformed into the body of the capital, it finds itself both within and against the process of capitalist globalization. The biopolitical production of the multitude, however, tends to mobilize what it shares in common and what it produces in common against the imperial power of global capital in time, developing its productive figure based on the common, the multitude can move through Empire and come out the other side to express itself autonomously and rule itself.⁵⁶

As is seen in the excerpt, the social subjects are expected to form the multitude if they fully submit to the capital. It is through their laboring process in the bodily mode that they are expected to produce unlimited affectivity, which will constitute them as a body capable to enjoy unbound affect. This collective subjectivity capable to enjoy fully is not an empirical entity but a possibility, or a promise, for which, Hardt and Negri claim, the conditions are present:

The multitude... is based not so much on the current empirical existence of the

55 Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, pp.101-102.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

class but rather on its conditions of possibility. The question to ask, in other words, is not “What is multitude?” but rather “What can the multitude become?” Such a political project clearly can be grounded in an empirical analysis that demonstrated the common condition of those who can become the multitude. Common conditions, of course, does not mean sameness or unity, but it does require that no differences of nature or kind divide the multitude.⁵⁷

As I have mentioned before, in Lacan, the experience of the self is mediated through language. In fact, this is Lacan’s reconceptualization of Freudian term castration as the prohibition of narcissistic enjoyment by enunciation of the Name of the Father, i.e. the signifier that stands for the incest taboo. Thereby, first, one is forced to submit to the norms encoded within the socio-symbolic, second, one is forbidden from a bodily contact with the primary object of enjoyment without mediation through the symbolic, third, one is constituted as a social subject. However, the symbolic cannot fully incorporate his/her experience into its representative system. Thereby, language opens an abyss in the psyche that forms the basis of a myth in which the subject imagines him/herself as unitary. S/he seeks to reconstitute this imagined unity by attaining *objet a*. S/he expects identifying with his/her representation within the socio-symbolic to be a step in this direction. Nevertheless, in Lacan, the signifier and the signified are non-identical, meaning, their attachment is contingent. And the symbolic fails to thoroughly signify social experience. Therefore, the socio-symbolic is in an incessant flux of signifiers leading the subject from an ephemeral identification to another. In his/her process of successive identifications, a social subject tries to figure out the enigma of the Other’s desire, and asks ‘*Che vuoi?*’⁵⁸, or else, “*Why am I what you [the big Other]*

57 Ibid., p. 105-106.

58 Slavoj Žižek, “*Che vuoi?*,” in *Jaques Lacan: Critical Evaluations in Cultural Theory, Vol.3: Society, Politics and Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Žižek (Routledge: London and New York, 2003), p. 359.

are saying that I am?"⁵⁹. The subject does not receive a clear response from the Other in whose utterance there is an incomprehensible excess. Lacan conceptualizes this excess as *jouissance* that not only destabilizes the symbolic, but also leads the social subject to invent his/her own account of the social experience, benefiting from the inventory of signifiers within the socio-symbolic. In Lacanian psychoanalysis the product of such meaning-making is *fantasy*, which is conceived as a bridge over the constitutive abyss that binds the subject to the Other.

Upon this theoretical scheme, I argue that we can read Capitalism as the Other and the multitude as the *objet a* of Hardt and Negri whereas their analysis of post-Fordism serves as a fantasy narrative. As I have argued before, they represent capitalism as an omnipotent system without a lack. Therefore, Capitalism as the Other is portrayed as enjoying laboring subjects fully in their bodily, intellectual and affective capacities. Since social subjects are imagined as fully subsumed under capital and constituted as a body, i.e. the collective subject of production and Capitalism as the Other are represented as unified without a mediatory apparatus in a manner to mutually annul their lack(s), their labor is expected to produce limitless affect (enjoyed by Capitalism to produce surplus value). Hardt and Negri invite us (laborers) to identify with the multitude, the signifier for the collective subject of labor, so as to enjoy this full *jouissance*. There is no empirical signified that coincides with the signifier of the multitude because it is *objet a* of desire giving positivity to the lack in autonomist Marxism.

Engaging in a critique of Hardt and Negri to show that capitalist subsumption thesis is a fantasy narrative is a worthy endeavor only if I can explore how (much) it

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 361.

conceals contingency of co-constitution of the social subject and capitalism upon the singular affective investments of social subjects. As I have already argued, their representation of capitalism as omnipresent and omnipotent disguises the lack in the socio-symbolic that dooms it to instability and perpetual reconfiguration. On the other hand, this constitutive lack incites social subjects' desire to unify with the Other in pursuit of full *jouissance*. As will be further discussed in following chapters, reproduction of capitalism depends on social subject's affective investments in their *objet a* so as to become one with the socio-symbolic. The distinguishing aspect of post-Fordist production is its ideological script that constructs work as the primary site of affective investment. For this reason, we need to reconceptualize affect on Lacanian grounds so as to understand the radical negativity of post-Fordist social project and take affective investment as a constitutive dimension of affective labor. Such an approach would help us understand power as an authoritative call within the psyche constitutive of the affective laborer subjectivity, rather than an exterior commandment to sacrifice enjoyment for work.

In *the End of Dissatisfaction?*, Todd McGowan historicizes the superegoic commandment. He argues that from 1989 onwards, organization of society around a prohibitive law (the incest taboo), which demanded sacrifice from enjoyment (*jouissance*), was replaced with the domination of the superegoic imperative to enjoy.⁶⁰ In the latter paradigm, enjoyment is elevated to the status of duty. For McGowan, its condition of possibility is the weakening of the symbolic in the expense of the imaginary in mediating social relations.⁶¹ That is to say, social

60 McGowan, *The End of Dissatisfaction?*, p.34.

61 Ibid., p.35.

subjects identify with their images as subjects of enjoyment although enjoyment in psychoanalytical sense of the term, i.e. *jouissance*, diminishes. If *jouissance* is taken as one of Lacan's neologisms, and separated into its constitutive elements as *jouir de sens* (enjoying the meaning), McGowan's argument would be better understood. For Lacan, the symbolic is the condition of possibility for enjoyment as the social subject is suffocated when his/her relationship with the Other is not mediated. Therefore, the proximity of the Other provokes anxiety and suffocates enjoyment.

McGowan's argument helps me understand the blurring of the boundary between leisure/hobby/enjoyment and work/labor in Post-Fordism as this novel regime of production rests on the commandment to enjoy/love one's work. As will be further argued in the next chapter, work has become the primary source of affective investment in post-Fordism. Nevertheless, I disagree with McGowan's assertion that enjoyment replaced self-sacrifice in the Other's authoritative call. On the contrary, the novel imperative is to enjoy self-sacrifice. This approach helps us understand Didem's suffocation at work in performing the happy host and her relief when she is reminded that this performance is an occupational requirement. When the boundary between hobby and work are blurred, work becomes the most intimate object of love, and the superegoic imperative is to "Enjoy your work", work becomes a suffocating experience. When the commandment to enjoy is externalized (meaning, when it is experienced as an external obligation), Didem is relieved from the burden it caused. She says that she has never seen culinary practice as work and she qualified so doing as "a moment of realization". I claim that this moment is a moment of affective disinvestment that is crucial to understand the contingency of post-Fordist fantasies of work as the primary object of desire and post-Fordist

production as its materialization. In the next chapter, I will more closely investigate the fantasy of culinary production being a form of art as it organizes affective production in the fine-dining sector. I will primarily look at materialization of this fantasy in the architectural structure of the restaurant as well as the subjectivity of the educated cook.

CHAPTER III

FANTASY OF CULINARY WORK AS ART AND ITS MATERIALIZATION

My brother-in-law, Erol studied economics in İstanbul at a public university with a good reputation. He never desired a white-collar position in the private sector. He called himself an anarchist when I first met him. If he was to get involved in capitalist relations of production, he preferred to be on the side of the most oppressed (blue-collar, manual labor in his thinking) as he found it more honorable. Nevertheless, he had an upper-middle class background and had no occupational skills proper for such a position. After his graduation, he resisted looking for a job for some time although her family insisted that he did. Later, he accepted to work with his father at his house appliances store. As he disliked marketing, he mainly took responsibility for the cargo, carrying goods in and out of the store and arranging them. He was an intellectual man with proficiency level English and intermediate level German knowledge. He wanted to study philosophy before and after the university but his father would not let him. He once applied for a master's degree in the department of philosophy at Bogaziçi University but unfortunately got rejected. In the end, he decided that he would like to become a cook like his wife Esin. He first started culinary work in a small restaurant in Izmir with her. Then, Esin got him transferred to the same hotel chain where she worked after culinary education. Now, he is a thirty three-year-old cook at a fine-dining restaurant in a five-star hotel. When

I asked Erol what “being a cook” or “culinary work” meant to him, I have received the following answer:

First of all, culinary practice is a process of creation. I can say, in some respects it is a form of art. But I don't know, sometimes it sounds weird. University departments (of gastronomy and culinary arts) are already in fine arts faculties. It is an enjoyable job because there is a creation process involved, after all. It is a job where you can use your creativity and express yourself. Cooking is a nice occupation, anyway. The feeling of feeding people is nice. You see the outcome of your finished work immediately. You take the feedback immediately, that's nice. These are the good aspects of cooking, being a cook.

...

Me: So, what do you think about cooking as a form of art? You have already talked about it but can you open it up a little bit?

I mean, all the techniques can be learnt. Cooking techniques, etc. An ordinary person can learn it... in a year... There are recipes, after all. You comply with it in every aspect. You can apply the same technique; you can prepare the same dish. But a dish prepared by two different people can never be the same. I mean, never! It is the same in painting, music, etc. There, human factors intervene. It is not a thing to be learnt. You have it or you don't. I cannot explain it, either. That is called “taste of your hand”⁶². That “taste of your hand” brings culinary practice closer to art. So, this is very human. That is nice.

Me: Who do you think has “taste of hand” in your restaurant... Or, do you think you have it?

Yes, I think I do.

As you can see in this excerpt, Erol uses the words creativity and art to define culinary practice. These are the prevalent terms in current popular gastronomic discourses. When he comes to define a cook *qua* artist, he introduces yet another signifier, i.e. “taste of your hand”, crucial to understand his formation of desire. This is an idiom referring to a taste peculiar to the way a person cooks. However, one cannot account for this surplus taste with reference to his/her technique or ingredients. It is a subjective and impossible to imitate surplus of culinary labor. For Erol, it is material (one can perceive with the sense of taste) but it resists

62 I have translated the idiom “elinin tadi” in Turkish as “taste of your hand”.

signification (Erol says: “I can not explain it”). The idiom “taste of your hand” is the best signification available to Erol, although it fails to fully coincide with his experience. From a Lacanian perspective we can argue that “taste of your hand” is the materialization of immaterial surplus, i.e. surplus *jouissance*, produced in culinary practice and, as is explained before, surplus *jouissance* eludes signification.

Notice that Erol’s object of desire is the subjectivity of “a cook *qua* artist” whom he imagines to enjoy surplus *jouissance*. Žižek argues that there is nothing essential to an empirical object that makes it worthy of our desire. In other words, there is no counterpart to *objet a* in the phenomenal world that will fulfill the lack in the social subject. He writes:

...how does it [an empirical object] begin to contain some X some unknown quality, something which is 'in it more than it' and makes it worthy of our desire? By entering the framework of fantasy, by being included in a fantasy-scene which gives consistency to the subject's desire.⁶³

Žižek argues that it is as if *jouissance* sticks to an empirical object upon its appearance in the fantasy-screen.⁶⁴ He uses the metaphor of screen for fantasy as it not only conceals the lack in the Other, but also constitutes the ground upon which *objet a* becomes visible. In this chapter, I will try to understand the imaginary frame within which “the cook *qua* artist” becomes *objet a* by attaining an affective dimension. With imaginary frame, I aim to denote the fantasy of culinary production as a form of art that has come to occupy the social imaginary in 2000s in Turkey. As is discussed in the previous chapters, this fantasy narrative has become hegemonic in the neoliberal era and had material effects on the quality of labor that facilitated the establishment of post-Fordist production regime. Most importantly, it reorganized

63 Žižek, “Che vuoi? ,” p.366.

64 Ibid.

the affective economy in the fine-dining restaurant and constructed culinary work as the primary site of affective investment for the cook *qua* artist. In order to reveal the material effects of this fantasy, I will analyze the material architecture of the restaurant as a representative apparatus that is socially constructed. I will further discuss this representation in terms of its role in the construction of the immaterial architecture within which the social subject is constituted *vis-à-vis* the gaze, i.e. *objet a*. Thereby, I will explore the novel visual field in the fine-dining restaurant where material and immaterial architecture overlap in a manner to materialize the fantasy - of culinary production in its artistic form- both in the subjectivity of the cook *qua* artist and the (material) architectural structure.

The Fantasy of Culinary Work as Art

In Lacan, there are three registers that constitute the psyche: the real, the imaginary, and the symbolic. As is stated earlier, the symbolic fails to signify all of social experience as it is lacking. In other words, there is no Other of the Other that provides it unity. The symbolic is a chain of signifiers with fissures, or caesura. Therefore, in trying to signify his/her (social) experience the social subject stumbles on these caesuras and is faced with the lack in the Other. This failure in constructing a narrative by making use of the signifiers available in the socio-symbolic is a traumatic experience. The unexpected encounter with the void in the symbolic provokes anxiety. As a result of these encounters -productive of *jouissance* to an unbearable extent- the real is retrospectively produced out of the lack in the symbolic. As such, the real is not only what resists signification, but also the very

product of the symbolic's failure to signify. Žižek asserts: "the Real - the Thing - is not so much the inert presence which curves the symbolic space (introducing gaps and inconsistencies in it), but, rather, an effect of these gaps and inconsistencies."⁶⁵ That is why the real is separated from the social subject with an insurmountable abyss of which I have talked about throughout the thesis. The imaginary, on the other hand, is the register that covers (veils) this void. It is by means of a fantasy narrative that both the lack in the social subject and the lack in the Other are hidden behind a semblance of unity. Fantasy not only conceals the lack, but also provides a screen on which phenomena acquire the uncanny dimension that lures the social subject towards identification. In this way, an imaginary link between the real and the symbolic is constructed. Let me give an example for the operation of fantasy from the Turkish culinary context.

Fulya is from the region of Thrace to the north-west of Turkey. Coming from a farmer family, she studies primary and secondary schools in her hometown and moves to İstanbul for high school. Receiving a good score from the university entrance exam, she applies for the department of international trade at Bogaziçi University. Our acquaintance with Fulya goes back to our undergraduate years when we were both members of the speleological society. I had known her for two years before she graduated. In those days, Fulya's interest in cuisine did not go further than inviting friends over for a dinner and cooking in the caving camps where we were together from time to time. She was about to graduate when I heard for the first time about her interest in culinary education. But let me share her own account of how she developed this interest.

65 Slavoj Žižek, "Troubles with the Real: Lacan as a Viewer of Alien," in *How to Read Lacan*, <http://www.lacan.com/zizkubrick.htm>, accessed July 15, 2014.

