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BRIDGING THE 'TRADITIONAL' AND THE NEW IN THE NICHE MARKET

Bilkent University 2023

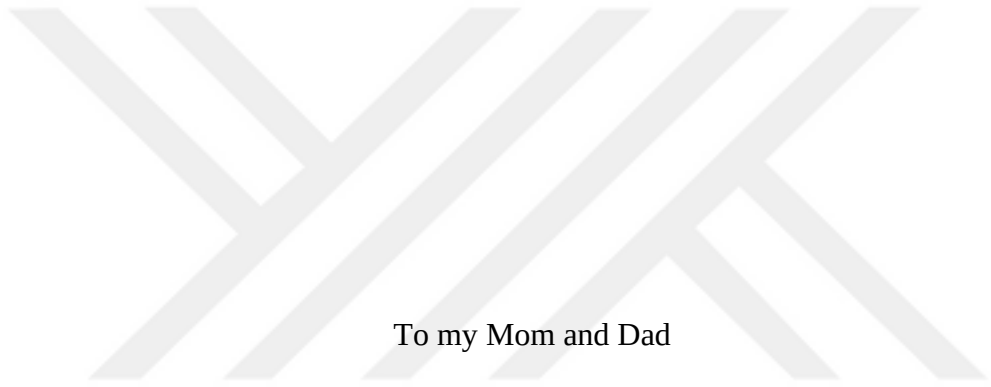
BRIDGING THE 'TRADITIONAL'
AND THE NEW: CHANGING TASTES
AND THE NEW HIGH-END
MARKET OF TURKISH DELIGHT

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara

August 2023



To my Mom and Dad

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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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ANKARA

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By Canan Keleş

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines changing consumer preferences and market dynamics regarding the 'traditional' Turkish delight in the late 2010s. It demonstrates the emergence of a new generation of Turkish delight that maintains its 'traditional' attributes while incorporating global consumer trends. I analyze the transformation of the Turkish delight market by dividing it into historically significant periods. This study considers the historical and socio-economic factors that have shaped the Turkish delight market since its origins in the Ottoman Palace.

Initially produced and consumed only within the Ottoman period, Turkish delight became publicly available with the Hacı Bekir brand after the 18th century. In the late 2010s, the new generation of Turkish delight became a preferred product for consumers aiming to combine tradition with global consumption trends. New generation Turkish delight consumers value natural and distinguished ingredients while respecting a cultural heritage and traditions.

This research delves deep into the preferences of the new generation consumers for a relatively expensive new generation Turkish delight and examines the emerging niche market. Through qualitative research methods, the thesis involved interviews with 10 consumers of the new generation of Turkish delight. Three key themes account for Turkish delight's changing preferences and tastes: global health concerns, appreciation of heritage, and evolving global taste regimes. These dimensions shape Turkish consumers' choices and serve as a bridge between tradition and innovation.

The concluding section discusses the contributions of the study while also acknowledging its limitations. Lastly, recommendations are provided for future research endeavors.

Keywords: Aesthetic, Distinction, Market, Market System Dynamics, Taste, Turkish delight, Practice.

ÖZET

‘GELENEK’ İLE YENİ ARASINDA KÖPRÜ: DEĞİŞEN BEĞENİLER VE YENİ NESİL TÜRK LOKUMU PAZARI

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Bu tez, 'geleneksel' lokumuna dair 2010'ların sonunda değişen tüketici beğenileri ve pazar dinamiklerini incelemektedir. ‘Geleneksel’ özelliklerini korurken sağlık odaklı ve yenilikçi tüketici trendlerinin etkisiyle yeni nesil lokumun ortaya çıktığını ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında lokum pazarındaki dinamikler, tarihsel olarak önemli dönemlere ayrılarak incelenmektedir. Bu çalışma, lokum pazarının Osmanlı Sarayı'ndaki kökenlerinden itibaren şekillenen tarihi ve sosyo-ekonomik faktörlere dikkate almaktadır.

Lokum, Osmanlı Dönemi’nde önce sadece sarayda üretilip tüketilirken, 18. yüzyıldan sonra Hacı Bekir markası ile tescillenip halkın beğenisine sunulmuştur. 2010 sonrasında, yeni nesil lokum, geleneksel unsurları küresel tüketim alışkanlıklarıyla bir araya getirmek isteyen tüketicilerin tercih ettiği ürün haline gelmiştir. Yeni nesil lokum tüketicileri doğal malzemelerle üretilmiş ürünleri

tüketirken, aynı zamanda Türk kültüründeki önemli bir mirasa ve geleneklere önem vermektedir.

Araştırma, yeni nesil tüketicilerin, geleneksel lokuma göre pahalı bir ürüne dair geliştirdikleri beğeniye incelemektedir. Bu tezde kalitatif araştırma metodları kullanılarak, 10 yeni nesil lokum tüketicisiyle görüşülmüştür. Görüşmelerin sonucunda, küresel tüketim trendleriyle iç içe geçmiş farklılık arayışı ve estetik unsurlar tartışılmaktadır. Tüketicilerin tercih ve beğenilerine yön veren ve geleneksel ile yenilik arasında bir köprü kuran üç ana tema belirlenmiştir: Küresel sağlık endişeleri, mirasa değer verme ve değişen küresel beğeni rejimleri. Çalışma, yeni nesil Türk lokumunun, geleneksel ve yenilikçi unsurlar arasındaki dinamik bir etkileşimi ortaya koymaktadır. Bourdieu'nun ayırt etme duygusu olarak estetik kavramsallaştırmasını kullanarak, yenilikçi ürünlere ilgi duyan tüketicilerin, çocukluk anılarını ve aile geleneğini lokumla ilişkilendirdiğinde, tercihlerinde kültürel mirasa olan bağlılıklarını yansıtmaktadır.

Son bölümde, çalışmanın akademik alana sağladığı katkılar ele alınmakta, ancak bu katkıların sınırlı kaldığı noktalar da gözden geçirilmekte ve, gelecekte yapılacak araştırmalar için öneriler sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Ayırt Etme, Beğeni, Estetik, Lokum, Pazar Sistemi Dinamikleri, Pratik.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Turkish delight, a confection that brings back childhood memories, offers a variety of flavors, holds unique meanings for many people, and personally reminds me of the Proust Phenomenon. Individuals have experienced the sensation of suddenly being transported back to the past, recalling emotional memories triggered by a smell, a taste, or a sound. This experience, often portrayed through Madeleine de Proust, is acknowledged for its sociocultural effects on memory. The tea-dipped madeleine crumbs that Marcel, the main character of Proust's book 'In Search of Lost Time,' trigger a process of remembering that revitalizes his past. In the context of the Proust Phenomenon, certain smells have the ability to transport us to past events or scenes, such as our grandmother's kitchen or a seaside holiday. The sense of taste, as commonly understood, involves perceptions of taste and touch, with smell playing a significant role in shaping experiences (Smith, 2007).

Given the historical background of information, Turkish delight represents a cultural product deeply ingrained in Turkey's history and cultural heritage (Işın, 2008). As a confectionery, it represents the coming together of craftsmanship and cultural expression, reflecting centuries of tradition (Işın, 2020). Turkish delight is not only seen as a delicious confectionery; it has a deep cultural significance in Turkish culture as a symbol of togetherness, generosity, celebration, and hospitality (Işın,

2012). Throughout history, Turkish delight has had an appreciation that transcends the borders of the country and has taken place in people's memories with its unique flavors, presentation, and content. The popularity of Turkish delight has made it a valuable gift for tourists visiting the country (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). In addition, Turkish delight is preserved as a cultural heritage and continues to exist as a tangible link with the past (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). The production and consumption of Turkish delight strengthen cultural ties and support local craftsmanship by preserving a timeless heritage produced for centuries (Işın, 2012). The importance of Turkish delight lies in the values, memories, and sense of togetherness it evokes (Işın, 2012).

When discussing the concept of 'traditional' food, Bertozzi (1995) underlines that traditional food items serve as representatives of specific cultural groups, are inherently tied to well-defined geographic regions, and form an integral part of the cultural heritage. Jordana (2000) also emphasizes that for a product to earn the label of 'traditional,' it should not only be regionally rooted but also entwined with a collection of customs that ensure its enduring legacy. 'Traditional' Turkish delight impeccably adheres to these definitions when considering its texture, flavor, constituent ingredients, production techniques and consumption ritual with Turkish Coffee.

Furthermore, a glimpse into the online presence of traditional Turkish delight producers reveals a commitment to maintaining these traditions. It becomes evident that Turkish delight is crafted using beet sugar, relying solely on starch as an ingredient, and painstakingly produced by skilled Turkish delight masters employing manual labor. This commitment to preserving time-honored methods and ingredients solidifies its position as a traditional gem.

In the late 2010s, the Turkish delight market offered different varieties with different flavors and combinations that appeal to different tastes. Increased visibility and awareness by introducing extraordinary ingredients such as matcha powder, anise, raspberry, red pepper, and sumac attract consumers seeking new experiences (Benbasat, 2020).

In the late 2010s, the Turkish delight market witnessed the introduction of sugar-free but sweetened with apple extract and natural ingredient options. Recognizing the growing demand for alternatives, confectioners have introduced sugar-free Turkish

delight sweetened with apple extract varieties that cater to those seeking to reduce sugar consumption without compromising taste (Benbasat,2020). In addition, adapting Turkish delight with new tastes and lifestyles paves the way for it to reach a broader consumer base. By creating many sugar-free and natural alternatives, Turkish delight producers appeal to a broad consumer base, promote inclusiveness and pave the way for the transfer of confectionery to new generations (Benbasat, 2020). Also, Turkish delight prices have increased in parallel with the variety offered. New generation Turkish delights*, made with extraordinary ingredients and fashionable packages, command higher prices. On the other hand, standard varieties prepared with traditional ingredients and using sugar in their production tend to be more modestly priced.

The change in flavors of Turkish delight offers a window through which I can comprehend the interaction between tradition, market dynamics, and daily practices. Understanding the shift in preferences allows the position of Turkish delight in everyday life to evolve while keeping up with innovations and preserving its cultural heritage within the ongoing negotiations. Understanding the new generation of Turkish delight and its evolving preferences enhances the capacity of the product of Turkish cultural heritage, considered 'traditional,' to endure within memories, kitchens, and tables.

This study constructs a comprehensive understanding of the emerging taste and market changes surrounding a 'traditional' Turkish delight product in the late 2010s. It has emerged as a popular topic of discussion among friends, providing a trendy and sophisticated setting for trying out new flavors, some of which are embraced while others are disliked. This phenomenon has also given rise to numerous new Turkish delight producers and brands in Turkey. The study aims to understand this occurrence better, the factors driving taste change in Turkish delight, and its implications on the market. Additionally, the study investigates the interconnectedness of consumer culture, taste, and the evolution of the Turkish delight market within this context.

* The term 'new generation' is used by many producers creating Turkish delight with new flavors and varieties in their brand messaging and social media. This term refers to Turkish delight with different ingredients and flavors than traditional Turkish delight.

In this research, I collected and analyzed data using qualitative research techniques. I am analyzing historical and archival data from the 18th century to the late 2010s to delve into the evolving presence and continuity of confectionery and Turkish delight. It is interesting to figure out that the intense interest in this confectionery since the 18th century still exists and has changed in a niche market. This research combines documentary data from the 1930s to the late 2010s with marketing tools such as advertisements, magazines, and newspaper articles. In this research, I analyzed specific historical periods of social, cultural, and economic significance to understand and examine the historical market development of Turkish delight from the 18th century. In doing so, I aimed to provide insights into consumers' confectionery consumption patterns from advertisements and columns during these periods.

This research analyzes four different periods to understand the market dynamics. In the 18th century, the first entry of Turkish delight into the confectionery market was described. Although there are indicators of information about Turkish delight and Turkish delight producers in various periods and traditional events after that (Trentmann, 2012), I examined the 1930s to witness the Republic's modernization policies. I then chose the mid-1980s to understand the effects of economic liberalization and globalization because of the significant changes in Turkey's tax, import, and export system and the commercial differentiation of sugar derivatives and chocolate (The Impact of Globalization on the Turkish Economy, 2002). Therefore, these periods, representing key events, seem appropriate to trace Turkish delight consumption and its importance for the public.

Through documentary research, in-depth information was gathered about the history of Turkish delight, its place in Turkish culture, and traditional Turkish delight brands. News, advertisements, columns, and special occasions related to Turkish delight were analyzed, the characteristics of the selected periods were investigated, and the advertisements were also examined. Newspaper and magazine articles and advertisements referring to Turkish delight in the chosen period were manually analyzed and recorded, and a data set consisting of approximately 60 images was obtained. I started the investigation by looking at these texts and pictures. I noted any significant changes to comprehensively understand the tradition and history of Turkish delight consumption in Turkey and the related experiences. In order to

comprehend the place of Turkish delight in the Ottoman Palace and to analyze the founding period of Hacı Bekir, established as Turkey's oldest confectionery shop in the 18th century, I referred to four historical books. I used visuals from these historical books written in Turkish. This was because I couldn't access records from the Ottoman era in the archives. Additionally, at this point, I would also need translations of Turkish advertisements. Furthermore, I thoroughly examined the online platforms belonging to new generation Turkish delight brands, including websites and social media profiles (Facebook and Instagram). Subsequently, I conducted an analysis of 45 visual elements within these accounts. The core areas of investigation encompassed emerging types of Turkish delight, the textual content employed in these images, and the various elements that brands integrated into their visual presentations.

In addition to documentary research collection, this study used semi-structured interviews and projective techniques to collect data. I interviewed Turkish delight consumers in Turkey to better understand the dynamics of changing Turkish delight taste in the late 2010s. Through these interviews, I attempted to analyze and comprehend how Turkish delight taste has changed recently, illuminating the changing preferences of this 'traditional' confectionery and the interplay between change and innovation. The interviews were conducted with 10 high-end Turkish delight consumers, considering their educational backgrounds and income levels. Semi-structured interviews remain valuable for understanding consumption and analyzing innovations within Turkish delight consumption practices.

The consumption of new generation Turkish delight has been interpreted through Bourdieu's concepts of distinction and taste. The preferences of global consumer trends, heritage, and differences in the consumption of new varieties of a 'traditional' Turkish delight have been made meaningful by analyzing people between the ages of 20-50, belonging to the high-income group, with a university education, living in Turkey. This study endeavors to understand that the consumption and preference of the new generation Turkish delight, a form of consumption, constitutes a different structure from the lifestyle practices that create distinctions in Bourdieu's sociology, which approaches taste within the homology argument (1984).