... All of my friends wanted to study international trade since it necessitated a high score. Me, I said, "ok then, it should be good" when I got a high score and went to the international trade (department). Then, from the very first lecture I realized that it was not at all for me. I mean, really, no. Accounting and then marketing... In the very first year, I said "what am I doin' here"... Thinking about it now, I could have studied sociology, or actually I would go to something like vet school. But I would definitely study at Bogazici (University)! I always express my gratitude for studying at Bogazici because I met S.. S. is an alpinist and I have become a caver thanks to her. This is what made my university life bearable... But I never liked my department... It was so not I! Whatever, final year I had some problems like... I was graduating. I had to do something, make a decision. On the one hand, my father was insisting that my sibling and me return home and take over the (family) business. I did not want that at all... I felt that if I did it, I would be giving up my life. So, I always thought of going away, escaping. And also I always wanted to go to Mexica with an exchange program in my college years... Then, I wanted to go after graduation. And I thought a masters program would be better than going for nothing... Generally, I was looking for sociology programs but things like Food and Culture, Food and something, Food Anthropology, that sort of things, were always distracting me. Then I said, if I am interested, I should go and study culinary arts. Then, (I) searched in Mexico a lot... but I saw that schools in Mexico are very expensive. Then I found a school in Argentina... A school called Mausi Sebess (Instituto internacional de artes culinarias Mausi Sebess). A school for gastronomy for one year... I said, "Ok, I will consider this. I will stay one year, unbrace myself, have fun, and then I'll do whatever I'll do". I went there and I really liked it. People were fun there. And cooking is something different... It has nothing to do with preparing dinner for your friends at home! You are always on the run. It was too difficult for me in the beginning. A totally new terminology... I studied there more than I did at college... That year passed real well. I came back to Istanbul with great dreams. I desired it too much!

Me: So you weren't determined to become a cook? You went there out of curiosity, and then decided to become a cook.

I decided there. I really liked it there. Also, we were a group of friends there. We used to hang around and cook together all the time. There, I shortly worked in a few places... We did something like catering. It was so fun! Of course, I thought it would continue like that. I came to Istanbul with those dreams... Then, Se. was working (as a cook) in Marmaris. I first worked with her like an internship... That was very enjoyable, too... I said, "That's good. That means real kitchen (meaning culinary work) is like this. Everybody likes each other". How naive I was! I got excited again. I said ok, I like this job. I'll do it.

Fulya's experience shows the contingency in the decisive moments of her life.

However, we should not understand the contingency in its Foucauldian sense.

Such an approach would lead us to conclude that Fulya is an effect of forces that compete in the discursive field. That is, she would be not only an effect of the

Law (the norm constructed in the socio-symbolic) but also materialization of it as

a fully determined discursive construct. As such, we would be trapped in the fantasy of seduction that constructs the Other as omnipotent and the subject as fully determined, as is discussed in the first chapter. Therefore, we would miss the negativity in Fulya's desire that constantly displaces her by searching for something (the Thing) beyond representation.

From a Lacanian perspective, we would be concerned with the contingency of her decisions upon a series of successive and ephemeral identifications. According to Žižek, contingency would denote the chance encounters with empirical objects that appears on the fantasy-screen. As such, contingency would reveal that there is nothing necessary in her identification with certain subject-positions. In fact, Lacan shows us that precisely this indeterminacy is the condition of possibility for the constitution of the subject of desire, and I will come back to this point in a minute.

In Fulya's narrative we see a quest for an answer to the question "Do I want this?" at the moment when she expects to have a grip upon her *objet a*. For instance, being a student at the department of international trade enters her fantasy frame and becomes her *objet a*. However, the empirical situation of becoming a student at the department disappoints her by not providing full *jouissance*, or unity, as she expected. That's why she asks herself: "What am I doin' here?". The answer is that it was popular among her friends at the time. That is, in fact, the subject beyond all social subjects, i.e. the Other, demanded her to do so. But so that she has realized the Other's demand, why is not Fulya able to feel satisfied? What is beyond the demand of the Other (become a student at the department of international trade) that is in excess of meaning in enunciation? As Žižek would

put it, Fulya asks herself: "What do others want from me? What do they see in me? What am I for the others?"⁶⁶. Žižek argues that contrary to the common belief, the question that could express desire is not "What do I want?"⁶⁷. The latter question is the question of the conscious. However, Sigmund Freud's invention about desire⁶⁸ and Lacan's elaboration on the concept shows us that desire operates in the unconscious. As is already shown, the Law (the socio-symbolic) constitutes a subject of desire with castration and s/he unconsciously tries to remedy for the lack instituted thereby in the psyche. For instance, Fulya identifies with a successful student, a student of international trade, a cook, etc. But ends up in disappointment: "It was so not I!" That is because she pursues what is beyond the representation, or what is veiled by fantasy. And she asks: "*Che vuoi?*"⁶⁹"Why am I what I'm supposed to be, why have I this mandate? Why am I ... [a teacher, a master, a king ... or George Kaplan]?' Briefly: * *Why am I what you [the big Other] are saying that I am?*"⁷⁰ Žižek argues that following this (self)interrogation the individual subject structures his/her own version of the truth, i.e. fantasy. That is because what is beyond the demand (that is in excess of meaning) of the Other can not be signified. Fantasy veils nothing but a void.

In "the Orthopsychic Subject", Joan Copjec attributes a different function to the question of "*Che vuoi?*"⁷¹ (What do you want from me?). According to her,

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics* (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2011), p.22.

69 Žižek, "*Che vuoi?* ," p. 359.

70 Ibid., p. 361.

71 Joan Copjec, "The Orthopsychic Subject," in *Read My Desire: Lacan against the Historicists* (Massachusetts: the MIT Press, 1994), p.28.

the social subject interrogates the Other rather than him/herself with this question. She is disappointed with the representative apparatuses (Fulya: “It was so not I!”), i.e. fantasy, as there is a residue of the truth that resists symbolization that is the real. In other words, she feels that the Other does not say it all, thus there is an excess of truth s/he wants to enjoy. As this excess is concealed by representation, Copjec does not think that *objet a* appears (materializes) on the surface of the veil of fantasy. (In fact, nor does Žižek. He depicts the imaginary with the metaphor of veil for the purposes of constructing a meaningful narrative for *objet a*.) Actually, it is beyond the representational apparatus. Therefore, the social subject does not identify with her representation out of his/her adoration of the image, contrary to the common understanding of narcissism. The image is not complete (or perfect in Copjec’s words), and the subject is well aware of that. And, *objet a* is supposed to complement the representation. This analysis reveals the impossibility of subsuming the social subject under the imaginary as object cause of desire rests beyond it. Fulya’s exclamation “It was so not I!” exemplifies the failure of representation in satisfying the subject and binding her to a place in the imaginary determined by the symbolic once and for all.

Materialization of the Fantasy of Culinary Work as Art

Culinary production in its artistic form is epitomized in the recent adoption of a novel architectural style called “show kitchen” in fine-dining restaurants that helped construct the central tenant of a new culinary sensorium by incorporating a

“phenomenal vision, which registers the world as a spectacle”⁷². Esin not only illustrates the show kitchen but also provides information on this transformation:

After this renovation they made it (the kitchen) into an open kitchen. The whole kitchen became a show kitchen. That’s why there are many problems in the hotel. We were only three who spoke foreign languages. There are at least twenty five-thirty cooks in the hotel. The show I worked in had an old design. It was not completely open. I mean I was observable but they could not (completely) see what I was doing. Think of it as a bar. Thereby, I was only visually there. But right now the show that is implicated in today’s trend is an open kitchen, which is a different thing. It actually comes from Europe. Right now many fine-dining and Michelin starred restaurants turn their kitchens into inter-active spaces. In the show kitchen (it is) as if you are sitting in a bar and chit chatting with the bar tender. I mean the designs are like that. You sit and the chef cooks in front of you. Mine was a different version. I was not integrated in that form. I was more distant from the tables... I was not visible from every single spot in the dining room... Restaurant Z that opened last week, you should investigate it. It is (designed) completely (according to) this new trend.

- For how long has this new trend been around? I guess you follow it.

Well, I don’t know. It has been three-four years since I have began this work. A few years before that? I knew that the restaurant M. in Europe turned into it (show kitchen). Famous Michelin starred chefs prepared (the food) like that. What’s more, it’s not like you enter a restaurant but like you enter a living room. A small table, like for ten people, a bigger table, and there is a kitchen there. I mean its like you he (the chef) hosts you at home. I mean they’re not restaurants for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty people like the ones we have. So, from A to Z, you can have a conversation, see, sit and have a chat with your friends... The concept I have seen and heard was like that in those times... I haven’t followed or researched it that much. You need to see where the trend is heading now.

Richard Salmon, in his analysis of the novel *the Ambassadors*, directs our attention to invention of a new marketing technique that is based on the simultaneous engagement and display of commodities (books in his case) behind the shop-window, and thus, resembles the show kitchen trend. With an example he borrows from the novel, he shows that the novel architectural apparatus of the shop-window incites desire towards and “subconscious possession”⁷³ of commodities that when they are not behind the window -that is when the subject has direct access to the commodity

72 Ricard Salmon, “The secret of the spectacle: Epistemology and commodity display in the Ambassadors,” *The Henry James Review* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1993), p.43.

73 Ibid., p.48.

without the mediation of window- s/he does not find them attractive. Suspending the analysis of this phenomenon for the moment, I suggest that with adoption of the show kitchen trend, this visual regime has been recently instituted in the fine-dining sector. The show kitchen is an architectural space separated from the main kitchen with a service window and from the dining room with a kitchen counter. In this section, I am interested in a new “economy of revealing and concealing”⁷⁴ introduced in the fine-dining restaurant with the show kitchen. The show kitchen has moved culinary production, which has formerly been concealed behind the walls (that separate the kitchen from the dining room), into the daylight (or in fact, spotlights) by rendering possible that the diners observe processes of production (from behind the kitchen counter). Thence, being registered as a spectacle commodifies productive activity and the performance of the producer; culinary producers are provided a space to stage their fantasy of culinary production as a form of art by performing their artistic selves in the presence of consumers; and the performance of cooking *à la art* provides a material support for the culinary arts fantasy.

Approaching the show kitchen as a stage of fantasies which institutes a new visual regime opens two possible directions for the analysis of the fine-dining restaurant. The first direction is to take its material architecture into consideration and analyze it as a social system of signifiers. Such an analysis reveals how consumers and producers are signified for each other within this symbolic construct. A second direction is to take its immaterial architecture into consideration and analyze how the alteration of the “economy of revealing and concealing” reorganizes

74 Lorens Holm, “What Lacan said re:architecture,” *Critical Quarterly* 42, no.2 (Summer 2000), p.44.

desire. By immaterial architecture, I aim to denote the visual field that urges social subjects to see beyond the representation in an effort to take a hold upon *objet a*.

Let me first introduce the material architecture of the fine-dining restaurant. I asked Erol describes the show kitchen in the restaurant where he works. He says:

There is a kitchen that the customers can see, an open kitchen. The meals are cooked there.

Me: Are you single on the show?

There are other people. The chef comes from time to time. When there is an order chefs in higher ranks also come.

Me: But they are normally in another place where they are not visible?

Yes. There is another kitchen downstairs. The main kitchen... Behind the show kitchen, there is another place where the preparation is made... In the show kitchen there is the grill...

Me: Do you have any kind of contact with the customers in the show kitchen?

(Yes,) from time to time.

Me: What kind of a contact?

Some people tell their preferences. Some know this (culinary) work well. (They say:) "I want my beefsteak rare, well" Or they tell you what to put in or not, instead of the server. Or else, there are some curious customers who come to observe, watch you. I mean they watch.

As is seen in the excerpt, the show kitchen turns culinary production into a spectacle by making it visible to the consumers. On the other hand, the consumers contribute to the production process not only with spectatorship but also with dialogues especially on their gastronomic preferences. To better understand how the show kitchen organizes culinary production let me convey which practices and kinds of social encounters the show kitchen enables or limits.

Have you ever worked in the show (kitchen)?

Ozan: No. I mean yes, I prepared omelets for a few times.

Is it any different (from working in the main kitchen) for you?

Ozan: Yes, of course you become... I don't know, you are more comfortable in the (main) kitchen. For instance, you turn the omelet upside down and it folds, you can open it with your hand. But there, you do not have the chance to do it with hands. Or, since you are in plain sight, you have to be more careful... You have to be more organized...

Do you have involvement, conversation, even if it's not verbal...

Ozan: Of course there is.

What kind of a relationship is that?

Ozan: Generally it's like this. We go outside (the dining room) to complete the breakfast buffet... While we are completing, a few days ago a customer liked the thing in the fruit salad and asked what was inside it... "How do you prepare this? What are the ingredients?" She liked, we had a conversation like that. We tell what is inside...

I wonder whether you are told to smile?

Ozan: Exactly. Yes, it's told. A few days ago we were told that the customers complained about employees for having the grumps, etc.. I don't think it was about us. It should be about the servers. Nonetheless, we received this warning because we go out there (dining room), too. If there is no space for show in the restaurant, they (the customers) don't see the cooks. But in times, we go out. Since we wander around in the dining room, there is a dialogue. Off course you cannot frown looking into the eyes of people. I mean people expect you to smile.

These experiences reveal that the signifiers of hygienic, polite, presentable, happy, etc. overdetermine the representation (image) of fine-dining cooks. As I have discussed in the first chapter, the cooks are also expected to perform in compliance with gender norms. Therefore, moving a part of culinary production to the show kitchen, i.e. into the dining room, set the stage for an artistic, aestheticized, hygienized, and gendered performance. The advertisements published by fine-dining restaurants also demonstrate that this performance provides the spec(tec)ular dimension and constitutes the central tenant of the commodity of "the fine-dining experience". Let me give you two examples from two different restaurants both of which are among the employees of my interviewees. First Commercial: The award-winning restaurant X is expecting you

with...and a show kitchen that gives the stage to chefs”.⁷⁵

Second Commercial: At restaurant Y we offer five different concepts (including) “Kitchen” where we can host our guests together with the Chef... Additionally the dishes prepared in front of the guests by Y’s world-renowned chefs turn almost into an interactive spectacle.

In the light of these examples I suggest that we conceive of the material architecture as a stage, the practices of social subjects as *mise-en-scène* (staged), their roles within the *mise-en-scène* as their representation. Remember Salmon, in his analysis of *the Ambassadors*, argued that there is a new marketing technique based on the simultaneous engagement and display of commodities (books in his case) behind the shop-window. With an example he borrows from the novel, he showed that the novel architectural apparatus of the shop-window incites desire towards and “subconscious possession” of commodities, and when they are not behind the window the consumer-to-be⁷⁶ does not find them attractive. I suggest that the stage constructed for culinary practice in its artistic form engage and display culinary producers and production in a similar way. There is a parallel between the visual transparency of the shop window and the open kitchen (the broader category of architectural forms that include the show kitchen) that frames the representation of the spectacle. Although Salmon is right about a “subconscious possession” of an object behind the shop window, he is mistaken about the object of desire (which he thinks is the book behind the shop window). This brings me back to Copjec’s analysis of fantasy and *objet a*. In the fine-dining restaurant consumers desire something beyond the representation of culinary production in its artistic form and producers take an unconscious possession of

75 I do not include the citations for these commercials as they include the real names of the restaurants. The originals of the quotes are available in Appendix A.

76 With the phrase “consumer-to-be” I aim to emphasize that the social subject can not be represented as a consumer before s/he enters the graph of desire.

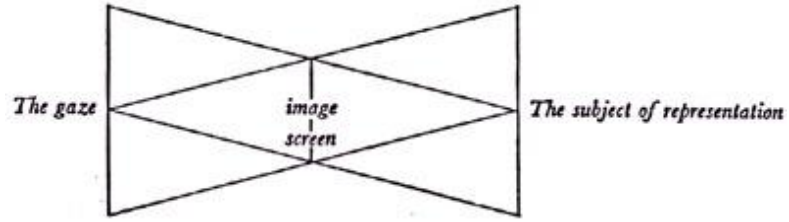
objet a that is beyond their representation (image) as artistic, hygienic, polite, etc.