Bourdieu (1977) doesn't extensively address how consumption choices are connected to one's everyday actions and behaviors, working primarily within the dialectical functioning of object and subject. Bourdieu (1977) treats consumption as a field of inquiry. Holt (1995), inspired by Bourdieu's work, presents a study of 'how consumers consume' and discusses sub-practices. Holt (1995) articulated consumption as a form of practice encompassing various sub-practices. Holt's (1995) work is precious in demonstrating the diversity of consumption by revealing the different clusters of activities that are part of baseball consumption. However, while Holt (1995) argues that practices are embedded in consumption, Warde (2005), Watson and Shove (2008), and Magaudda (2011) say that consumption is embedded in practices. In line with this, my attention is directed toward the practices associated with the consumption of new generation Turkish delight, and I utilize practice theory as an analytical tool.

The data set in my research allowed me to show the historical market development of the Turkish delight market and reveal the extent of taste transformation that created a niche market in the late 2010s. As I worked with this dataset, I was acutely aware that interpersonal and personal 'meanings and intentions are intricately connected to the web of socio-historical meanings shaped by diverse cultural insights and social influences ' (Thompson et al., 1994, p.433). In order to achieve this, it was beneficial to the research to look at historical market developments of Turkish delight and consumption in Turkey. Analyzing the consumption of Turkish delight, a 'traditional' confectionery with a heritage within the framework of Bourdieusian taste, by new generation consumers to define their lifestyles and distinguish themselves from others provides valuable insight into the evolution of taste and market dynamics. By illuminating the issues linking individual preferences to broader cultural patterns, this unified theoretical approach reveals how new generation consumers define their lifestyles and distinguish themselves from others, influencing the taste for Turkish delight. This analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of changes in the market and preferences for 'traditional' confectionery, a cultural heritage icon in the context of Turkish delight.

Viewing activities as places where consumption takes place involves examining various types of consumption, which are determined by the specific activities in which they are embedded. This implies that consumption can be an activity we

engage in, but its manifestations and characteristics can vary depending on the specific contexts in which these activities occur. In the everyday life of Turkish people, Turkish delight is a common choice for regular snack breaks and is often consumed with tea or coffee (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). In everyday life of Turkish people, Turkish delight is an inseparable pair with coffee, often enjoyed together, chosen as a housewarming gift when visiting someone's home, an essential part of religious holidays, and a snack that accompanies various beverages throughout the day. In relation to consumption, practice theories promise that they question prevailing interpretations by revealing and examining occurrences, providing an alternative to explanations rooted in individuals' intentions, preferences, and choices (Southerton et al., 2012). Therefore, through the lens of this theoretical approach, I shift the unit of analysis to what consumers of the new generation Turkish delight 'do' (Shove & Warde, 2002) and their everyday consumption practices in addition to their individual motivations for Turkish delight consumption.

Bourdieu (1984) evaluates taste as an active element that creates stratification and class difference in society. Bourdieu (1984) emphasizes the distinction between the aesthetic and the functional when practices are preferred. For Bourdieu (1984), the type of consumption, cultural practices, and aesthetic preferences are decisive for the distinction. Bourdieu (1984) believes that taste exists only as a means of imitation and distinction. Therefore, this study assesses the consumption of a product with high prices and distinguished features. In addition, Bourdieu (1984) evaluates the generalized culture not as autonomous but symbolically dependent on the rising new culture. Therefore, pointing out the global consumption trends in 'traditional' Turkish delight is one of the main focuses of this study.

This research aims to unravel the intricate puzzle of changes in taste and market trends within this 'traditional' confectionery. With a 'traditional' confectionery legacy of 350 years in Turkey and significant transformations in the late 2010s, I will delve into the progression of tastes, preferences, and experiences. This endeavor also aims to illuminate the harmonious interplay between traditions, individual preferences, tastes, and ever-evolving market dynamics. When examined within the context of the new generation Turkish delight, the guiding research questions of this study are as follows: How does a traditional market change, and how does such market change relate to consumer tastes and practices? Specifically (in this context), how does the

new generation Turkish delight market emerge? How does the emergence of this niche market relate to consumer tastes and practices?

In addition to the introduction chapter, this study will encompass market system dynamics, practice theory, a comprehensive review of taste and taste change, and Bourdieu's theories of aesthetics and distinction. Historical information on the production and consumption of Turkish delight is also included. The literature review follows a methodology section describing the method's application and context. The study's trustworthiness features are mentioned in the methodology section. The findings are presented in line with the framework developed through documentary research, semi-structured interviews, and projective techniques and conclude with a discussion and further research sections.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Despite its centuries-long history as a highly enjoyable and traditional confectionery cherished during significant rituals, Turkish delight is uniquely positioned as Turkey's pioneering commercial venture. Nevertheless, in the late 2010s, it experienced an intriguing transformation in consumer preferences, leading to significant changes in its market dynamics. Within this framework, the objective of this study is to comprehensively grasp the changes in taste and the changing market of Turkish delight well beyond its historical origins.

As delineated in the introduction, this literature section aims to comprehend the evolution of a market for 'traditional' confectionery, considering changes in consumer preferences and tastes in the 21st century and its perpetuation through consumption practices. The section will encompass critical sets of literature: the first is the market formation and change, the second is research focusing on the literature on practice theory, taste, and taste transformation, and finally, Bourdieusian theories of aesthetics and distinction.

2.1. Market Formation and Change

"How do markets change? What becomes valuable and virtuous, what worthless and immoral?"

(Giesler & Fischer, 2016)

Researchers have investigated various market phenomena and their emergence to find answers to the questions posed in the above quotation. These researches have been conducted under multiple labels in the Consumer Culture Theory and marketing literature, particularly within the expanding field of research on market system dynamics and change.

Market system dynamics studies the formation of markets as complex social systems (Giesler, 2008; Giesler & Fischer, 2017). Market system dynamics approach markets as adaptive systems, studying how individuals and institutions actively shape markets and how markets shape them. In other words, consumers and consumption are examined as market phenomena. Consumer and market research are interested in understanding various market-shaping phenomena and have researched numerous marketplace dynamics. For example, one popular research subject is what causes the development or alteration of markets. A shared interest in the market-level study of socially negotiated marketplace meanings in a multi-actor system has been a fundamental motivation for the market system dynamics approach, which expands current knowledge and delivers immeasurable insights at the market level (Nøjgaard & Bajde, 2021).

According to Thompson et al. (2013) Consumer Culture Theory research has comprehensively examined historical, sociological, and institutional relations with consumption and marketplace phenomena, offering an analytical perspective to demonstrate the co-constitution of market realities by human and non-human actors at both individual and societal levels (Giesler & Fischer, 2017). For instance, prior research has demonstrated how consumers' strong enthusiasm for fashion and the materiality of clothing can challenge the political order within society (Ghaffari et al., 2019). Another illustration depicts how various entities, including companies, NGOs, and public institutions, shift sustainability responsibility onto consumers (Giesler & Veresiu, 2014). Lastly, Ertimur and Coşkuner-Ballı (2015) elucidate how the US yoga market's expansion has contributed to supporting opposition against

Hindu yoga practices. Additional studies within Consumer Culture Theory propose that consumers actively contribute as participants in market formation. Academic research studied scenarios where consumers actively shape markets (Goulding & Saren, 2007; Sandıkçı, 1995; Humphreys, 2010; Holt, 2002; Giesler, 2008). To examine and exemplify subcultural commodification in three stages, the authors draw on theories of rebellion, fragmentation, and commodification (Goulding & Saren, 2007). Also, Sandıkçı and Ger (2010) indicate that consumers utilize fashion to counteract stigmatization resulting from the prevailing market offerings, leading them to establish an alternative taste framework. However, these investigations depict consumer roles as instances of rebellion or resistance against dominant market logic or social stigma. Moreover, market transformation is examined through the micro-level actions of multiple actors in studies conducted by Ertimur and Coşkun-Ballı (2015), Humphreys (2010), and Holt (2002).