Lacanian Gaze and Immaterial Architecture

Having introduced the material architecture of the current fine-dining restaurant and my approach to material architecture let me discuss immaterial architecture. In “What Lacan said re: architecture”, Lorens Holm draws a parallel between the architectural pursuit in enclosure of space and the drive’s encirclement of *objet a*. He argues that both architectural framing of space and the circular movement of drive around the object of desire are productive of enjoyment (*jouissance*) in Lacanian terms. He offers a plausible Lacanian study of architecture by claiming that architecture is “a three-dimensional representation of a two-dimensional space”⁷⁷. That is to say, architecture is a three-dimensional representational apparatus that materializes the dialectical relationship between the imagined and symbolic selves of the social subject between which s/he is split. This argument might be counterintuitive for social scientists that understand abstraction as representation of multi-dimensional phenomena in lesser dimensions for the sake of generalization. Here, Holm analyzes architectural space as a structure that gives the scopic field its form and the social subject his/her proper position within this field. He argues that Lacan achieved to demonstrate the three-dimensional space as a representation of the two-dimensional dialectics between the subject and the Other with the diagram below, originally published in the *Four Fundamental Concepts of*

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.50.

*Psychoanalysis*⁷⁸.



He concludes that architecture operates in both registers: the symbolic and the imaginary. On the one hand, it is an unending pursuit of symbolization destabilized by the constructive void, on the other, it is a representational structure that distributes subjects within the scopic field so as to provide differential visual capacities depending on their positions.

Holm bases his Lacanian analysis of architecture on *the Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* where Lacan explains the differential functioning of visionary sense in registers of the symbolic and the imaginary. Unlike his latter texts such as *My Teaching*⁷⁹, here Lacan conceptualizes castration as an effect of the eye. The eye, he suggests, has been “endowed with... a power to separate”⁸⁰ the infant from the mother. He illustrates the argument with the envious, objectifying and lethal look of a little child at his younger brother, who is feeding on his mother’s breast. The look separates the child from the mother’s breast, which is the primary object of *jouissance*. This separation is constitutive of the subject for the fact that the infant takes his/her place within the socio-symbolic system by obeying its initial prohibition: the incest taboo. Although the subject gives up on his/her narcissistic

78 Jaques Lacan, *Four Fundamental concepts of Psychoanalysis*, ed. Jaques-Alain Miller (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), p.106.

79 Jaques Lacan, *Benim Öğrettiklerim*, trans. Murat Erşen (İstanbul: MonoKL Yayınları, 2012).

80 Lacan, *Four Fundamental concepts of Psychoanalysis*, p.115.

enjoyment for initiation into the social, there is a residue of his/her unmediated self-experience that resists symbolization. As such, the subject is torn apart between the symbolic and the real in between which a constitutive void is opened in his/her psyche. The eye that looks attains an apparitional existence in his/her imaginary that bridges over the void. As an effect of the eye, the subject is constituted as split between the subject that looks and the subject that is being looked at. The subject that is being observed is the subject of representation, thereby resides in the realm of the symbolic. And the subject that looks is the object of his/her desire, which materializes the lack in the symbolic in the form of gaze.

Gaze is an organ imagined to exist in the field of the Other. It is the retrospective effect of the instatement of an insuperable abyss within the psyche between the object and the social subject by the representative instrument. It is *objet a* around which the scopic drive makes circular movements. Although possession and enjoyment of this imagined object -thus full enjoyment- is impossible, these incessant circular movements are productive of surplus *jouissance*.

Copjec constructs her conceptualization of gaze on her interpretation of Lacan's diagram provided above as well as the following quote from Lacan: "The gaze is that which 'determines' the I in the visible; it is 'the instrument through which . . . [the] I [is] photo-graphed.'²⁵,⁸¹ With a close reading, she recognizes that the word photographed is actually split into "photo" and "graphed" and she also reminds us Lacan's "graph of desire".⁸² This makes it possible to read the quote as "I am photo" and "I am graphed" (within the dialectics of desire) in a manner to

81 Copjec, "The Orthopoychic Subject", p.31.

82 Ibid., p.32.

understand how the subject is split in the visual field. However, for Copjec the visual field should not be reduced to the geometric dimension. In fact, the light in the geometric dimension encounters an opaque surface that is representation. It is because of the opacity of representation that the social subject imagines the gaze behind it. This analysis has several implications for an understanding of the show kitchen. First, if we are to assume that the culinary production in its artistic form is transparently available in the show kitchen for culinary consumers and/or producers, we are wrong. That is because its representation (the way it is engaged and displayed) is opaque. Therefore, the commodity of “the fine-dining experience” amounts to more than all the material constituents of the fine-dining restaurant including the spectacle. It is in excess of meaning constructed through fantasy. That brings me to the main problematic of my research about affect. The affective dimension of post-Fordist culinary production is this excess of meaning veiled behind the fantasy of culinary production as a form of art. Second, the gaze that is *objet a* of culinary producers should not be mistaken for the consumers (spectators) or even to be present in the dining room. Therefore, the engagement of educated cooks with culinary work does not rely on their representation as artistic, hygienic, polite, etc. in a deterministic manner. Culinary producers can never be fully attached to or fully imprisoned in the imaginary of culinary work as a form of art because even the most intense form of voyeurism fails to see the immaterial dimension behind the opacity of representation. And lastly, analysis of the materialization of the fantasy -of culinary production in its artistic form- both in the subjectivity of the cook *qua* artist and the architectural structure of the fine-dining restaurant necessitates us to examine the material and immaterial architecture as they overlap in the visual field diagrammed by Lacan. As Copjec asserts, vision is enabled by the

symbolic because a meaningful discursive construct that constitutes the immaterial architecture cannot be established merely on the grounds of the geometral dimension (that is the material architecture).⁸³

In this chapter, I have introduced the concept of fantasy in order to understand the organization of post-Fordist modalities of attachment to culinary work. I have analyzed the novel visual regime in the fine-dining restaurant as materialization of the culinary production as a form of art fantasy. In the next chapter, I will continue my investigation of culinary fantasies by focusing on narratives of love and self-sacrifice. I understand these narratives as a peculiar fantasy structure that takes love (for work) at its center. Close attention to love will make it possible to study singular and affective investments. Thus, I will have the opportunity to explore post-Fordist self-sacrificial labor for which the condition of possibility is the narratives of love that legitimize and normalize such self-sacrifice for work that reorganize affective investments. I will try to show that as work becomes the primary site of affective investments, self-sacrifice is enjoyed (in the Lacanian sense of the term). Thereby, I intend to demonstrate the psychic mechanisms behind immaterialization of the boundary between work and enjoyment that I consider as the benchmark of the transition to post-Fordism.

83 Ibid., p.34.

CHAPTER IV

IN THE NAME OF LOVE: SELF-SACRIFICE IN THE FINE DINING SECTOR

“We are beings born of surplus-pleasure, as a result of the use of language... It is language that uses us. Language employs us, and that is how it enjoys.”

-Jacques Lacan

Didem: Remember, I have talked about Chef A.?... When I first started to work at R., R. was the first restaurant where I was employed after my training, he did... I never forget that. “Your wrists”... It was wintertime; I had a pullover on me. He said, “Open your wrists”. Then I opened my wrists like this, I showed him my wrists. This is my first burn and at the time, it was new. My wrist stuck to the pan while I was pan-frying. Of course we first talked, and then I opened my wrists and he saw this. He reached out his hand (for a handshake) and said “good luck”. This is how I began (to work). We have a saying. They say, “You have caught (have been contaminated with) the trade” when you are burned or so.

Me: You have caught the trade?

Didem: They say “you have caught the trade” or “the trade has intruded”. I mean, if you cut your hand, or something like that, they say, “the trade has intruded”.

The original idiom in Turkish that I translated into English as “you have caught (have been contaminated with) the trade” is “meslek bulaştı”. The subject in this sentence is “meslek,” which means trade, job, occupation or profession. The verb is “bulaşmak” and it denotes (for a disease) to contaminate, and to stick. The idiom suggests that when one has a scar or burn as a result of an occupational accident in the professional kitchen, that person is contaminated with the trade of culinary work as if it is a kind of disease –that maybe caused by contamination with an “alien” organism- or the trade sticks to him/her as if it is a stain. The second idiom that Didem introduces is “meslek girdi”, which I have translated as “the trade has

intruded”. “Girmek” is a Turkish verb that means to enter, to intrude. As Didem’s examples make clear, the idiom is used when an accident such as a cut is caused by an intrusion in body of an instrument used in production. These two idioms signify one’s initiation to culinary work and their enunciation declares one’s recognition as a cook. As such, they illuminate the psychic mechanism behind engagement with culinary work.

As the reader would remember, in analyzing the idiom “the taste of your hand,” I have argued that culinary work has an immaterial surplus that materialized. I have further suggested that this material surplus could be understood as surplus *jouissance*, which Erol imagined to be enjoyed by “a cook *qua* artist” with whom he identified. I suggest that we approach the idioms “you have caught (have been contaminated with) the trade” and “the trade has intruded” in the same analytical manner. This will help us understand the contagious or intrusive aspect of culinary work as surplus *jouissance*, i.e. the surplus in the subjectivity of “a cook *qua* artist”. This would also explain the gesture of handshake and expression of goodwill by Chef A. that celebrates the catching of the trade, i.e. smear of *jouissance*, as the indicator of becoming a cook.

The idioms “the trade has intruded” and “you have caught the trade” refer to an accident that results in physical pain and that leaves its mark on the body. This shows that in the imaginary of culinary community the subjectivity of the cook has a non-visual material surplus that sticks to culinary utensils and is transmitted to cooks-to-be upon their painful contact with these inanimate objects. Therefore, such accidents are considered as an initiation ceremony into the community of culinary workers.

It is noteworthy that the chef who shook Didem's hand and wished her good luck is a trained cook from Bolu. Didem understood this gesture as the recognition of her being intruded with the trade (which looks like a reasonable inference). If we consider that Didem is a female educated cook, we can analyze the described scene as materialization of the qualitative shift in the fine-dining sector, which I have introduced in previous chapters. This qualitative shift included the social construction of culinary work as art and institutionalization of the commandment to enjoy work.

Remember, I differentiated post-Fordism on the grounds that its ideological script constructs work as the primary site of affective investment. I further suggested that Lacanian conceptualization of affect is crucial to analyze post-Fordist social project and affective labor. Such an approach would help us understand power as an authoritative call to "enjoy sacrificing enjoyment for work" within the psyche, which is constitutive of the affective laborer subjectivity. In this chapter, I aim to further elaborate on this Lacanian scheme in order to understand how culinary work is constructed as the primary site of affective investment and how *jouissance* is attained in the culinary sector.

Theorizing Affect Psychoanalytically: Prohibition and Enjoyment in Lacan

Freud asserts that when enjoyment of an object, person or act is prohibited by its declaration as a taboo, it comes to occupy the unconscious as object cause of desire and its pursuit is productive of affect. He further asserts that it generates emotional ambivalence toward the object of taboo. Freud writes: "He is constantly wishing to perform this act (the touching), [and looks on it as his supreme

enjoyment, but he must not perform it] and detests it as well.”⁸⁴ Hereby, he discovers that prohibition of enjoyment (*jouir de*) of an object is productive of an unconscious form of enjoyment (*jouissance*). Thereby, he provides us the theoretical antecedents of Lacanian psychoanalysis. In Lacanian discourse the tabooed object, the subject (of conscious and unconscious), internal necessity/instinctual desire, and affective charge are reconceptualized as, respectively, *objet a*, split/barred subject (or, the subject of desire), drive and *jouissance*. Of course, his theoretical effort cannot be reduced to resignifying what Freud has already discovered. His main success lies in his rethinking of the Freudian topographic analysis of the human psyche in a manner to weed out Freud’s tendency to biologize his findings.

Freud is interested in theorizing taboo because he wants to explore the incest taboo, which he considers as the organizing principle of the human psyche and society. Freud argues that the mother is the primary object of love on which an infant makes libidinal investment until the father intervenes to separate the two by introducing the prohibition of incest.⁸⁵ This is the first norm (or law) to which a boy⁸⁶ is subjected and it is maintained as an authoritative voice within the subject’s psyche. This prohibition separates the infant from the mother and forces him to give up on his narcissistic enjoyment. This leads to his identification with his father whom he envies for being the mother’s object of desire. Identification with the father constructs the subject as gendered (male) although the subject has an ambivalent affective disposition towards him. There are two conflicting calls within the psyche

84 Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, p. 34-35.

85 Sigmund Freud, “Ben ve I□d,” in *Haz I□lkesinin Ötesinde, Ben ve I□d*, trans. Ali Babaoğlu (I□stanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2011), p.93.

86 Freud theorizes Oedipus complex in different terms for male and female subjects taking sexual difference into account. I will not elaborate in its details in order not to deviate from the topic.

that commands him to “be like the father” (assume his position) and asserts “you can’t be like the father” (because you envy him).⁸⁷ Freud’s, topographic analysis of the psyche, locates the source of the prohibitive inner call in the superego⁸⁸, which is the site of internalized authority.

Lacan inherits duplication of the father (into the father as the protective figure and the father as the castrating figure) from Freud, although, he takes father as a metaphor for the incest taboo. Name of the Father, i.e. a signifier, stands for the prohibition of narcissistic enjoyment. Enunciation of this signifier initiates subjectivation by forcing the infant to mediate his/her experience through language, which opens an abyss in the psyche by failing to signify the totality of the subject’s experience. In pursuit of full enjoyment that is nostalgically imagined as loss of unity, subject seeks remedy in *objet a*. This leads the subject towards identification. However, as any identification fails to represent human experience in its totality, the subject is directed towards a series of identificatory acts. These identificatory acts are temporarily/partially successful owing to a material support. This support is called “partial enjoyment”⁸⁹ or surplus *jouissance* in Lacanian psychoanalysis. And, it is attained from the senseless repetition of an act in pursuit of *objet a* under the pressure of drives. Thus, a “passionate attachment”⁹⁰ to a social role is sustained by affect invested in *objet a*, and surplus *jouissance* attained from the activity of drives.

87 Judith Butler, *İktidarın Psikik Yasamı: Tabiyet Üzerine Teoriler*, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2005), pp.10-14.

88 Freud, “Ben ve İd,” p.93.

89 Jason Glynos and Yannis Stavrakakis, “Lacan and Political Subjectivity: Fantasy and Enjoyment in Psychoanalysis and Political Theory,” *Subjectivity* 24, no.1 (2008), p.262.