The market system dynamics viewpoint proposes investigating the co-constitutive link between market realities. Scholars have clearly emphasized the creative role of consumers in establishing new markets in this direction. Some studies have recognized the critical roles that consumers and consumption play in shaping market formation. Conversely, the attention has been directed toward dissatisfied consumers actively striving to bring about market changes. A study in this direction revealed that consumers dissatisfied with the corporate takeover of the organic food market proactively initiated the consumer-supported farmers' market as a conscious and ideological counter-movement (Thompson & Coşkun-Ballı, 2007). Although the researchers did not present their findings as an example of market formation, they seem to collaborate with farmers to establish novel market structures in consumer-supported agriculture (Press & Arnould, 2011). As a second example, Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) investigated consumers known as 'fatshionistas' who actively attempted to participate in the fashion market by employing mobilization triggers and strategies to expand their market choices. In their research, Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) analyzed consumers seeking to enlarge the present market, driven by their enthusiasm to wear designer clothes. Nevertheless, these studies do not directly tackle market formation, leaving unexamined aspects such as consumers' daily activities and taste-related elements.

Giesler (2008), on the other hand, in his study of music downloads and digital platforms, describes the evolution of the market as a process of drama and a series of conflicts. Approaches like conflictual models and other resistance-based logic of market formation can potentially create a one-sided representation of market dynamics (Giesler, 2008). Giesler (2008) noted that resistance-based conceptual models might be 'less applicable in contexts where consumers would be happy to buy from mainstream markets if only options were available (p.749).' Another research discussing the emergence of Ottoman coffeehouse culture (Karababa & Ger, 2011) also demonstrates the application of the disruptive approach to change within market system dynamics. This research reveals that the Ottoman coffeehouse culture and its associated market were consistently guided by unresolved conflicts between the Ottoman's quest for enjoyment and religious ethics.

This overview affirms the dynamism of the research field, which encompasses various dimensions of consumers' engagement in market dynamics. Nonetheless, the research on consumer-initiated or consumer-driven dynamics in markets remains limited, indicating that there are still gaps in our understanding of this aspect where 'innovations are based on everyday life practices and taste' (Dolbec & Fischer, 2015). In this study, I will examine the context of an emerging niche market within the commonplace Turkish delight market as well as historical market development related to the Turkish delight market, and consumers' activities leading to changes in taste and the resulting market changes will be investigated.

Taste literature has been thoroughly investigated, covering its development and intersection with practice theory. The following section presents a review of some of this research.

2.2. What is Taste?

Taste is a multidisciplinary research topic that covers various empirical fields such as music, clothing, decoration, beer, and coffee (Pomies et al., 2020). In addition to this observed diversity, taste has witnessed significant theoretical changes throughout history (Pomies & Arsel, 2018). This is attributed to the significance of studying taste and its social meaning, which constitutes a crucial area of research within the sociology of culture and early consumer culture research. Bourdieu's theories suggesting that social class and cultural capital significantly shaped the distribution

of tastes and consumption practices have also considerably shaped this research field (Holt, 1998). Furthermore, Holt (1995) refers that consumption is used to define social class because the meaning of consumption is different across groups. As a result, the framework of taste and social significance has encouraged scholars to study various dimensions related to power, dominance, marginalization, and social distinctions (Penaloza, 1996; Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Much of the contemporary literature in sociology has been influenced by Bourdieu's definition of distinction, which focuses on cultural practices and their relationship to social class and status (Bourdieu, 1984).

Previous research on taste has primarily focused on analyzing individuals' consumption habits and motivations to understand how cultural consumption, the development of taste, and taste-related practices reflect and perpetuate social structure. Bourdieu's perspective suggests that taste is primarily derived from an individual's upbringing and social environment and that structural factors play a fundamental role in shaping taste. Researchers in the field of taste, including researchers such as Holt (1997) and Warde (1997), emphasize the condition of taste in shaping various lifestyles. As a result, taste is seen as a result of internalized practices associated with one's social class and is primarily acquired early in life.

However, some sociological studies on taste have challenged the emphasis on this function of taste (Benzecry, 2009; Schwarz, 2013). In line with this, Lahire (2008) challenged the notion of an invariant influence of social class on cultural practices and emphasized the variations in behavior within individuals. He contends that the diverse dispositions acquired during socialization result in heterogeneous cultural profiles and cultural dissonance within each social class (Lahire, 2008). Other studies investigate how taste is formed and how individuals learn to engage in cultural practices in specific cultural domains such as music (Benzecry & Collins, 2014; Hennion, 2001), home decoration (Arsel & Bean, 2013) and wine (Teil & Hennion, 2004). Additionally, Sandıkçı and Ger (2010) and Thompson (2018) have investigated acts of resistance that challenge prevailing hegemonic structures. As Teil and Hennion (2004) highlighted, the pragmatic approach to taste centers on the material elements and contextual factors that impact taste experiences. For instance, previous research on taste regimes adopts a pragmatic view of taste and investigates how aesthetic concepts are translated into everyday consumer behaviors (Arsel &

Bean, 2013). These studies focus on understanding how consumers' participation in consumption practices is socially and historically shaped rather than being determined solely by individual factors (Holt, 1997).

Another line of inquiry examines the impact of practices at the market level and their resulting outcomes. Among these studies, researchers have examined the role of taste practices in shaping and influencing aestheticized markets. Prior research has investigated the processes of market creation, contestation, and negotiation involving institutional actors. Furthermore, the current body of literature has examined the matching process among market professionals (Karpik, 2010). Additionally, scholars have looked into the emergence of aestheticized items for traditional commodities such as coffee, wine, and olive oil (Maciel & Wallendorf, 2017). As a result, the approach to theories of taste also shapes fundamental inquiries concerning evolving consumption patterns, subjectivity, and societal frameworks.

In the past, consumer researchers were primarily influenced by Bourdieu's (1984) view of taste as a mechanism perpetuating class hierarchy. Also, more recent studies have embraced different theoretical lenses, focusing on practice-based theories of taste that highlight the significance of individual agency. My point of view on this research is that 'the idea of taste is no longer separable from the idea of the consumer' (Giddens, 1987). Therefore, within the scope of this study, how taste connects the market, history, tradition, objects, cultural heritage, and people will be examined (Probyn, 2016). In this study, the co-construction of various factors such as producers, consumers, markets and trends will be investigated. This study will analyze the relationship between the taste for 'traditional' confectionery and market changes through the theories of taste, practice theory, and distinction.