90 Katherine Gibson and Julie Graham, *A Postcapitalist Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), p.130.

In the light of the discussions and *objet a* as well as those on representation that I have previously made, we can suggest that a cook-to-be identifies with the representation of a cook, because s/he imagines *objet a* beyond this signifier. We have also seen that this identification implies affective investment on the subjectivity of cook and the circular movement of the drive around the identified representation produces surplus *jouissance*. But how are we to approach the concept of *jouissance* and account for affective investment? We know that *jouissance* is the remnant of the real that resists signification. And, Dollar warns: “that the real can never be dealt with directly, that it emerges only in an oblique perspective, and that the attempt to grasp it directly makes it vanish”⁹¹. As such, *jouissance* poses an impasse in signification. Therefore, in the following section I will concentrate on narratives of “love” in which affective investment is caught in signification

In the Name of Love: How Educated Cooks Attain Surplus *Jouissance*

“Love” has been a pervasive topic in my interviews and, I reason in the light of Lacanian studies that it is not a mere coincidence. As I have argued in the previous chapters, work has been narratively constructed as the most intimate object of love and the primary object of enjoyment in the post-Fordist era. The educated cooks with whom I talked, explained that endurance to hard working conditions, overtime, preparation for work outside the workplace, etc. would be unbearable if it was not for their love for cooking, for eating, or for the food and beverage sector. In some cases, such a love is claimed to have its roots in childhood or youth. For instance, Ozan said that one of the primary reasons behind his motivation to become

91 Ibid., p.21.

a cook was his fondness to eat ever since his childhood. He is a thirty three-year-old, middle-class Istanbulite graduated from a technical high school and a technical university. He worked in the automotive sector for five, six years but was not satisfied with his job. That's why he was in search of a new career that would provide international employability and would suit his interests. And he left his job for culinary education at MSA. He said:

I liked to eat. Ever since I was a small child, I used to experiment with cooking. My mother would leave home and I would take her recipes notebook. I would prepare cakes, savory pastry, etc. ... The thing I liked most about cooking is when somebody smiles after eating the dish we prepare, the best thing for me... I mean if they say thank you, it's nice. Other than that, cooking is nice. You always add something, taste it... I mean it's like *art*. (Emphasis mine.) To tell the truth, for me culinary work is an art. I have always wanted to engage in art but I could not be persistent either in music or in painting... We do not have much opportunity here but in some hotels, I've heard, the chef says 'take whatever ingredient you like and prepare something by yourself'. They (cooks in lower ranks) produce and present something new. If they (cooks higher in ranks) like it, it even gets included in the menu. That's a good thing.

After his four-months-long culinary education and four-months-long internship in a luxurious half-bakery, half- restaurant, he started to work in a fine-dining restaurant. Their weekly holidays are one day long, social rights are limited and hours of work are too long (around twelve hours on foot). Yet, he argues:

What I mean by freedom (that culinary work provides) is... If I wish, I can get on a plane and go to... Let's say India. I can find a job there, too... Since there is a night shift, not everyone would like to work (in my restaurant). I mean, sometimes I work for fifteen days in the night shift. It can cause problems of course... I mean it is not a job that you can do if you don't love it. I mean, if somebody becomes a cook without loving it and thinking that she will earn money, she will have a job, she cannot continue doing it. So, in our culinary school we were around forty students in two separate classes. Yet, now at most fifteen people are doing this job. The others have all quit. They either returned to their former professions or started their own business. But they may be successful, or not...

The theme of love is even more dominant in another interviewee's self-narrative. Orkun is a twenty nine-year-old, male, educated cook born in Istanbul and he used to be one of Ozan's colleagues at a fine-dining restaurant. Last year

he applied several restaurants abroad and moved to the USA upon his acceptance to a prestigious one. He frequently refers to his passionate love for his job in our interview. In fact, he legitimizes his choice for a culinary career on the basis of loving and enjoying the job:

To me, the most logical thing is to turn something you like into your means of subsistence, because you spend one third of your life or even more than one third of your life at work. Therefore it seems even more reasonable to do something you enjoy.

Having learned that love has been a decisive factor in his decision to pursue culinary career, I ask whether his thoughts and feelings about his job have changed after his six years of culinary work experience. He answers:

Of course, they have changed. I cannot tell you that I'm doing it with the same fervor... Furthermore, when I look around I do not see the same fervor, the same passion that we used to have in the beginning. You know, they say passionate love turns into compassionate love in relationships, that maybe it (the reason). But, nevertheless, it is very good to love things in a way. I think it brings quality and success to your work. But there is also a reality. You see that the conditions (in the culinary sector) are too bad. You work under these conditions and there is only one body that belongs to a human. I mean you cannot change it that much. That's why I can say that I lost my initial fervor. But if you ask me if I love my job, (I would say) yes, I do. Otherwise, am I so crazy to do such things, (work) miles away (from home)? Most people tell me "how adventurous you are!"... When I look back, I have ventured into an adventure. I tucked my life in two suitcases, left everything behind, and here I am! And what is this for? Is it for money or for fame? No, not at all! It is out of *love*. (Emphasis mine.) This is done for the sake of *love*... I call this *love* for food and beverage, nothing else.

As is seen in the excerpt, Orkun claims that he is in love with culinary practice and that he wanted to turn it into his source of income. In time, his passionate love becomes compassionate love due to unpleasant conditions of work. Irrespective of the kind of love he has for his job, a theme of "sacrifice" underlies the narrative of "love" in Orkun's engagement with work. He says:

From my current position, I have been doing this (culinary work) professionally for six years; I also consider it (my job) as a source of income, a way of self-subsistence. That is to say, today when I am taking a business decision, I do not

evaluate it exclusively on the basis of my emotional gain... I also look at it from the side of financials. Of course, I am not sure to what extent passionate love survives as passionate love when materiality (money) is involved. But, at the end of the day, I think that I have tremendously sacrificed myself in the name of the work I do. So, I do not know...

The following quote from Žižek helps me understand why sacrifice accompanies love in Orkun's narrative:

In this sense love is, as Lacan pointed out, an interpretation of the desire of the Other: the answer of love is 'I am what is lacking in you; with my devotion to you, with my sacrifice for you, I will fill you out, I will complete you.' The operation of love is therefore double: the subject fills in his own lack by offering himself to the Other as the object filling out the lack in the Other - love's deception is that this overlapping of two lacks annuls lack as such in a mutual completion.⁹²

Žižek argues, and Orkun exemplifies, that love and sacrifice as a pair is at the basis of identification. This phenomenon makes its presence felt in the interviews with educated cooks, which are replete with different forms of self-sacrifice from unpaid work to overwork, from endurance to physical suffering to toleration of sexual harassment. Didem's experiences provide another example:

I have been granted a scholarship from X culinary school. There, I was trained in pastry. At the same time I was working at a fine-dining restaurant. It was a hard period of time... I was working in weekdays from 8.00 a.m. to 12.00 a.m. (sixteen hours)... I attend school on weekends, but how do I do that? I leave work at 01.00 a.m. on Saturday. The following day, I go to school and spend my whole day at school. I leave the school and arrive at work. I leave work at 2.00 a.m. on Sunday. Normally, I am free on Sunday but I go to school. I spent such an extraordinarily busy period... We (students at culinary school) have to undergo training to deserve graduation. But, it is very different to be a trainee in our sector. They really fag you out... In my first training I began with cleaning the toilets... Although in the beginning I said I wouldn't do it, I later decided to do it because of that passionate love, that ambition.

Didem's case was exceptional for the fact that she not only self-sacrificed out of love but also "loved" the disciplinary mechanism that institutionalized obedience and self-sacrifice. I ask her: "You say that you are in love with your job now. How did you come to love it so much? Where, and doing what? Could you please explain it

92 Žižek, "Che vuoi?," p.363.

more?” She answers:

... I did not have any idea about my culinary skills, what I would do in the kitchen, the hierarchy in the kitchen –I am a person who loves it hard-, that hierarchy, that lifestyle... By the way, I always say that cooking is maybe 30% or 40% of being a cook, ok? Being able to cook... Being a cook is something totally different. Being a cook is discipline, responsibility, hierarchy, as I said, it is a totally different world... You might cook very well but you might not handle it. You might not be self-disciplined. You might not be responsible. If so, you cannot do anything. You cannot be successful. In the kitchen, that’s what I liked. I mean that order... I am all about the system. I liked that order, that system.

As is apparent in Didem’s account, in the fine-dining restaurant love legitimizes self-sacrifice, which is a norm in the sector. In some cases educated cooks are introduced to this norm in the culinary school (as I learned from Ozan), in others at the very start of their career. Erol recites: “First, I had a trial day. I worked with other cooks. We worked as regular. Then, during the job interview they asked questions like: Can you do hard work? We have flexible working conditions. Are you ready for this kind of job?” When I ask Erol why more workers are not employed to improve their work conditions he answers: “They say that the hotel does not attract so many consumers. They claim that they do not have enough budget. We are always expected do sacrifice.”

In the sector, self-sacrifice implies obedience to work place norms, hierarchies and commands of the cooks higher in rank. (And, affective investment lies beneath all these attitudes towards culinary work.) The fact that restaurants are highly hierarchical organizations is a common knowledge and it is normalized in culinary circles. Although not preferable, hierarchy and disciplinary mechanisms constitute a crucial aspect of culinary work for Ezgi, too. She recalls that she was critical of such a power structure at first, but normalized and even reproduced it in time.

Ezgi is my classmate from the university and she is twenty-six years old. She worked in the banking sector for three years. In our interview, I asked her about the process through which she became a cook and she conveyed the following narrative. While she was working in the banking sector, she realized that she enjoyed cooking for her loved ones at home. Her interest in culinary practice became serious as she started to learn new cooking techniques and make culinary research as a hobby. As she experimented with new recipes and gained praise for her cooking, her desire to open her own restaurant as an alternative to waged work strengthened. She went to culinary school X (the same school where Ozan and Didem attended) in Istanbul. She was in her period of professional training when I conducted the interview. She says:

In our kitchen, the chef reprehends (us) all the time. We work close to the clients and they hear him shouting, “where the hell are those salads”. He does not mind. While we are cooking there is not a joyful atmosphere. He shouts “those salads will be here in five minutes”.

Me: You said that your chef is tough. Can you explain it more?

Ezgi: Let me explain. Our chef is... He does not need to tell you anything. His look is enough (to express his anger). You get flurried. He is a tough person. He does not tolerate delay, slowdown, acting slowly. When you are slow, he asks: “What are you doing? How old are you? Are you seventy? How slow are you?” For instance today, he caused me cut my hand. We were slicing meat with my friend. He asked: “Aren’t you done with that?” I was responding “We are about to finish, chef” and suddenly I realized that I cut my hand. This is how he makes me feel. He is a good person. Tough.

I ask Ezgi what metaphor she would use to define her culinary experience. She says:

Military service. I did not do it. But as far as I have heard about military service, it is similar. They do not want you to question much. There is a way to do something. You are expected to do it that way. Actually, you get so used to it that I, myself find that more reasonable. For instance, sometimes people join us (in the kitchen) for a few days. There was a girl; she came to the patisserie today. She asks, “Why are we using this knife instead of that one”. I say “Is it up to you to decide?” Why? Actually she is just sharing her opinion. But I say, “It is sliced

like that. You will slice it like that”. You do not have the time to question in that moment. Am I making sense? Will you use bread knife, or the other? You will slice it with bread knife. I mean there are rules similar to those of the military... There is not much flexibility. Although I do not know much about the military, when I recount these to my husband (who has been to military service recently), he comments that it resembles.

Association of culinary work with military service in Ezgi’s imaginary is actually not a unique phenomenon. For instance, Erol says: “But you cannot use your creativity in any way when the chef is around. If he did not tell you to do so, if he did not let you do what you want... It is like the military in a way; he has the final word. That is to say, he concentrates all authority in his hands.”

Hitherto, I have shown that educated cooks employ narratives of love to give meaning to their desire to work in the culinary sector. These narratives are coupled with an emphasis on their self-sacrifice. The current conditions of work in the sector impose a strict hierarchy and obedience to workplace norms and orders by superiors. Educated cooks find these work conditions to be comparable to the conditions of the military service. However, they normalize, legitimize and even enjoy them. Žižek’s conceptualization of love helps me understand enjoyment (*jouissance*) attained from the repetition of senseless activities such as slicing bread with a particular knife and obedience to even the most mundane workplace norms. For him, love is the state of the social subject in the face of the Other. By trying to figure out the desire of the Other, the social subject self-sacrifices by doing whatever s/he thinks would please the Other, although the Other’s call is in excess of meaning. One does not know why s/he carries out certain tasks, but one repeats them in an effort to become the Other’s object of love. This repetition emanates from the pressure of drives to capture *objet a* and is productive of surplus *jouissance*. I suggest that this is the psychic mechanism behind normalization of hard work to the extent of physical and psychical

impoverishment in the fine-dining sector. Let me turn to Erol in order to have a sense of what is conceived as hard work by culinary laborers.

There are routine works in the kitchen. And there is always insufficient number of workers. And some tasks are more important than others. You need to realize what these are. And you need to figure out who would do which task better and faster than others... You have to finish a lot of work with a limited number of people with the least amount of failure... And people... The kitchen is a stressful place. People fall upon each other. You have to also pull it to the least possible frequency with stress management, on the other hand. (...)

This is a physiologically hard work. I don't think I will be able to do it too long. In this rhythm, I mean.

Me: What is your desired age (of retirement)?

I don't have such a goal.

Me: Then, do you have a prediction?

I might be able to continue until the age of forty-five, forty-six. I don't know.

In order to better understand the physical and psychical impoverishment that leave Erol with less hope for his future career, I would like to convey Esin's words on how cooks are gradually impoverished:

When you work so hard and have only one free day in a week, (what are you supposed to accomplish,) would you rest your aching legs, would you do housework, would you spend time with your family, or else would you see a dentist? I can't do anything. It's really inhumane! For instance, realize that no cook in Turkey has healthy teeth. They lose them all... Go abroad and see... Not only the teeth, everything they have... They have healthy bodies, fit. I mean you see a cook here, (who is) normally 40 years old. But he looks like a 60 year-old. This already shows the quality of your life.

In her search for the opening to social change in Lacanian psychoanalysis, McNulty proposes a more nuanced reading of love in psychoanalysis.⁹³ As opposed to the general conception of love as the offering of the self to the Other's enjoyment, McNulty claims that it is a maneuver that the social subject makes to get rid of the anxiety provoked in the face of the Other's lack. She argues that the sacrificial act, in

93 Tracy McNulty, "Demanding the Impossible: Desire and Social Change," *Differences* 20, no.1 (2009), pp.1-39.

fact was an attempt to figure out if the Other could be pleased by what the subject has to offer.⁹⁴ Therefore, it was carried out in an effort to stage the “fantasy of seduction”⁹⁵ which helped veil castration through, what Žižek calls, symbolic identification (that is identification with representation).

Becoming “a Cook *qua* Artist”: Beyond the Pleasure Principle

Through an interpretation of the Mosaic religion and the Gospels, McNulty develops the argument that religious history provides an example for traversal of the “fantasy of seduction”. The first step in this direction is taken by the constitution of the law of circumcision by Abraham’s offering of a “little piece of flesh sliced off”⁹⁶ to the God. For McNulty, Lacan saw in this act the renunciation of the effort to fulfill the lack in the Other. Therefore, rather than giving positivity to the lack –as *objet a* would do- the sliced flesh inscribed the Law onto the body in a manner to come to terms with castration. The second step was taken by Jesus when he adopted a manner of speech that by exposing the lack in the symbolic (the Other’s call) invited his followers to take responsibility for their own constructions of reality. Thereby, he not only acknowledged the lack in the Other, but also embraced death drive. McNulty writes:

In deflecting attention away from the all-powerful God and onto the lacking Other of speech, Jesus also offers a new understanding of love: not the narcissistic love at stake in identification, but a “love for truth” that supposes a

94 Ibid., p. 15.

95 Ibid., p. 24.

96 Ibid., p. 16.

confrontation with castration and death.⁹⁷

The “love for truth”, is the sublime form of love, which McNulty differentiates from love in the form of seduction. In the latter form, love functioned in the register of imaginary where it is constitutive of a fantasy that made the pursuit of *objet a* meaningful. And its object was a supposition of the Other’s desire, thus did not pose a challenge to the symbolic. In the former, the object of desire is the product of one’s encounter with the lack in the Other. Similar to the clinical experience, by traversing the fantasy, one comes to assume the impossibility of an object that would fulfill the lack.⁹⁸ Therefore, the narcissistic form of enjoyment based on imaginary identification gives way to identification with lack. For McNulty, this is the way to produce a subject as a novel space that alters the symbolic, even though it is not a “conscious” project. That is to say, political projects with ideals are productive of imaginary identifications and doomed to failure in terms of a structural change whereas identification with lack, rather than its material substitute, is the condition of possibility for intervention into the social, political, and historical.

Jonathan P. Eburne argues that such a structural transition in culinary production emerged as result of three-star chef⁹⁹ Bernard Loiseau’s suicide in 2003 that marked a shift in gastronomic discourse.¹⁰⁰ The event turned the attention of food writers from culinary tastes (or culinary consumption) to what Eburne calls “the

97 Ibid., p. 26.

98 Ibid., p. 24.

99 Three-star refers to awards allocated by the French company Michelin to fine-dining chefs and restaurants. The company publishes a restaurant reference guide, i.e. Michelin Guide, which is world-renowned.

100 Jonathan P. Eburne, “the Chef Drive: Cooking Beyond the Pleasure Principle,” *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies* 14, no.2 (April 2010), p.169.

compulsions of the kitchen”¹⁰¹ (or culinary production). They developed hypotheses about the possible reason(s) behind his suicide: his being at the edge of losing a star, “total confusion between private and professional life”¹⁰², his bipolar disorder coupled with the hard conditions in the culinary sector, etc. Eburne is interested in developing a psychoanalytical understanding of his suicide so as to provide a better grasp of the psychic mechanisms behind the current regime of production in the sector, rather than verifying one of these speculations.¹⁰³

According to Eburne, Bernard Loiseau’s suicide illustrates the perversion of a cook *qua* artist driven with a desire for perfectionism. He suggests that among fine-dining chefs, there is self-imposed suffering due to their will for success. He writes:

The feu sacré of the chef -the passion that compels one’s very adequation to this culinary economy- thus has less to do with pleasure than with a kind of love that can best be described through perversion. Irrational, destructive, and even sacrificial, what I call the chef-drive, designates an occupational compulsion.¹⁰⁴

Eburne further claims that this compulsion was manifest in his pursuit of “an abstract principle of culinary perfection”¹⁰⁵ which he designates as a “tyrannical law”¹⁰⁶.

Appropriating the psychoanalytical discourse, Eburne conceptualizes this compulsion as “chef-drive”, which is productive of surplus *jouissance*, feeling “alive and charged”¹⁰⁷ in his words. He claims that this surplus is produced in everyday culinary practices that cooks repetitively enact. From his discussion on drive, surplus *jouissance*, and repetition, Eburne passes on to the psychoanalytic notion of death

101 Ibid., p.169.

102 Ibid., p.169.

103 Ibid., p.169.

104 Ibid., p.171.

105 Ibid., 172.

106 Ibid.

107 Ibid., p.173.

drive. For him, professional culinary practice is an act of sublimation as it starts from the pleasure principle in pursuit of the signifier of perfection but ends up in its beyond where a chef is immortalized with the “pure signifier”¹⁰⁸ of Michelin star¹⁰⁹ at the expense of his/her biological life.¹¹⁰ As such, “chef-drive” stands for a particular form of death drive peculiar to high caliber culinary workers.

I prefer to scrutinize Eburne’s discussion as he focuses on self-sacrifice in the culinary sector that has become a yardstick in assessing the love and dedication for culinary work. This phenomenon is peculiar to the post-Fordist era in which culinary production is conceived as an art and self-sacrifice is normalized as the manifestation of strong affective attachment to culinary work. Therefore, this section tries to entangle the relationship between love and self-sacrifice to the degree of self-destruction introduced in the previous section. Before I turn to Eburne’s article, let me provide a brief introduction to the concept of death drive, which is the main pillar of his analysis.

In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* Freud encapsulates the paradox of drives in his assertion that “the aim of life is death”¹¹¹. He categorizes drives into life drives (Eros) and death drives (Thanatos) as two opposite compulsions within the psyche. His analysis of life drives is crucial to follow the development of the concept through his and Lacan’s writing. For him, life drives seek a stasis by eradicating the stimuli

108 Ibid.

109 Esin explains the importance of a Michelin star, which is earned with very hard work as follows: It takes a life to earn that star. Furthermore, if you look at its history, it is a process consisting of two life times since it starts with the mother... It is not about a status. There is a strict discipline and formidable amounts of labor.

110 Ibid.

111 Freud, “Haz İlkesinin Ötesinde,” p.48.

that moves the subject towards the object of desire. He writes:

The dominating tendency of mental life, and perhaps of nervous life in general, is the effort to reduce, to keep constant or to remove internal tension due to stimuli (the 'Nirvana principle', to borrow a term from Barbara Low) – a tendency which finds expression in the pleasure principle; and our recognition of that fact is one of our strongest reasons for believing in the existence of death instincts.¹¹²

We learn from this excerpt that in the last instance all drives are death drives. But Freud leaves us half way in trying to figure out how we can qualify an act as embrace of death drive. Lacan provides us the necessary conceptual tools by suggesting that such an act can be differentiated by symbolic death. One embodies (or, incarnates) death drive when s/he is displaced from the symbolic. For this reason, the moments of biologic and symbolic death should be differentiated, although in some cases they coincide.

We can trace back the Lacanian concepts of biological and symbolic death to Freud's conceptualization of castration as illustrated with the mythical primal horde. In search for unison with their primary object of enjoyment, i.e. the mother, the brothers in the primal horde kill their father who hinders their full *jouissance*. However, they engage in a war against each other after the parricide because each of them wants to keep the mother for himself. This struggle (to death) is resolved with a convention, which introduces the incest prohibition. Therefore, the biological death of the father results in his immortalization in the form of a law around which the social is organized. For Lacan, the lesson to be learned from Freud's mythical primal horde is that one needs to distinguish between biological and symbolic death. In the case of the parricide in the primal horde, we are presented a biological death that

¹¹² Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1962), p.55 – 56.

results in symbolic immortalization. However, Lacan shows the possibility for the opposite situation (symbolic death) by introducing Antigone. By refusing the law instituted by Creon prohibiting the burial of her brother, Antigone embraces symbolic death, therefore is considered as the embodiment of death drive by Lacan.¹¹³

To turn to Eburne's article on the culinary sector, in the case of Bernard Loiseau, we have a biological death, which immortalizes him in the symbolic as the three-star chef. (Remember he was about to lose his Michelin star just before he died. If he did not commit suicide, he might have lost it.) Therefore, what Eburne, uncounsciously, does is to drench Loiseau in the semblance of the sublime. That is to say, Eburne reproduces what McNulty conceptualizes as fantasy of seduction. As Eburne himself makes explicit, Loiseau identifies with Michelin stars as his image in a manner to self-sacrifice. Eburne concludes his article by arguing that "the chef-drive" culminates in performance of culinary practice as a form of art. I engage in a critique of Eburne in order to make a crucial point: "the culinary practice as a form of art" is a fantasy narrative in the form of fantasy of seduction, which occupies the social imaginary in the post-Fordist era. Within this narrative, cooks give meaning to their identification with "cook *qua* artist" for which they self-sacrifice and endure hard conditions of work. My ethnographic data confirms Eburne's findings on the current conditions of culinary work and reveal a cross-contextual parallel between fine-dining sectors. We also share the theoretical ground of psychoanalysis in our studies. Nevertheless, our analyses diverge at two critical points. First, I argue that cook *qua* artist (as is incarnated by Bernard Loiseau) follows the pleasure principle

113 Jacques Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book VII: The Ethics of Psychoanalysis*, trans. D. Porter (New York: Norton, 1992), p.281.

rather than embracing death drive in his/her struggle for perfection. That is to say, the self-sacrificial gesture is made to secure one's place within the symbolic (it is Michelin stars for Loiseau, titles and ranks for my informants). Second, I do not see a radical historical break with the past in Bernard Loiseau's suicide. On the contrary, it is a spectacle among a chain of others that materialize culinary work as a form of art. Having discussed my first argument let me now turn to the second.

Gary Alan Fine, to whom Eburne refers in his article, defines culinary work as a "performance art"¹¹⁴ and "aesthetic production"¹¹⁵ in his fine-dining restaurant ethnography written as early as 1996. At his time, professional kitchens had a "reputation for being brutal, loud places"¹¹⁶ and cooking was still a low-paid, low-skill, "backstage occupation"¹¹⁷, unlike today.

Central to my analysis is the artistic character and definition of work, a rare concern in much social-scientific discourse. Food preparation incorporates four human senses: sight, smell, touch, and taste. Typically sound is not dramatically evident in food, but in the case of a sizzling steak, a bowl of Rice Krispies, a crisp apple, or crunchy stalk of celery, some measure of auditory enjoyment is tied to mastication (Vickers and Christensen 1980). Food involves more sensory dimensions than any other art form, except, perhaps, the "art" of love.¹¹⁸

Notice that the precursors of the marriage between cuisine and love are already present in Fine's discourse.

In the light of Eburne's and Fine's categorization of culinary work as a form of art, as well as the other examples I have conveyed throughout the thesis, I claim that a cook *qua* artist self-sacrifices to become the object of the Other's

114 Gary Alan Fine, *Kitchens: the Culture of Restaurant Work* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), p.179.

115 Ibid., p.13.

116 Ibid., p.224.

117 Ibid., p.185.

118 Ibid., p.179.

desire. His self-sacrificial gesture out of “love” is in pursuit of full *jouissance*. This spectacle materializes the fantasy of culinary practice being a form of art, which is passionately performed. Thereby, it is comparable to the performance in the show kitchen of an educated cook in Turkey passionately attached to his/her social role as a cook *qua* artist.

To conclude, in this chapter I have approached *jouissance* as it is caught in signification. Narratives of “love” guided my analysis in understanding the psychic attachment of culinary workers to their current positions in the socio-symbolic. Love (for the Other) constituted educated cooks as subjects of desire as they entertained seduction fantasy. Identification with their representation (as cooks who love their job which is a form of art) materialized in performances of self-sacrifice to the extent of annihilation. These performances were in accord with the fantasy narrative of culinary arts that has become hegemonic in Turkey in 2000s. This fantasy made organizational restructuring and ever-expanding self-sacrificial labor of culinary workers meaningful to the culinary community. The relationship between love (for culinary work) and self-sacrifice manifests emotional ambivalence towards the object of desire (subjectivity of the cook *qua* artist) that is crucial to understand affective attachment to work. The educated cooks, whose experience has been conveyed in this thesis, continue to invest in culinary work in spite of physical and psychical suffering. This proves that Hardt and Negri’s sharp distinction between positive and negative affects (discussed in the second chapter) is problematic and insufficient to explain affective attachment to work, thus the affective dimension of labor. On the other hand, Lacan with his concept of *jouissance* provides a more nuanced understanding of enjoyment.

According to Lacan, the social subject engages in painful acts in so far as the partial drives produce surplus *jouissance* in their repetition although pure pleasure (satisfaction) is impossible to attain.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I aim to make a contribution to the post-Fordist literature by rethinking the concepts of immaterialization of labor and affective labor through Lacan by exploring the neo-liberal transformation in the fine-dining sector in 2000s in Istanbul. In the post-Fordist literature immaterialization is defined as incorporation of an immaterial dimension (either affective or cognitive) into a commodity by changing the processes of production.¹¹⁹ As for this thesis, I suggest that we analyze immaterialization and the affective dimension of labor by focusing on the blurring of the boundary between work and enjoyment, which has already been emphasized in the post-Fordist literature.¹²⁰ Inspired by Todd McGowan's hypothesis in the *Societies of Enjoyment* that organization of society around the prohibition of enjoyment was replaced with the domination of the superegoic imperative to enjoy, I hypothesize and try to demonstrate that transition to post-Fordist regime of production is marked by the replacement of commandment to sacrifice enjoyment for work with the commandment to "enjoy (your) work".¹²¹ Thereby, I invite the readers to conceive the boundary between work and enjoyment as the law (the symbolic) that

119 Hardt, "Affective Labour," p.96.

120 Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth* (Cambridge and Massachusetts: the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), p.134; Schultz, "Dissolved Boundaries and 'Affective Labor,'" pp.77-82.; Mauri Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," in *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, ed. Paolo Virno et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp.135-136.

121 McGowan, *The End of Dissatisfaction?*, p.34.

separates the social subject from the object cause of desire, and rethink post-Fordist subjectivity by focusing on how s/he relates to enjoyment.

For this aim, I try to elaborate on how Freud and Lacan theorize respectively the relationship between prohibition/law and enjoyment. Freud argued that prohibition produced an unconscious possession of the prohibited object and an affect that emanated from this possession.¹²² As I discussed in the fourth chapter through the concept of gaze, Lacan retheorized this relationship between prohibitive law and enjoyment. He argued that the void opened in the psyche by the symbolic made it possible to imagine *objet a* behind the image; the social subject identified with the image in an effort to capture this imagined object in the register of the real; and drive circled around this object, which is impossible to obtain, in a manner to produce surplus enjoyment. Hereby, he asserted that the law is the condition of possibility for enjoyment, while its blurring suffocated enjoyment and caused the social subject to suffer anxiety in the face of the lack in the Other. As I have discussed in the first chapter, this theorization laid the ground for McGowan's analysis of neoliberalism as the blurring of the law that instituted a barrier between the social subject and his/her *objet a*. However, as I have illustrated with Didem's experience of anxiety in trying to perform the role of the happy host, today the commandment to sacrifice enjoyment for work is transformed into a superegoic commandment to enjoy work, rather than withering away. If we are to understand the symbolic as a boundary (between the social subject and *objet a*), we can see that it is reconfigured rather than being blurred. Nevertheless, this reconfiguration is based on the blurring of the boundary between the concepts of work and enjoyment in the

122 Freud, Totem and Taboo, p.38-42.

imperative to “enjoy (your) work”. We have learned from Lacan that the superegoic imperative to enjoy also suffocates enjoyment.

I would like to underline that my argument is not that the commandment to “sacrifice enjoyment for work” has become impotent, or -to rephrase in Lacanian terms- that the symbolic mediation between the social subject and the real has dissolved. On the contrary, I try to demonstrate in this thesis that the law has become “enjoy sacrificing enjoyment for work”. That is to say, the social imaginary has been restructured through fantasies that point at work as the primary object of desire, and social subjects have identified with their images in these representative apparatuses. This conclusion is drawn from the narratives of love and sacrifice for culinary work prevalent among educated cooks. I analyzed these discourses as fantasy narratives that articulate love for culinary work with the conception of culinary labor as an artistic production and culinary laborer as an artist. By giving voice to my interviewees and paying special attention to the idioms they adopt in an effort to give meaning to their culinary work experience, e.g. taste of your hand, I claimed that the fantasy of love for work manifest itself in the fantasy of “culinary production as a form of art” in the current culinary sector in Istanbul. In the fourth chapter, I investigated materialization of this fantasy in the subjectivity of the educated cook who identified with the representation of “cook *qua* artist” and the architecture of the fine-dining restaurant.

In 2000s a novel architectural trend of the show kitchen has been adopted. Thereby, the visual space within which production is realized has been restructured. I borrow the concept of “visual field”¹²³ from Copjec to signify the space where the immaterial and material architecture of the restaurant overlap, and the representation

123 Copjec, “The Orthopsyche Subject”, p.35.

constructed with the material architecture set a boundary between the social subject and his/her *objet a*.¹²⁴ Here, the function of the show kitchen is to open a space where cooks can perform their work as a form of art, and thus, to constitute the material basis of identification of the cook with his/her representation as an artist. I also suggest that the image of the cook as an artist is also enriched with his/her qualification as hygienic, presentable, polite, happy, etc. Following Copjec's discussion on gaze I argue that the cook who identifies with this representation believes that there is a gaze behind the representation and his/her desire is directed towards this imagined gaze rather than believing that the representation coincides with him/herself. Therefore, the role of material architecture is crucial in the formation of the subject and his/her relation to enjoyment (*jouissance*) to the extent that it makes possible for the subject to imagine an object of desire in the realm of immaterial architecture.