2.2.1. Taste Construct

As an initial step towards comprehending the impact of taste in consumer behavior literature, it is pertinent to outline and summarize the various perspectives on taste along with their corresponding theoretical frameworks (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). Previous studies have studied taste from distinct perspectives, including its characterization as an individual phenomenon, its role in shaping social boundaries, and its interplay as a tension between social structures and individual agency. A substantial body of research perceives taste as a personal reaction to stimuli,

encompassing judgment and expressing preferences through consumption. Additionally, it includes suitable and coherent individual responses to consumer goods gained through sensory perceptions and emotional reactions to these products (Zeithaml, 1988). Other research examines the sensory aspects of taste related to an individual's five senses (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982). An alternative set of studies regards taste as a form of social distinction or boundary (Gronow, 2002; Holt, 1998) and creates distinctions in a status game (Bourdieu, 1984; Üstüner & Holt, 2010). From this standpoint, taste is perceived as a categorization system that maintains symbolic hierarchies by enacting actions rooted in embodied experiences (Üstüner & Holt, 2010). In this context, the conceptualization of taste is rooted in Bourdieu's (1984) characterization of taste as a manifestation of an individual's habitus.

In contrast, another perspective perceives taste solely as an individual dimension and merely an aesthetic judgment. Consequently, in this context, the taste is shaped by one's class background and educational capital (Bourdieu, 2011; Holt, 2002). Furthermore, the taste is analyzed through embodied preferences centered on class-related resources, such as education or extensive exposure to aesthetic objects (Holt, 1998). In the postmodern context, following this perspective, the consumer is seen as an empowered individual with the capacity to act, employing bricolage to construct choices from available market offerings (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). Scholars have examined taste as a concept associated with individuals, groups, or communities (Arsel & Bean, 2013; Arsel & Thompson, 2011) and as a mechanism for distinction (McQuarrie et al., 2013). From this viewpoint, within the context of the subsequent line of research, taste functions as the domain in which individual agency intently interacts with a specific structure.

Hence, the interpretation of taste varies depending on the prevailing paradigm. As per the principles of the CCT paradigm (Arnould & Thompson, 2005), understanding taste change in Turkish delight requires perceiving taste as a social phenomenon that involves acknowledging both its structural dimensions and the active engagement of the consumer in the process. This approach recognizes the drive of social and cultural factors and individual agency in shaping taste preferences. This perspective calls for a more comprehensive investigation, and its implications on market change necessitate close scrutiny. Therefore, it is essential to understand how taste is defined and transformed in the context of Turkish delight, especially given the substantial

body of influential studies in the consumer culture theory literature; examining taste is of particular significance (Arsel & Bean, 2013).

2.2.2. The Taste Transformation Process

The literature exploring the evolution of taste in consumer behavior, especially within Consumer Culture Theory research, is predominantly guided by sociocultural perspectives. Significant guidance in this regard is Bourdieu's (1984) work, which conceptualizes taste as a reflection of social differentiation and symbolic capital. Hennion (2001) presents an additional notable viewpoint, who embraces a reflexive stance to taste, perceiving them as a lively and actively demonstrated occurrence in the context of daily consumption practices. In this research domain, practice theory is broadly utilized as a prominent theoretical framework (Arsel & Bean, 2013), offering a foundation for an approach to taste that integrates agency and structure.

Bourdieu's (1984) primary contribution lies in his conceptualization of taste as a mechanism of control and power used to create cultural and social differentiations (Woodward & Emmison, 2001). Taste is determined by the possession and presence of economic, social, and cultural capital, expressed through habitus, and encompasses various preferences, offering insights into individuals' incorporation of particular practices into their daily lives (Holt, 1998). The concept of habitus has provided valuable insights into examining how taste evolves in consumer behavior (Arsel & Bean, 2013). Nevertheless, the approach examines the structural dimension of taste and is associated with an individual's primary socialization (Coşkuner-Ballı & Thompson, 2013). According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), individuals acquire specific capital through early socialization and subsequent involvement in various social domains throughout their lives. While participating in a particular realm of consumption, consumers' habitus undergoes constant evolution as time progresses (Skandalis et al., 2017). The research focused on consumer groups investigates the dynamics of taste transformations within the field theory framework. It examines how consumers' participation in specific communities shapes their consumption practices, which are guided by the distinct discourse of these groups (Arsel & Bean, 2013).

Likewise, several studies have examined taste as a form of status-oriented consumption (Arsel & Thompson, 2011; Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Considering a

broader scope, taste in society can experience social changes due to diverse conditions. To illustrate, modernization can transform taste by introducing individuals to new technologies, global trends, and innovations (Cochoy, 2018). Similarly, migration can significantly impact taste through exposure to different tastes in new environments (Lieberson, 2000). Additionally, interactions with diverse communities can lead to the discovery and appreciation of new tastes and experiences, ultimately influencing the evolution of taste preferences over time (Lieberson, 2000). However, it does not explain how it enables taste change by revealing individuality in practices and the functioning of togetherness.

Researchers, like Crossley (2001), criticize Bourdieu's field theory and habitus concept for failing to adequately account for individual agency, which can lead to the creation and modification of habitus through their actions and interactions and negotiations. Gronow (2002) offers a contrasting viewpoint on taste, perceiving it as dynamic and characterized by temporary patterns. Hennion (2004) presents an alternative perspective on taste, arguing against the static context. Instead, he views taste as a reflexive activity that emerges from performance, comparisons, repeated experiences, and gradual adjustments. As a result, taste becomes an ingrained habit, a practiced behavior, and a form of habitual knowledge significantly related to consumption patterns (Shove, 2003; Warde, 1997).

Arsel and Bean (2013) introduced the notion of a taste regime to comprehend how discursive systems standardize consumption practices within a specific domain. These discourses align understandings, doings, objects, and meanings linked to consumption. Moreover, within a taste regime, consumers are expected to engage and persist in a specific taste pattern over time, forming a continuous cycle of practice (Magaudda, 2011). As a result, consumers continuously contemplate their consumption choices and seek to align with the normalized practices guided by the specific discursive system of that taste regime.

Likewise, Maciel and Wallendorf (2017) introduce the idea of 'taste engineering' through a field study of artisanal beer enthusiasts, similar to Quintao et al.'s (2017) work on coffee connoisseurs. The taste engineering framework perceives learning activities as fostering cultural competence within the societal framework. This process molds individuals' sensitivities and comprehension within their established environment and personal dispositions (Maciel & Wallendorf, 2017). Two elements shape the development of particular cultural competence. The first perspective

involves a taste system that sets rules and regulations for objects, meanings, and actions. The second perspective relates to consumers' personal values and how they acquire knowledge, guided by their unique habits and aesthetic preferences. This study will employ both perspectives, analyzing objects, meanings, and actions. I will primarily focus on consumers' practices while also considering their negotiation with trends. I aim to understand and illuminate the appreciation of the new generation Turkish delight.

2.3. Practice Theory

Practices inherently exist as a distinctive phenomenon. Practices consist of regular, routinized, habitual, or expected actions in everyday ways of doing things, such as cooking, writing, or listening to music ("Practice," n.d., Def. 1). Practices are considered performative since each performance involves using material things, skills, and meanings associated with that practice, giving significance to objects and actions and creating meaning for the participants (Arsel & Bean, 2013; Warde, 2005).

In the past, consumer research predominantly concentrated on purchasing rather than examining consumers' ongoing consumption experiences, daily routines, rituals, and everyday encounters. Practice theory analyzes the behaviors associated with the actions performed during this process (Hand & Shove, 2004). In the past, consumer research primarily emphasized how consumer goods contribute symbolic and identity-related dimensions (Belk, 1988; McCracken, 1988; Holt, 1995). On the other hand, practice theory contends that consumption objects are directly incorporated into everyday life (Shove & Warde, 2002). Indeed, practice theory centers on the everyday ways of doing things rather than solely on product use (de Certeau, 1984). Therefore, it is crucial to comprehend consumer behavior considering daily routines, the normality of life, and its diversity.

Practice theory focuses on connecting objects, competencies, meanings, and doings. This approach further underscores the importance of habitual behaviors and the social and traditional elements of consumption (Shove & Warde, 2002; Warde, 2005). Practice theory principles offer a framework to study consumption patterns and analyze the connections between various practice elements through abstract

inquiries. This involves examining the significance of actions and objects, the outcomes of these connections, and the stability and flexibility of consumption patterns and daily consumer habits (Warde & Martens, 2000; Shove & Walker, 2010). Moreover, practice theory also incorporates insights from the field of sociology of consumption, uncovering shared trends in consumption, the societal influence on needs, and the dynamics governing the evolution of habitual behaviors that can transform over time (Bourdieu, 1984; Shove & Warde, 2002). Practice theory provides a valuable framework for understanding consumption behavior associated with a traditional product, Turkish delight. It helps establish emergent and co-occurring connections between structures, objects (Turkish delight), and doings. Because there is also a situation of consuming both types of Turkish delight shaped by the consumers' practices. Practice theory also helps to analyze the collective dialogue surrounding the evolving importance of taste changes in the context of Turkish delight consumption.

This is because practice theory is a sociological concept that examines how individuals and communities carry out their daily routines and activities, shaping their behavior and how they understand the world around them (Warde, 2002). In Turkish delight consumption, this theory can be applied to examine how people interact with the product and how traditions, heritage, memory, and social interactions drive their actions.

'Traditional' Turkish delight has an important place in terms of cultural heritage. Understanding Turkish delight's consumption behavior requires analyzing individual choices, broader social interactions, and associated rituals. Investigating the relationship between the product, the act of consumption, and the social context in which consumption occurs is valuable. Hence, examining practice theory and the taste and taste transformation process would be appropriate. It is also worth exploring the concept of emergent and co-occurring connections between all these objects and consumption habits. The emergence of Turkish delight has also changed the market dynamics. Therefore, market changes are also analyzed in this section.

In consumer culture, theories of consumption rituals have been broadly studied, focusing on the structures, cultural meanings, activities, and variations in the practice of these rituals (Rook, 1985; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995). Arsel and Bean

(2013) applied Rook's (1985) research to discuss how taste regimes can become ritualized. Rituals can be understood as reinforcing, evading, assigning, or modifying traditional symbols and meanings within a cultural context (McCracken, 1986). Nevertheless, according to Rook (1985), ritual is a sequence of recurring expressive and symbolic actions occurring within a set setting and being organized through various behaviors. Bourdieu (1984) proposes that the formation of consumer taste is initially influenced by the accumulation of capital and the cultivation of a habitus within a context of consumption. The continuous discourse centers on the progression of taste throughout an individual's lifetime. Different research studies present various perspectives in answering this question, but they all acknowledge the interplay of agency and structure in shaping their frameworks. The taste regime framework emphasizes the role of discursive and structural systems in shaping taste transformation. Consumers with negotiation skills, in relation to these systems, have played a significant role in explaining the late 2010s in this study.

2.3.1. Practice Theory Development

Early scholars of practice theory investigated the tension between methodological individualism and a broader approach in philosophical studies. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1977) proposed that the world is controlled by structural limitations, which give rise to lasting behaviors and ways of thinking that can be commonly observed. This phenomenon includes organizing the world based on different categories, like gender, geographic locations, time zones, and positions. Furthermore, the idea of lasting dispositions encompasses both physical actions and practices. Later, Bourdieu (1990) introduced the term 'habitus' to explain how people internalize social structures, allowing them to adapt and innovate in their actions. Bourdieu (1990) derived the concept of habitus from the Greek term 'hexis' to refer to human attitudes and how individuals express themselves to others through their appearance, body language, and actions.

Like Bourdieu (1990), Giddens (1979; 1987) has also formulated a theory of practice, although their approaches differ significantly. Giddens (1979) primarily concentrates on the historical aspects of philosophy and social theory, while Bourdieu (1990) builds his ideas on empirical research. According to Giddens (1987), the core elements of practice theory are indivisible from the everyday

frameworks and contexts in which people participate in activities and habits that significantly influence their daily lives.

Warde (2005) argues that the perspective on practice has changed from focusing solely on consumption and utilization of items. Shove and Pantzar (2005) and Shove and Warde (2002) support this notion and suggest that consumption brings together the seemingly contradictory aspects of purchasing and using goods. According to Shove and Pantzar (2005), consumption is not separate from everyday life. Still, it is closely connected to almost every activity, playing a significant role in each action. In this context, consumption pertains to the steps where consumers actively engage in specific practices, possessing the knowledge and tools essential for participating as practitioners (Shove, 2003). Essentially, consumption patterns are molded by the norms and guidelines of the given practice, indicating that practices play a crucial role in influencing needs, knowledge, and perceptions related to consumption (Warde, 2005; Shove, 2003).

Moreover, Shove and Pantzar (2005) and Shove (2003) characterize the practices studied in their research as interconnected with materials, meanings, and competencies. They view consumers as active and imaginative participants, not merely passive recipients. Consumers possess the capability and expertise to obtain suitable goods or services, enabling them to engage in practices proficiently and comprehend their significance (Shove, 2003).

In summary, practice theory focuses on individuals as the central actors in various practices, where they demonstrate different levels of skill and responsibility. While certain practices are widespread and endure across different social contexts, others are constructed through the agency of practitioners, leading to evolving configurations over time (Warde, 2005). The practice-theoretical approach is utilized in diverse fields within multiple academic disciplines in the second phase of practice studies. For instance, Shove (2003) and Shove and Pantzar (2005) employed practice theory to investigate domestic and leisure practices. Moreover, practice theory has proven fruitful in examining consumer culture and consumption. To illustrate, it has been applied to analyze do-it-yourself product usage (Watson & Shove, 2008), digital music consumption habits (Magaudda, 2011), and the role of taste in shaping everyday consumption (Arsel & Bean, 2013). The increasing utilization of practice

theory in consumer research has notably enhanced the conversation surrounding consumption. This approach has brought greater theoretical focus to exploring the interconnections among consumers, materials, practices, and meanings.

Consequently, I utilize practice theory as an analytical tool in this study to grasp the evolving market and taste transformations in the 21st century. I attempt to comprehend that consuming a new generation of Turkish delight bridges the 'traditional' and the new, offering insights into how individuals act in everyday life and how this impacts taste preferences and the niche market. While acknowledging the more profound significance of Turkish delight consumption derived from everyday experiences, it is crucial to recognize that taste change in Turkish delight encompasses deliberate and habitual actions that shape our daily behaviors (de Certeau, 1984). Hence, utilizing practice theory to structure the examination of market and taste transformations concerning a traditional product can enrich discussions on taste and market dynamics, paving the way for exploration in novel research domains. Furthermore, practice theory could aid researchers in recognizing and integrating the ordinary and everyday dimensions of taste change in traditional products.