With this discussion, I finish yet another circular movement around the concept of enjoyment (*jouissance*). Enjoyment is one of the main pillars of this thesis because it has two significant effects on the production of social phenomena: first, it has a central role in the constitution of the subject as it provides the material support for identification and the stuff of affective investment. On the other hand, it constantly displaces the social subject as *objet a* never coincides with or is incorporated into representation. Second, as desire is directed to something beyond the symbolic, the socio-symbolic is constantly reconstructed. Therefore, this thesis, which is in pursuit of enjoyment in the Lacanian sense of the term, claims that the key to understand both reproduction and displacement of post-Fordism is to

124 Copjec, "The Orthopsyche Subject", pp.35-36.

conceptualize enjoyment as a dimension of affective labor as well as taking affective investments into consideration, as they are constitutive of the laborer subjectivity.

APPENDIX A

ORIGINALS OF THE QUOTATIONS IN TURKISH

ESİN (Page 4): O kadar ilginç ki bu sektörde insanların kullandığı sıfatlar bile kendi kültürleriyle özdeş. Mesela Türkiye’de Usta derler. Çünkü bu ahilik teşkilatı gibi, babadan oğula geçiyo, böyle yıllarca atıyom bulaşıkçılıktan başlayıp, bütün yükünü çekip, tamamen astın üstü ezdiği bi sistemle gelişen bi şey. Şimdi şimdi eğitililerle bu yıkılıyor. Oysa ki yurt dışında da bi takım böyle ast- üst ilişkileri var. Ama orda senin yeteneğine göre belirleniyo bu. Ve de sana orda kimse usta-aşçı demiyo. Şef diyo.(...)

Hayır yani mesela adam diyelim ki sıcakta çalışıyo, yılların makarna ustası mesela. (öfkeli, yüksek sesle anlatıyo) O adam belli şeyleri yapardı, tamam mı? Şunu da yapayım, şunun şurasını da yapıyım, hayır ben- Yani onun gözünde kendisi bi numaralı makarnacı. Oysa ki meslek öyle bi meslek değil yani. Makarnayı bilen tatlıyı da bilmeli, tatlıyı da bilen ötekini de bilmeli. Anlatabiliyo muyum? Veya sen el etmelisin, göstermelisin. Adam öyle bi şey ki bunlar sadece bende, ben sadece istediğime el ederim, istediğim benim arkamdan gelir. Böyle bi düzen yok! Yani ben Ahmet’ten daha yetenekli olabilirim, Mehmet benden daha yetenekli olabilir. Aynı kulvarda çalışıyosak mutlaka artı eksilerimizi de değerlendiririz. Hangimiz iyiysek o yükselir. Olması gereken budur yani. Ama onlarda öyle değil. Bu şey aynı ahilik sistemi gibi görüyo. Yani babadan oğula geçcek. O baba, kendi oğlunu seçcek. Ve mümkün olduğu kadar da kendini riske etmeyen birisini seçiyo zaten. Çünkü ilerde o onun için problem olmamalı.

ORKUN (Page 5): Bolulularla problem yaşamamak çok kolay değil. Bi de şey onlarda bi paylaşmama, bilgiyi paylaşmamak lazım, paylaşsaksak bilgiyi kaybederiz diye bi zihniyet var. Tamamen yanlış bi şey. Bilgi paylaştıkça artan bi şey. Paylaşmadığın sürece bi şey kazanamazsın. Veya bi reçete istediğin zaman bi Boluludan o reçeteyi değiştirir, verir sana... Bu geleneksel yıllardır saklanan reçete alan filan. Bi de neyi yıllardır saklıyosun? Hani böyle çok Osmanlı reçeteleri falan filan şeyleri vardır, saklanır, verilmez filan...

Son dönemde ne kadar değişti bilmiyorum ama benim dönemime baktığımda şimdi bi kere işe başladığım dönemde içerde tabii Bolulu hakimdi... Şimdi bunlar aile şirketi gibi böyle yok onun kayınçosu, yok onun bilmem nesi hep beraber çalıştıklarından, çok enteresan bi şey var bunlar birbirlerinin kuyusunu kazıyolar... Ama söz konusu böyle bi Bolulularla ilgili bi şey olsun, bi ne biliyim, bi sataşma bi şey olsun, o bütün söylediği pislik şeyler bi anda unutuluyo. Bi anda sanki abisi kardeşi falan... Yine çekirdek aile bir araya geliyo. Tekrar böyle birbirlerini tutma oluyo. Ve hani terfi almada falan da bi konuda birbirlerine yardım ediyolar.

ESİN (Page 5): O en son çalıştığım aşçı olarak, özel aşçılık yaptığım iş yerinde kendi İtalyan restoranları vardı. Oraya hani patronlarım oranın yemeğini çok sevdiği için bana dediler ki “Esin hani sen de bi kaç gün git gör mutfağı, ordakilerini bize yaparsın”. Ben de tamam dedim. İlk gün... mutfak bölüm şefleri gelmeye başladı bi tanesi geldi işte tanıştık... Ondan sonra gitti ordaki komi çocuğa koca bi kasa dolusu cherry domates getirtti. Benim önüme cherry domatesleri yığdılar... şeyi ölçüyolar, hızlı mıyım... veya hani bunu biz bunun eline dolıyalım, ayağımızın altında dolaşmasın, zaten kız, bi işe de yaramaz ... sürekli benim ismimi yanlış söylüyo. Hande Hanım diyo. En sonunda ben dedim ki “karıştırıyosunuz her halde ben Hande değilim. Ben Esin”. Dedi “siz işte mimar bilmem kim değil misiniz”, işte “A. Hanım’ın mimarı. Mutfağı merak etmişsiniz.” “Yoo”, dedim, “ben işte bilmem kimin evinde, yani patronunuzun, evinin aşçı...” deyince, adam böyle, halen daha aklıma geldikçe gülüyorum, bembeyaz oldu. Sonra döndü komi çocuğu bi haşladı. “Bugün bu kadar da cherry domates ayıklamıcaktık, niye bu kadar çıkarttın?” diye. Sonra birden böyle bütün cherry domatesler önümden kalktı. Yani sonra denemeye başladılar, bıçak nasıl tutuyorum... kendimi kenara çektim. Sadece kenardan durdum durdum yazdım... Ve gün sonunda adam bana normalde hayatta vermezler... Onların namusu gibi bi şey. Çünkü onlar öyle sanıyolar ki o reçete gittiği zaman kedinin yetenekleri, yani onların orda olmasını sağlayan sebepler ortadan yok oluyo. O yüzden reçete onlar için çok büyü şey, sır. Ve adam günün sonunda şey dedi “biliyo musun” dedi “biz” dedi “bu reçeteleri almak için yıllarca burda ter döktük” dedi. Bu bana yapan aynı adam. “Biliyorum” dedim. “Ama işte” dedim “siz ordasınız ben burda”. Bu onun hayatı boyunca mesela unutmıcağı bi cümle. Çok acı bi cümle onun için. Ama böyle. Oysa ki sonra o reçeteleri kaç kere yaptım evde? Birer tur hepsini denedim. O kadar. Şu anda arşivimde duruyo. Onun on katı daha değerli, yani şefimin özel reçeteleri var.

ORKUN (Page 6): Şimdi Türkiye geneline baktığımda hala daha, ben zannetmiyorum son dönemde çok değiştiğini, yani Bolulu adamın gelebileceği en yüksek nokta sous-chef işte. İngilizce biliyosa o da. Ben Bolulu olup da Türkiye’de executive chef olan tanımıyorum, duymadım. Vardır da lahmacuncu Ahmet ustanın executive chef 'idir. Fine-dining'in başında ex. chef olup, Bolulu olan ve eğitim düzeyi düşük olan ben pek bilmiyorum. Ve olamaz da, yapamaz. İşte bu yüzden de insanlar hep böyle insanlar hep executive chef 'leri falan yurt dışında ithal ediyolardı. Son dönemde insanlar da bunu anladılar. Çünkü yurt dışından ithal ettiğin zaman şef, bi dezavantajı var, e şefe biraz daha fazla para vermen gerekiyo. Çünkü adam hani international pozisyonuyla çalışıyo. Adam kendi ülkesinde dolar euro falan görüyo. E burda da şimdi ona o şekilde para ödemek lazım. E o adam gelince bi de ona ev açıcaz, bilmem ne yapıcaz, bilmem cart curt e yani aynı paraya dört bin misal dört bin euro'ya adamı burda çalıştırırken biz dört bin tl verelim, okullu veya bi tane böyle MSA bilmem ne mezunu bi tane çocuk bakalım. Şimdi insanlar ona bakıyolar. Son dönemde de gördüğüm kadarıyla dışardan executive chef getirmek cazip gözükümüyo. Maddi anlamda en azından. Çünkü alternatifleri çoğaldı.

ESİN (Page 7): İlk ayrıldığımda mesela MSA yeni kurulmuştu. Ve ben hani böyle biraz birikmiş param vardı, o zaman annemle babama söyledim. Onlar delilik gözüyle baktılar. Evli bi kadın, gelicek işte ondan sonra burda okucak falan. Ondan sonra olcağı şey aşçılık. Onların kurdukları cümleleri bile hatırlıyorum. Öyle hep içimde kaldı kaldı. (...)

Çünkü son on yılda çok ciddi bi adım atıldı. Bi şeyler, bi kabuk değişimi var. Bu kabuk değişimiyle kastedilen ne? Bundan öncekiler, bundan önce bu meslekte zaten belli bi eğitim seviyesinin üstünde kimse yok. Yani geçerli bi meslek değil. Hiç bi anne baba çocuğunun aşçı olmasını istemiyo. Onlar için belli üniversitelerde okunup, o diplomalar alınıp, oralardan para kazanılabilir. Onlardır meslek. Dolayısıyla sektör kime kalıyor? Aşçılık meslek yüksek okullarında okuyanlar ki meslek okullarında okuyanlar... Ha bunun tek bi istisnai kısmı vardı: Bolulular... Bolular diye bi kavram var ki o da tamamen işte hasım ilişkileriyle birbirlerini bi yerlere gelip bi yerleri bi yerleri işte yüksel... Çünkü şey yani onlara göre aşçılık şu, nası olsa bi yumurta bile kırıyosan girersin, orda da üç yıl beklersin, beş yıl beklersin. Bi şekilde bi yerlere gelersin.

EROL (Page 8): O anlamda bi köprü görevi görüyoruz yani. Teknik eksikliğimi, evet o şeyle dil bilme artışıyla veya laftan daha iyi anlama artışıyla veya yol yordam bilme, adama daha çok yardımcı olma veya adamın ruh halini daha iyi, kısa sürede kavrayabilemmin artışıyla, o bi artı puan sağlıyo bana evet.

DİDEM (Page 17, 36): Mesela ben bugün, hani buraya geldiğim zaman çok acayip sıkıldım. Anladın mı, böyle çok kötü hissediyodum kendimi duygusal olarak... Ama burda öğlen servisi başladığı zaman maske takıyosun hani ve öyle davran... Ve bugün şunun isyanını yaptım. Bu arada sana çok açık konuşuyorum. Bunları böyle söylemem lazım aslında da. Artık o role de girmek istemiyorum. Sürekli böyle olabilir misin yani? Oluyodum. Ondan sonra, şey böyle erkek arkadaşımla konuşuyoruz, olmak istemiyorum yani, istemiyorum falan modundayım böyle. Ondan sonra o da bana şey dedi mesela “senin işin bu”. Ben hiç burayı iş olarak görmüyorum. Yaptığım şeyi iş olarak görmüyorum. Ama öyle bi noktaya geldim ki bana dank etti. Senin işin bu. Sen bundan para kazanıyosun. Ve yapmak zorundasın. Hiç öyle düşünmemiştim. Çünkü iş olarak görmediğim için. İlk defa öyle düşündüm. İlk defa o düşünce beni topladı. Evet ben öyle yapmak zorundayım.

ESİN (Page 19): Burda aşçılık emekleme safhasında. Yani çok ciddi bi dönüşüm var. Ben bu dönüşümü çok önceden görebilen insanlardandım. O anlamda şansım... A belki gerekli kararları zamanında alamadım ama böyle bi şeyi gördüm ama üzülerek görüyorum ki bu öyle bi poh pohlanıyo ki bazı okullar, ve bunun önde geleni MSA, mesela her yaz dönemi veya işte eylül döneminde çarşaf çarşaf ilanlar veriyolar, reklamlar yapıyolar. Bizden çıkan herkes iş sahibi falan. Yani buna iş gözüyle, yani o diploma eşittir para değil. Bu böyle bi meslek değil çünkü.

EROL (Page 23): - Peki oranın şovunda kadınlar mı çalışıyo, erkekler mi?

EROL: Valla orda daha fazla kadın var bi kere çalışan. Eskiden öyle değildi. Eskiden Bolulu usta da daha çok fazlaydı. Yaşlı Bolulular çok vardı. Eski,

“Koca Usta” tabir ettiğimiz adamlar vardı. Şimdi yeni yapılanma oldu, mutfakları değişti işte, tadilata girdi vs. Restoranlarının ismi değişti. Şimdi onları ekarte etmişler bi kere. Şov mutfakta o eski ustalardan hiç biri yok bi kere. Onları içerlere kapatmışlar. Geri plana atmışlar ve daha çok ayak işleri... Bezdirme politikası uyguluyolar şu an onlara, şey değişsin diye.

-Kadroyu mu?

EROL: Kadro yapısını değiştirmek için. Çünkü yüksek tazminat ödemeleri gerekiyo işten çıkardıkları anda onlara. Öyle bi politika güdüyolar şu an. Dışarda daha çok genç, sanırım okullu... Gördüğüm, iki günde gözlemlediğim bunlar, tanımıyorum hiç birini de. Ama yani genç bi kere yirmili yaşlarında insanlar var ve yarı-yarıya yarısı kadın, yarısı erkek yani. Ama öyle özellikle bi dağılım yapılmış mı yapılamış mı bilmiyorum. Ama o Bolulu ustalar arka plandaydı ben gittiğimde. Ki eskiden bunlar çok yırtıcı şey tiplerdi ve yeni gelenlere kök söktüren adamlardı bunlar. Şu an roller değişmiş yani şeyde, o G.'in mutfağında.

-Bu eskiden dediğin, kaç yıl içerisinde böyle bi dönüşüm oldu.

EROL: Eski şef bu dönüşümü sağlamaya çalıştı iki yıl içerisinde.

Başaramadı. İşte bir senedir yeni bi şef var orda. Toplam üç yılın falan eseri herhalde bilmiyorum. Üç yıldır böyle bi şeye uğraşılıyo yani.

-Bunu, siz uğraşıldığını duyuyo musunuz? Yani nerden haberdar oluyosun.

EROL: Biz hissediyoruz ya. Veya eşim de orda çalıştığı için hani ordan biliyorum da ben kısmen ama sonuçta hissediliyo yani böyle bi şey olduğu.