2.4. Aesthetics and Distinction in Bourdieu's Sociology

In 1899, Veblen conducted one of the most impactful investigations into the connection between consumption and social classes. Veblen argued that wealth and welfare constitute the foundation of society (Schor & Holt, 2000). According to Veblen (2005), as wealth and welfare increase, the individual's social status also increases. Veblen (2005) asserted that novel consumption trends first arose among the upper class and later extended to the lower classes. The rich showcase their wealth through leisure activities and the acquisition of conspicuously expensive items (Veblen, 2005). At the core of Veblen's (2005) examination lie the concepts that consumption functions as a method of social communication, conveying disparities in class and income and that the values associated with goods are widely held throughout a community. According to Veblen (2005), although wealthy people exhibit conspicuous consumption, every social class participates in consumption to some extent to show their wealth. Veblen (2005) asserts that achieving prestige requires expenditures on non-essential goods. In this context, extravagance pertains

to items that hold symbolic value for buyers but are not crucial for sustaining human life (Veblen, 2005). Consequently, consumers perceive that acquiring such 'less necessary yet expensive' products enhances their social standing (Trigg, 2001).

Bourdieu builds on Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption in his work 'Aesthetic Sense as a Sense of Discrimination' (1979). Bourdieu explains how an individual's choices and tastes unveil their social class. Products are distinguished based on an individual's acquired tastes. Bourdieu (1984) underscores that taste forms the basis of the individual's possessions, whereas preferences are instilled and reinforced by the cultural context in which a person lives. To illustrate, a person distinguishes the social communities he/she will join, the food he/she will eat, and the clothes he/she will wear through his/her culture, which can be class-based (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu shaped his arguments based on the works of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, who are listed as classical thinkers, by addressing the relationship between individuals' social origins and preferences and the reproduction of social hierarchies and domination mechanisms (Jourdain & Naulin, 2020). While defining social classes, he used consumption practices, cultural practices, and the concepts of taste based on lifestyles in addition to production relations (Bourdieu, 1984). For this reason, examining the newly researched Turkish delight is appropriate for investigating taste based on cultural practices and lifestyle.

2.4.1. Taste and Aesthetics

Bourdieu (1984) describes taste as a powerful tool in social interactions. Describing the capacity to recognize what is deemed aesthetically and culturally 'superior' serves as a means of excluding individuals from the outside and underscoring to those lacking access to cultural and educational resources that they are outsiders (Bourdieu, 1984). Taste is the ability of a particular class to perform classed or classifying practices. Functioning as a form of social guide, it directs individuals towards favorable goods and practices based on their position in the social context (Bourdieu, 1984). Taste includes practices and choices that contain social meaning and value (Bourdieu, 1984). Also, appreciation, characterized by favoring behaviors aligned with one's identity, guides individuals towards goods and practices suitable for their social standing and alignment (Bourdieu, 1984; 2011). Furthermore, taste makes dispositions and schemas of appreciation tangible (Bourdieu, 1984; 2011).

Therefore, aesthetic choices shaped through taste contain social meaning and value. Bourdieu (1984; 2011) aims to demonstrate the differences between class position and aesthetic tastes.

Examining the alteration of 'traditional' confectionery and the changes in specific characteristics, it is difficult to ignore its connection with social distinction. The field of 'traditional' confectionery, which interacts with many cultural dynamics, includes symbolic representation, culture, taste, and distinction. Individuals are closely tied to their position in the social hierarchy, and their embodied class tastes interact with different dynamics, from consumption habits to well-being (Bourdieu, 1984; 2011). Taste can be seen as a trait shaped by class distinctions within an individual (Bourdieu, 1984). These valid attributes are frequently subject to external conditions. Since taste also guides behaviors in consumption, it's not solely the income level that determines these behaviors but rather the inclination towards luxury or necessity (Bourdieu, 1984).

2.4.2. Distinction and Aesthetic

Individuals in close positions in social space create similar practices subject to similar conditioning. The distance to be created for the position in social space is best expressed and revitalized in consumption habits. The realization of distance in consumption, which represents habitus predisposition, is the realization of class differentiation. Social distances are registered in language, structuralist aspects of practice, and relations over time (Bourdieu, 1977). The realization of taste as a distinction, which expresses the habitus predisposition, is the realization of class differentiation. Therefore, it is crucial to re-evaluate the relationship between the distances created by the new generation of Turkish delight taste and consumption. Bourdieu (1984) outlines three class distinctions: firstly, the dominant class consisting of those with higher economic capital but relatively weaker cultural influence; secondly, those who possess elevated cultural status alongside economic vulnerability; and lastly, the middle class characterized by a balance between cultural and economic attributes.

In the middle class, cultural and economic capital is more balanced. The lower classes lack economic and cultural capital. The relationship between social classes is positioned through domination. The control of a class is connected to its ability to

enforce its interpretation of societal structure on other classes. It can be observed that the dominating class differentiates its culture, social values, and worldview from those under its domination (Bourdieu, 1984). Hegemony, defined as the dominant class's cultural leadership, emphasizes that economic superiority alone is not enough; cultural leadership is necessary (Ritzer, 2008).

In summary, Bourdieu's (1984; 2011) theory proposes that the dominant class, mainly consisting of those with high cultural and economic capital, exhibits a 'taste for freedom' characterized by an aestheticizing and detached relationship to culture. On the other hand, the dominated class, composed of individuals with low overall capital, displays a 'taste for necessity' expressed through attachment to tangible and substantial entities. The research is motivated by these new tastes for Turkish delight, constituted by global consumption trends, which safeguard tradition and integrate into the realm of distinct practices. Consumers with elevated income and educational capital, often considered high-end Turkish delight consumers, strongly emphasize incorporating aesthetics into their lifestyles. This aesthetic consideration extends to various aspects of their lives, encompassing everything they seek to enhance or adorn. Therefore, the recognition of differentiation in 'traditional' confectionery products can also be studied within the context of cultural heritage.

Within the framework of taste, it is seen that high socio-economic classes use consumer goods to clarify their lifestyles and distinguish themselves from others (Timurturkan, 2009). The consumption or preference of status-signaling goods by the lower stratum causes those at the top to turn to new goods to recreate social distance (Featherstone, 1990). Bourdieu (1984) argued that specific choices have a stronger connection to educational capital, while others are more directly linked to social status. In this study, interviews were conducted with informants at the same education level. Offering a bridge to higher social status, education provides a path to developing an aesthetic through experience (Bourdieu, 1984). In this study, the aesthetic sense of the new generation Turkish delight will be examined in this context.

This section delves into the theoretical framework that underpins the study. First, this study aims to analyze the historical development of the Turkish delight market and investigate how consumer activities lead to changes in taste and, ultimately, to

market changes. The study seeks to clarify how consumer practices reshape market dynamics by examining the interaction between traditional and new generation Turkish delight producers within a changing market context. Thus, studies within the context of market system dynamics, market formation, transformation, and the impact of consumer actions are examined in this section. Market system dynamics treat markets as complex social systems and emphasize the active role of individuals and institutions in shaping markets.

Taste is a multidisciplinary research topic encompassing various fields such as music, fashion, coffee, and beer. Taste has undergone historically significant theoretical changes and occupies a substantial space in cultural sociology and consumer research. The influence of Bourdieu (1984;2011) highlights the role of social class in shaping taste. While some researchers focus on the role of taste in reproducing class cultural boundaries, others analyze the dynamic structure of taste and its relationship with cultural practices. Taste is shaped by upbringing, social environment, and individual agency, leading scholars to question these perspectives. Taste is seen as a mediator of social differentiation and reflects cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Practice theory provides an integrated framework that combines agency and structure. In light of all these perspectives, this study aims to analyze how taste preferences impact market changes.