DİDEM (Page 24): R.'de ben ilk orda kahvaltıda başladım... Kahvaltı büfesinde başladım. Kahvaltı büfesinde çalışıyodum misafirle yüz yüze. Orda şey omlet tezgahı vardır dışarda, misafire direk yaptığın. Ondan sonra orda bayan istiyolar, hani hem yabancı dil bilen. Çünkü çok yabancı misafir var. Çok eğitime gidiyoduk R.'de. Sürekli eğitim eğitim eğitimdik. Ve mutfakla alakasız eğitimler. Misafir ilişkileri eğitimleri. Ona çok önem veriyolar. Bayan olmasına, presentable olmasına... Ve bayanları genelde mesela orda yeni stajyerlerden bayanları hep büfeye alırlar, dışarıya.

Footnote 28 (Page 24): “Mutfakta Bayan Aşçımı var”

Mutfağımıza son yıllarda rağbet gösteren bayan aşçılarımız. Eski yıllara baktığımda bırakın bir bayanın mutfakta çalışmasını mutfakın önünden geçmez idi ama son yıllarda mutfaklarımızda gerek okullu gerek dışarıdan bir çok bayan arkadaşlar çalışmakta. Bu mutfağımız adına çok sevindirici. İşini severek yapan araştırmacı, hedefi olan hırslı arkadaşlar var. Mutfakta ki havayı da değiştirmişlerdir bu arkadaşlarımız. Bölümler arasında konuşma ve davranış adabında çok yapıcı oluşumlar olmaktadır. Yalnız biz chefler özeleştirir yapacak olur isek bu arkadaşlarımıza gereken güveni ilgiyi vermiyoruz göstermiyoruz. Bayan aşçılarımıza da gereken güveni ve desteği vermemiz gerekmektedir. Biliyorum ki önümüzdeki yıllarda çok iyi konumlarda bayan aşçılarımız olacaktır. Tesislerde Chef olarak ta göreceğiz. Benim tavsiyem bayan aşçılarımıza hedeflerinden vazgeçmesinler iyi bir Chef olmak için mücadele etsinler. Devamlı araştırmacı ve yenilikçi olsunlar.

ESİN (Page 25): Yani ben oraya girdiğim zaman yani Türkiye'nin sayılı otellerinden birine girdim. Oraya girdiğim zaman zaten dışardan inanılmaz bi önyargı

vardı bana. “İzmir’den evli bi kadın gelmiş. İtalya’dan eğitim almış. Aşçıyım diye geziniyo.” Kocasını nerde? Kocasını yok, falan. İnsanların kafasında olsa bile dillendirmiyolardı.

FULYA (Page 28): Hıhı. Niye? Çünkü müşteri senin yanına geldiği zaman iki çift laf edebileceksin. Özellikle mesela M.’nin müşterisi %90 yabancıydı. Biri geldiği zaman S. ona ne dicesin? Hem hıhım yapar böyle. Doğru düzgün konuşamaz edemez. Kıçını kaşır yaparken hani. Yapar yani. Aşçılar öyledir çünkü. O yüzden daha böyle presentable, daha müşteri ile diyalog kurabilecek, daha anlatabilecek, hikayesini anlatabilecek, şu malzeme nerden geldi? Meraklı olucak.

ESİN (Page 31): Şef olmak bambaşka bi şey. A’dan Z’ye bütün mutfakları bilmek, o görgüyü bilmek, vizyon sahibi olmak...Bi kere inanılmaz bi entellektüel alt yapıları var. Yani hakaten dünyadan dünyayla entegre o adamlar. Dünyayı geziyorlar. Her şeyi, yani politika siyaset, genel kültür, her alanda donanımlılar. (...)Yani bu sadece bi meslek değil, para kazanma şekli değil. Bu bi yaşam tarzı. Yani sen A’dan Z’ye her şeyini, ailenle, etrafınla, gününün er anında o meslekle ilgili bi şey yapıyorsun ve onu yapmaktan mutlu oluyorsun. Ne meslek senin önüne geçiyo ne sen mesleğin önüne geçiyorsun. Kendi hayatını da onun için entegre edebildiğin bi şey.

EROL (Page 47): Aşçılık bi kere yaratma süreci yani. Kısmen sanat dalı da diyebiliriz ama ne biliyim o garip kaçıyo bazen. Zaten üniversitedeki bölümler güzel sanatlar fakültesi altında. Yaratma süreci olduğu için eğlenceli bi iş zaten. Yaratıcılığını kullanabileceğin, kendini ifade edebileceğin bi iş. Yemek yapma işi zaten güzel bi iş. İnsanları doyurma hissi güzel. Yaptığın işin sonucunu anında görüyorsun. Şeyi geri dönüşünü anında alıyorsun, o da güzel. Güzel yanları bunlar yemek yapmanın, aşçılığın...

-Peki aşçılığın sanat olması meselesiyle ilgili sen ne düşünüyorsun? Birazcık bahsettin ama biraz daha açar mısın?

EROL: Yani tekniklerin hepsi öğrenilebilir. Pişirme teknikleri vs. Norma bi insan da öğrenebilir. Bir sene içinde hepsini öğrenirsin. Teknik olarak hepsinden haberin olur. Reçeteler var sonuçta. Ona da uyarısın, başından sonuna kadar uyarısın ona da. Aynı pişirme tekniğiyle pişirirsin, aynı reçeteyi yaparsın. Ama iki insanın yaptığı şey bire bir aynı olmaz. Hiç bi zaman olmaz yani. Resimde müzikte şeyde de öyledir. Orda işte insan faktörü devreye giriyor. Öğrenilcek bi şey değil. İnsanın içinde ya oluyo ya olmuyo. Onu da ben ifade edemiyorum. İşte elinin tadı diyolar. Öyle ifade edilir o. O elinin tadı olayı sanata daha çok yaklaştırıyo yani bu mesleği. İnsani bi şey yani bu çok. O güzel.

- Mesela sizin mutfakta kimlerin elinin tadı var sana göre? Veya sen kendin için bunu düşünüyo musun?

EROL: Ben kendim için bunu düşünüyorum, evet.

FULYA (Page 51): Bütün arkadaşlarım uluslararası ticaret istiyordu bayağı yüksek puan diye. Ben de “iyi taam ya, iyidir heralde” falan diyip, bayağı da yüksek puan yapınca uluslar arası ticarete girdiim. Ondan sonra ilk dersten anladım ki hiç bana göre bir şey değilmiş, yani hiç değilmiş. Yok muhasebe yok

bilmem ne pazarlama. “Ya ben n’apıyorum burda” dedim ilk daha ilk senede... Belki sosyoloji falan olabilirdi ama şimdi düşünüyorum, aslında şimdi tabii veterinerlik falan okurdum ama yani Boğaziçi Üniversitesi’nde bilmiyorum ne okurdum yaa. Heralde sosyoloji falan okurdum... Ama kesinlikle Boğaziçi Üniversitesi’nde okurdum, o ayrı. Zaten hep söylüyorum Boğaziçi Üniversitesi’ne iyi ki girmişim çünkü S. ile tanıştım, bizim S. var ya dağcı. Onun sayesinde mağaracı oldum. Zaten üniversiteyi kurtaran o oldu... Ama hiç sevmeyerek okudum hiç sevmeyerek okudum yani... O kadar hiç ben değilim ki! Neyse, son sınıfta da şöyle sıkıntılarım vardı. Üniversiteyi bitiriyorum. Artık bi şey yapmam lazım, bi şeye karar vermem lazım. Bi yandan babam deli gibi ısrar ediyodu hani Trakya’ya gelin, işlerin başına geçin. Ben hiç istemiyodum... Hani eğer öyle yaparsam hayatımdan tamamen hayatımdan vaz geçiyomuşum, vaz geçmiş gibi olacaktım gibi hissediyodum. İşte hep böyle bi uzaklaşmak, kaçmak varı aklımda. Bi de üniversitedeyken ben bi exchange ayarlamak istiyodum Meksika’ya... Hani üniversiteden sonra gidiyim diyodum ben de. Hani bi kafamı dağıttım. Ama işte aynı zamanda da bi master yapsam iyi olur diyodum hani boş boş gitmek yerine... Yani genelde işte sosyoloji master’larına bakıyodum. Aklım hep şeye gidiyodu programlara bakınca Food and Culture, Food and bilmem ne, Food Antropology falan bi şeyler. Ulan dedim madem işte böyle merak ediyorum, bari gidiyim aşçılık okuyum dedim. Ondan sonra Meksika’ya çok baktım, bulamadım... Ondan sonra baktım ki Meksika’da okullar çok pahalı, ondan sonra Arjantin’de bu okulu buldum. O da çok ilginç geldi. Mausi Sebess (Instituto internacional de artes culinarias Mausi Sebess) diye bi okul. Buenos Aires’te. Gastro okulu yani, bi senelik öyle. Ondan sonra tamam dedim ya ben buna bakıyım, bi sene kalırım, kafamı dinlerim, eğlenirim, ondan sonra, sonra yaparsam yaparım dedim. Oraya gittim, çok hoşuma gitti. Hem ordaki insanlar çok kafaydı. Aşçılık ya tamamen farklı bi şey... Evde öyle kendine, arkadaşlarına yemek yapmakla alakası yok. Sürekli koşturuyosun falan böyle. Çok zorlandım ilk başta. Bi de hiç bilmediğin bi terminoloji... Üniversitede çalışmadığım kadar ders çalıştım orda... Ondan sonra işte o bi sene çok güzel geçti. Ben de büyük hayallerle geldim şeye, İstanbul’a. Çok isteyerek geldim.

-Yani aslında aşçı olmayı kafana koymamıştın, merak ederek gittin, sonra aşçı olmaya karar verdin?

FULYA: Orda karar verdim. Çok hoşuma gitti orda. Bi de şeydi, bizim bi grubumuz vardı orda. Böyle sürekli beraber takılıyoduk, sürekli yemekler yapıyoduk. Orda bir iki işte de çalıştım çok kısa süreli. Yani dışarıya yemek yapmıştım falan böyle. Ne, Buenos Aires Üni. Sinema bölümü öğrencilerine böyle catering gibi bi şey yapmıştık falan. Çok eğlenceliydi. Ben de tabii öyle devam etçek sanıyodum. İstanbul’a da o hayallerle geldim falan. Sonra şeyde, bizim Se. var ya mağaracı, işte o bi yerde çalışıyodu Marmaris’te. İlk başta döndüğüm zaman onun yanına gittim, hani böyle staj gibi. İki hafta kalmıştım. İki hafta mı, üç hafta mı... O da çok keyifliydi. Mutfakta sadece üç kişiydik. Oh dedim, ne iyi demek ki gerçek mutfak da böyle. Herkes çok iyi anlaşıyo birbiriyle. Safim benim. Ondan sonra, işte sonra, ordan da gene gazı aldım. Tamam, dedim, sevdim ben bu işi yaparım.

ESİN (Page 55): Şimdi şöyle bi şey var, bu renovasyondan sonra zaten açık mutfak haline gertirdiler. Bütün mutfak aslında show mutfağı oldu. Zaten o yüzden de çok büyük sancılar vardı otelde. Çünkü ustaların hepsinin yabancı dil bilmelerini istiyolardı. Yabancı dil bilen de biz sadece üç kişiydik. Otelde baksan yirmi beş-otuz tane en aşağı usta var. Benim çalıştığım show, çok eski dizayn. Tamamen bire bir fiil açık değil. Yani ben açıkta duruyorum ama benim orda ne yaptığım ne ettiğim gözüküyodu. Bar gibi düşün. Dolayısıyla ben görsel olarak sadece orda varım. Ama şu anki mutfakların dönüşümündeki show, açık mutfak, başka bi şey. O zaten Avrupa'dan gelen bi şey. Şu anda Avr.'da fine-dining ve Michelin starlı bir sürü restoran insanları mutfağa daha inter-aktif bi şekilde sokuyo. Yani kişi gelip masada oturmuyo. Show mutfağında, aynı bi barda oturup barmenle sohbet eder gibi bar yani dizaynlar öyle, oturuyosun ve şef senin gözünün önünde yemeği yapıyo. Bendeki daha farklı bi modeliydi. O anlamda entegre değildim zaten. Masalardan daha uzaktım. Anlatabiliyo muyum? Geçiş bölümü var. Restoranın her noktasından algılanmıyodum. Farklı biraz daha. Şimdiki haline gitmek lazım işte. Z restoran, hatta geçen hafta açıldı. Ona bakmak lazım. O tamamen bu yeni trend show mutfağı. -O yeni trend ne kadar zamandır var sence? Sen takip ediyosundur.

ESİN: Valla o bi ... Ben bu işe başlayalı üç-dört yıl oldu. Ondan bi kaç sene öncesinde... Ya ben bi çok Avrupa'daki ..?. restoranın ona dönüştüğünü biliyodum. Ünlü Michelins starlı şefler falan o şekilde hazırlıyolardı. Hatta şöyle mesela restoram değil de bi salona giriyomuşsun gibi, küçük mesela on kişilik masa, büyük masa, orda da hemen bi mutfak var. Yani sanki bi evinde ağırlyomuş gibi. Şef orda yapıyo. Yani bizdeki gibi böyle otuz, kırk, elli, altmış kişilik restoran değil onlar zaten. Bayağı A'dan Z'ye her şeyinde dialog da kurabiliyosun, göre de biliyosun, oturup işte arkadaşlarınla vesaireyle konuşa da biliyosun. Benim ilk bunlar duyduğum zamanlardaki konsept bu şekildeydi gördüğüm. Ama o tabi başka bi şeyi işin. Ben o kadar takip etmedim, incelemedim. Bakmak lazım şu anda trend nereye doğru gidiyo.

EROL (Page 57): -Peki şovu biraz tarif edermisin? Nası bi yer şov?

EROL: Müşterinin görebileceği mutfak var, açık mutfak. Yemekler orda pişiyor.

-Yalnızca sen mi varsın şovda, başkaları da var mı?

EROL: Başkaları da var. Şef de geliyo. Üst rütbeli şefler de geliyo sipariş olduğunda.

-Ama normalde arkada görünmeyen bi kısımda-

EROL: Var.

-mı duruyolar?

EROL: Evet. Ya aşağıda da mutfak var. Ana mutfak var. Orda duruyolar veya ofisinde de duruyo şef. Aa o şov mutfağın arka tarafında hazırlıkların yapıldığı yani yemeklerin çıktığı, ara sıcakların çıktığı yer var. Orda show kitchen'da ızgara var. Izgarada etler falan çıkıyo. Ana yemekler çıkıyo.

-Peki şovda senin müşterilerle her hangi bi temasın oluyo u?

EROL: Arada sırada oluyo.

-Mesela neler oluyo? Nası oluyo?

EROL: Ya neyi nası yemek istediğini söyleyenler oluyo, bu işten anlayanlar oluyo. Etimi şöyle istiyorum, az pişmiş istiyorum, çok pişmiş istiyorum. Veya şuna şunu koyma diyo, direk sana söylüyo. Garsona değil de. Veya neyi nası pişirdiğini bakmaya izlemeye gelen meraklı müşteriler oluyo. Onlar izliyo yani.

OZAN (Page 57): - Sen çalıştın mı şovda?

OZAN: Yok. Ya bi kaç kere kahvaltıda omlet yaptım.

-Orda çalışmanın bi farkı var mıydı senin için?

OZAN: e tabi biraz daha şey oluyo insan ya. Ne biliyim mutfakta daha rahatsın. Mesela omleti çevirdin işte ne biliyim omlet kıvrıldı, onu mutfakta elinle düzeltebiliyosun. Ama orda elinle onu düzeltme şansın yok. Veya işte biraz ortalıkta olduğum için daha dikkatli olman gerekiyo... Daha düzenli olman gerekiyo.

-Peki müşterilerle her hangi bi ilişki, iletişim, sözlü olmasa dahi...

OZAN: Oluyo. Oluyo tabii.

-Nasıl bi ilişki var orda?

OZAN: Genelde şöyle oluyo, büfeyi tamamlamaya çıkıyoruz kahvaltı büfesini... İşte o tamamlama esnasında müşteri geçenlerde fruit salad vardı, onun şeyini çok beğendi içinde ne olduğunu sordu. Mesela “bunu nasıl yapıyorsunuz, içinde neler var?” .. Beğenmiş orda öyle bi dialog geçiyo. İşte içindekileri söylüyoruz.

-Peki mesela orda güler yüzlü olman gerek gibi şeyler söyleniyo mu sana?

OZAN: aynen. Var. Tabii söyleniyo. Geçenlerde hatta şikayet gelmişti çalışanlar biraz somurtuyo ediyo falan. Ya bizle alakalı olduğunu zannetmiyorum, garsonlarla alakalıdır. Yine bize bu uyarı geldi. Çünkü biz de oraya çıkıyoruz. O insanların içinde dolanıyoruz. Orda dolandığımız için orda bi dialog da oluyo. Tabi adamın suratına somurtup, hiç bi şey söylemeden de olmuyo açıkçası. Yani güler yüz insanlar bekliyo.

FIRST COMMERCIAL (PAGE 58): Şefleri sahneye çıkaran şov mutfağı... ile ödüllü Restoran X, sizleri bekliyor. □

SECOND COMMERCIAL (PAGE 59): ...Restoran Y’de özel misafirlerinizi Şef ile birlikte ağırlayabileceğiniz “Kitchen”... (de dahil) olmak üzere beş ayrı konsept bir arada sunuluyor. Ayrıca Y’nin dünya çapındaki şeflerinin misafirlerin önünde hazırladığı yemekler, adeta interaktif bir şova dönüşüyor.

DİDEM (Page 65): A. Şef demiştim ya?... İlk R.'ye gittiğim zaman, R. ilk çalıştığım yerdi stajdan sonra, hiç unutmuyorum şey yapmıştı. “Bileklerini...” Kışındı, benim üzerimde kazak vardı. “Bileklerini aç,” demişti bana. Ben de bileklerimi açmıştım böyle, bileklerimi göstermişim. Şu benim ilk yanık izim ve o zaman daha yeni yakmışım. Tavada ... yaparken, tavaya yapışmıştı. Tabii konuştuk, ondan sonra bileklerimi açtım, bunu gördü. Elini uzattı böyle, “hayırlı olsun” dedi bana. Böyle başlamışım ilk mesela. Bizde şey derler, “meslek bulaştı” derler, ondan sonra, yanınca filan.

-Meslek bulaştı?

DİDEM: Meslek bulaştı, meslek girdi derler. Hani elin kessen, bi şey olsa falan “meslek girdi” derler.

OZAN (Page 71): Yemek yemeyi seviyorum, küçük yaşlardan beri hep böyle uğraşırdım yani. Annem evden giderdi, annemin şeyini tarif defterini ordan alırdım. Kek, poğaça cart curt yapardım yani... Ya aşçılıkta benim en çok sevdiğim o çıkardığımız yemeği birisi yediği zaman yüzü gülüyorsa benim için en büyük şey yani. Devamlı işte onu katıyosun, bunu katıyosun, işte tadına bakıyosun. Sanat gibi yani. Zaten bana göre aşçılık bi sanat. Bu zamana kadar ben hep sanatın bi dalıyla uğraşmak istemişimdir ama ne biliyim çok istikrarlı olmadım ne bi müzik şeyinde ne bi resim, bi tiyatro şeyim olmuştu, girişimim olmuştu. Burda çok şansımız olmuyo ama bazı otellerde mesai bittikten sonra şef diyomuş ki işte kafanıza göre ordan malzeme alıp, kendiniz bi şeyler yaratıp, bi şeyler üretip sunuyolarmış. Beğenirlerse bu menüye bile girebiliyomuş. Bence bu güzel bi şey.

OZAN (Page 71): Özgürlük şu açıdan ya kafama eserse ben burdan atlarım uçağa farz et nereye gidiyim, Hindistan'a gidiyim. Ya orda da yeni bi iş bulabilirim... Gece shift'i olduğu için şimdi herkes gece çalışmak istemez. Yani yeri geliyo bazen on beş gün gece çalışıyorum. Biraz sıkıntı yaratabiliyo tabi. Gündüz yat, akşam gece işe git falan. Ama tabi işte biraz zor. Yani sevilme yapıcak bi iş değil. Yani sevmeden sırf para kazanıyım, işte bi mesleğim olsun gibi uzun sürdüremez yani başlasa da birisi. Ki bizim aşçılık okulunda hafta sonu grubu olarak biz kırk kişi falandık. İki sınıf halinde. On kişiden anca on beş kişi yapıyodur bu işi. Geri kalanların hepsi bıraktı. Ya eski iş yerine döndüler, kendi yerlerini açanlar oldu ama mesela yürütebilir, yürütemez...

ORKUN (Page 72): Sevdiğin bi şeyi kazanç ya da ekmek teknen olarak yapmak bence en mantıklı olan şey. Çünkü nerdeyse hayatın 1/3'i, hatta nerdeyse 1/3'ünden fazla işte geçiyo. Bu da zevk aldığın bi şey yapmak daha da mantıklı gibi gözüküyo.

ORKUN (Page 72): Değişti tabii ya. Aynı ateşle bugün bu işi yaptığım söylenemez... Benim arkadaşlar çevreme falan da baktığımızda hani o ilk ateş o ilk aşk yok yani. Hani o belki hani aşk bi noktada sevgiye dönüşür denir ya ilişkiye falan da baktığımızda, tabii belki o noktaya dönüşüyo ama... Hakkaten ya yine de bi noktada çok bi şeyleri seviyo olmak güzel bi şey. Bu yaptığın işe kalite ve başarı getiriyo diye düşünüyorum ama yani şimdi realite kısmı var. Görüyorsunuz işte şartlar çok ağır. Bu şartlar altında çalışıyorsunuz. Ve bi tane insan bedeni var. Yani hani çok fazla değiştirmek mümkün değil. O yüzden biraz şey oldum, yani o ilk baştaki hevesimi yitirdim diyebilirim. Ama soruyosan seviyo musun yaptığın işi? Evet seviyorum. Yoksa manyak mıyım kilometrelerce, kilometrelerce uzaklarda böyle bi şeyi yapıyım... Yani insanlar bana da bazen şey diyorlar "ya çok maceraperestsin" diyorlar... Geriye dönüp baktığımda, evet çok maceraperest bi atılım yapmışım. İki bavullu, hayatımı iki bavula sokup, her şeyi arkada bırakıp, buraya gelmiş durumdayım. Ve bu ne, ne için, ne uğruna yani? Para falan, şan şöhret mi? Yo hiç öyle değil. Bu bi aşk üzerine. Bu aşk için gelinen bi şey... İşte ben de buna şey diyorum yiyecek-içecek aşkı başka bi şey değil.

ORKUN (Page 72): Ama bugün benim geldiğim noktada, işte yaklaşık altı senedir profesyonel anlamda bu işi yapıyorum, e şimdi bi noktada artık bi kazanç kapısı ve hayatımı karşılama noktası olarak da bakıyorum. Yani sadece sevgi diil, bugün bi iş kararı verdiğimde sadece manevi getirisinin yüksek olmasına bakmıyorum... Olayın maddi boyutuna da bakıyorum. Tabii yani olaya maddiyat girince ne kadar o aşk, aşk olarak kalıyo bilemem. Ama sonuçta ben yine kendimden çok büyük fedakarlıklar yaptığımı düşünüyorum yaptığım iş adına. O yüzden bilmiyorum yani hani...

DİDEM (Page 73): Bana X'ten burs verdiler. Ben orda pastacılık okudum. Aynı zamanda F.'de (bir fine-dining restoran) çalışıyodum. Baya zorlu bi süreçti... Hafta içi çalışıyorum ve sabah 8.00, gece 12.00 falan çalışıyorum... Hafta sonu okula gidiyorum, ama nasıl gidiyorum? Cuma 1.00'de çıkıyorum işten. Ertesi sabah okula gidiyorum. Ful okuldayım. Okuldan çıkıyorum işe gidiyorum. Gece 2.00'de işten çıkıyorum, pazar günü izinli işte. Ama onda da okula gidiyorum. Böyle anormal yoğun bi dönem geçirmiştım... Bizim diploma alabilmemiz için stajımızı yapmamız gerekiyo. Ama bizim sektörde stajyer olmak çok farklı. Hakkaten böyle başımı ezerler yani... İlk başta stajımı yaparken ben tuvalet temizlemeden başladım... İlk başta yapmam derken, o aşktan, dedim ki yapıcım yani, hırstan.

DİDEM (Page 74): Ne mutfakta yeteneğimi bilmem, naparım bilmem, o mutfaktaki o hiyerarşi, biraz da zor seven bi adamım, o hiyerarşi, o yaşam tarzı... Bu arada aşçılık yemek yapmak, hep söylüyorum, aşçılığın hani belki %40'ı falan,%30'u-%40'ı yani anladın mı? Yemek yapabilmek. Aşçılık çok başka bi şey. Aşçılık disiplin, sorumluluk, hiyerarşi, dediğim gibi çok başka bi dünya yani orası... Çok iyi yemek yaparsın ama ona katlanamazsın yani. O disiplinin yoktur, sorumluluk sahibi diilsindir, hiç bi şey yapamazsın, bi yere gelemezsin. Mutfağa gelince de bunu sevdim. Yani o düzeni... Çok sistem adamıyım. O düzeni, o sistemi sevdim.

EROL (Page 74): Önce bi deneme günü vardı zaten. Çalıştık diğer aşçılarla. Ne yapılyosa o gün içinde onu yaptık. Daha sonra mülakatta "ağır iş yapabilir misiniz? Bu çalışma şartları esnektir hazır mısınız bu tarz bi işe?" tarzı sorular sordular. (...)
Otelin çok fazla iş yapmadığı söyleniyo. Yeterli bütçelerinin olmadığı söyleniyo işte. Bizden özveri bekleniyo sürekli.

EZGİ (Page 75): Bizim mutfak şöyle, şef orda da azarlıyo orda da azarlıyo. Müşteri var orda, duyuyo adam ama "nerde bu salatalar" diye bağıriyo adam. Hiç böyle şey yapmıyo işte. Yemek pişiriyoruz, hahaha hihhi ortam yok böyle "beş dk. içinde önüme gelicek" falan diye bağıriyo. (...)
- Peki şefinden filan biraz bahsettin, sert olduğundan. Onu biraz daha açabilir misin?
EZGİ: Anlatıyım. Bizim şefimiz gerçekten böyle şey, hiç bi şey söylemese, sana böyle baksa yeten bi insan. Elin ayağın dolaşıyo. Şey bi insan, biraz sert bi insan. Böyle şeye falan hiç tahammülü yok, aksamaya, yavaşlamaya, yavaş bi şey yapmaya. Yavaş bi şey yaptığın zaman "n'apıyosun sen, kaç yaşındasın" falan diye soruyo, "70 yaşında mısın? Bu kadar bu ahestelik

falan...” Bugün mesela o... elimini kesmemin sebebi odur yani. Tam çünkü bi et falan doğruduk biz bi arkadaşım. “Hala bitmedi mi” falan dedi. “Bitiyi şef” falan derken kırt kendi elimi de kesmişim. Böyle bi his yaratıyo bende. İyi bi insan. Sert.

- Peki ordaki deneyim neye benziyo, bi şeye benzetecek olsan?

EZGİ: Askerlik. Bence yani yapmadım ama. Duyduğum kadarıyla o şekilde yani. Senin çok sorgulaman falan filan istenmiyo. Daha çok bi şekilde bi yolu var bi şey yapmanın. O şekilde yap isteniyo. Hatta o kadar alışıyoruz ki ona ben bile şu an onu daha mantıklı bulmaya başladım. Mesela işte yanımızda iki-üç günlüğüne bazen birileri geliyo. Bi kız vardı bugün pastaneye gelmiş. İşte “bunu niye şöyle bıçakla kesiyoruz da böyle bıçakla kesmiyoruz?” “Böyle kesiliyomuş işte, böyle kesçeksın” diyorum. O an o sorgulamaya falan vakit yok yani. Analatabiliyo muyum? O bıçakla mı kesilcek, ekemk bıçağıyla mı kesilcek? Ekemk bıçağıyla kesçeksın onu. Hani biraz böyle askerlik gibi kuralları var... Böyle esneklik falan çok yok yani... Yani çok askerliği bilmememe rağmen bazen eşime anlatırken aynı askerlik gibi falan gibi yorumlar alıyorum yani.

EROL (Page 76): Ama şef etrafındayken hiç bi şekilde kullanmazsın yaratıcılığını. Eğer kullan demediye, sana bırakmadıysa biraz askeriye gibi, son sözü o söyle. Bütün yetki ,etki onda yani.

EROL (Page 77): Mutfakta yapılacak sabit işler var. Ve sürekli az insan, az eleman var. Ve bazı işlerin önceliği var. Bu işlerin ne olduğunu sezmek, nerden hangi iş yapılmazsa ne tür zorluklar çıkar bunları sezmek gerekiyo. Ve o kısıtlı insanları o işlere yönlendirip kimin hangi işi daha iyi ve hızlı yapacağını sezmen gerekiyo... Kısıtlı insanla sürekli çok olan işi bitirmen gerekiyo veya işte en az fireyi vermek gerekiyo... Bi de insanlar, stresli bi ortam mutfak. İnsanlar birbirlerine girebiliyorlar. Bunu da en aza indirmen, sters yönetimini de yapman gerekiyo bi yandan...

Fiziksel olarak ağır bi iş. Çok uzun süre yapılabileceğini zannetmiyorum.

Aynı tempoyla yani. Şu anda çalıştığımız gibi çok uzun süre çalışılmaz.

-Peki sen mesela kaç yaşına kadar çalışmayı hedefliyorsun?

EROL: Öyle bi hedefim yok yani.

-Tahminin var mı peki?

EROL: Kırk beş-kırk altı yaşına kadar bu tempoyla gidebilirim belki.

Bilmiyorum.

ESİN (Page 77): Çünkü o kadar yoğun tempoda çalışıp haftada bir gün izin yaptığın zaman sen orda sızlayan bacaklarının ağrısını mı dindirceksin, evin işini mi yapcaksın, aileni mi göreceksin ya da ne biliyim ben dişini mi kontrole götürceksin? Hiç bi şey yapamıyosun. İnsani değil gerçekten! Mesela dikkat et, Türkiye’de çalışan hiç bir aşçının dişleri şey değildir. Sağlıklı diş değildir. Hepsini dökülmüştür... Yurt dışına git bak... Ya sadece diş değil insanların her şeyi... Vücutları zinde, fit, şey. Yani burda görüyorsun aşçıyı, adam normalde kırk yaşında, altmış yaşında gibi gözüküyo. Bu zaten senin yaşam kaliteni gösteriyo.

Footnote 109 (Page 81): Michelin star oluyo. Bi ömür ama yani o yıldızı almak. Hatta onun geçmişine de bakarsan, anneyle başlayan bi süreç olduğu için aslında iki ömrün sonunda veriliyo... orda aslında olay o verilen statüde değil. Onun akasında çok ciddi bi disiplin, çok ciddi bi emek var.

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