Furthermore, Veblen (2005) conducted an influential study on the role of consumption on social classes. He argued that as wealth increases, social status also increases. The wealthy express their wealth through conspicuous consumption and expensive goods. Bourdieu, using Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption, explains in his work 'Aesthetic Sense as a Sense of Distinction' (1979; translation 1984) how individuals' preferences and tastes reflect their social class. It is worth investigating whether the transformation of the taste for Turkish delight is also related to distinction.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEXT STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will present an outline of the research's context, focusing on the consumption of Turkish delight and other confectioneries dating back to the 14th century. Afterward, historically important periods and events for the Turkish delight market will be explained. Subsequently, I will elaborate on the data collection and analysis techniques employed in the research. Finally, I will conclude by examining the research quality and ethical considerations of the study.

3.1. Context of the Study

3.1.1. Confectionery Dating Back to the 14th Century

Lokum is defined by the Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu) as 'the confectionery is created by cooking a mixture of sugar and starch until it melts and slightly thickens, after which it is cut into small cubes or rectangles, lat-i lokum' (TDK, n.d.,Def.1). In Turkish culture, this particular confectionery is of great importance, being closely associated with and considered an indispensable accompaniment to coffee; it is essential for religious holidays, the groom goes to the ceremony asking for a girl with a box of Turkish delight, the elders love their little ones by saying 'lati lokum,' and it has even become a part of songs, folk songs, and idiomatic expressions.

Before the emergence of Turkish delight, Anatolian cuisine, renowned for its ancient history, played a crucial role in culinary traditions, offering a rich variety of sherbets, dishes, desserts, and sweets, consistently recognized for their exceptional characteristics (Işın, 2012). Sugary foods are an important part of Turkish food culture. According to written sources, the history of sweets consumed and served in abundance at ceremonies, celebrations, and special occasions dates back to the 14th century (Diker et al., 2017). Honey was the first sweetener to be used in the production of confectionery, but as technology developed, sugar increased, and this sweetener became the main ingredient of all confectionery. Jam, halva, and other candies were produced (Diker et al., 2017). However, as the demand for sugar increased in the 16th century, the supply of sugar was insufficient, and illegal confectioners began to appear (Diker et al., 2017).

Throughout its development, various civilizations have influenced Turkish cuisine, leading to encounters with diverse flavors and the assimilation of novel tastes, enriching its heritage. Turkish cuisine experienced its most glorious era during the Ottoman Period. A traveler who had the chance to visit the Ottoman Palace mentioned that all kinds of fruits were grown in the palace and that candies were made from fruits such as pomegranate, cherry, grape, melon, and pear (Işın, 2008). At first, confectionery was made in the palace in a unit called Helvahane-i Hassa Ocağı (Işın, 2008). The Ottoman Palace kitchen had been splendid in search of innovation. One of the biggest reasons for this is that some important groups and sultans considered eating around the table a social activity (Işın, 2008). Desserts, like meals, were in constant development. In the 15th century, chestnut sugar, figs, walnuts, and apricots were produced (Işın, 2008). Desserts and sweets were at least as important as the main meals. Therefore, even at the end of daily meals, dessert was included. For marriage, engagement, birth, circumcision, weddings, festivals, and funerals, desserts have become indispensable for the table on all special occasions (Işın, 2008).

3.1.2. Turkish Delight: Taste for Tradition

Before the 19th century, 'Rahatü'l hulkum' referred to soft and sweet dishes known for their throat-soothing qualities. However, in the 19th century, it became exclusively associated with Turkish delight (Işın, 2020). During the 19th century,

Turkish delight gained popularity in England after an English traveler visited Hacı Bekir's shop in Bahçekapı and was so enamored by the confectionery that she brought it back to her homeland and served it to others (Işın, 2020).

The confectioners operating in the late Ottoman Empire played a unique role in introducing traditional Turkish confectionery and Turkish delight to the world (Işın, 2020). Hacı Bekir, while not being the first to produce Turkish delight, played an important role in establishing its current texture and flavor. It stands as Turkey's oldest private enterprise, and furthermore, it is a time-honored family business that has endured through generations. Another feature is that it was the first organization to register its trademark during the Ottoman period.

Hacı Bekir Efendi came to Istanbul from Kastamonu in the 1770s and opened his confectionery shop (Sevimli & Sönmezdağ, 2017). By producing diverse delights, this business developed and mastered refining Turkish delight. The fame of Hacı Bekir, the head confectioner of the Ottoman Palace during the reign of Mahmut II, exceeded national borders (Güvemli, 2018).

Orçan (2008) stated that multiple groups played a leading role in influencing the consumption culture of the Ottoman Empire. These groups included state administrators who utilized consumption as a symbol of their elevated status, with the Ottoman Palace, its entourage, and prominent pashas being notable examples. In particular, individuals in the Ottoman Palace sought to display their privileged position by indulging in opulent and foreign goods. Another influential group consisted of diplomats, bureaucrats, and senior civil servants who had spent considerable time in European cities, adopting a lifestyle guided by European customs (alafranga). They endeavored to set themselves apart with their distinct consumption patterns. The bourgeois, minorities, and merchants contributed significantly to the consumption culture. Minorities held substantial economic power and, with their wealth, both followed and influenced consumption trends within the empire. Since the items consumed by the sultans and state officials, the objects they used, their entertainment styles, and other practices played a decisive role in determining the habits of Ottoman society, Hacı Bekir products were also highly adopted by the public in this period (Naskali & Arçın, 2017).

Even before Hacı Bekir, different candies and Turkish delights were produced in Istanbul (Işın, 2008). However, Hacı Bekir introduced flavors to the people of Istanbul by making various varieties and crafted recipes that endure today. In the late 18th century, sugar cane from South America was processed in Europe to produce sugar as we know it today (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). Especially from the middle of the 19th century onwards, with the abundant sugar and starch from sugar cane, Turkish delight has evolved into its classic taste over time (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). Although brands such as Üç Yıldız Şekerleme, Şekerci Cafer Erol, Şekerci Alip Galip, and Cemilzade survived during those periods, Hacı Bekir's fame had already reached Europe. The global reputation of Turkish delight gained momentum nearly two centuries ago with an escalating number of travelers visiting the region. The travelers tasted Turkish delight in Istanbul and brought it to their countries as a gift (Işın, 2019). In response to the increasing demand in Europe, Hacı Bekir began to export large quantities of Turkish delight to Europe towards the middle of the 19th century (Işın, 2019).

3.1.3. Historically Important Periods for The Turkish Delight Market

3.1.3.1. 18th Century Ottoman Empire

It was in the 18th century that Turkish delight was first produced in the Ottoman Palace and later became a trademark of Hacı Bekir. To comprehend the historical evolution of the Turkish delight market, a confectionery produced and consumed in the Ottoman Palace during that era, in this research, the periods I will examine start from the Ottoman Empire period. The study has focused on early modern Ottoman consumer culture and markets (Karababa, 2015). The economic principles implemented in the Ottoman Empire aimed to ensure the population's availability, affordability, and abundance of goods (İnalcık, 2011).

The Ottoman Empire controlled prices on a product-by-product basis, discouraged exports, and encouraged imports. In the Ottoman Empire, where most of the economy was based on agricultural production, both the deprivation of the people from the consumption opportunities granted to the Ottoman Palace and the development of a religiously based sense of austerity can be counted as factors that prevented the spread of consumption trends (Pamuk, 1998). The Ottoman Empire was based on a subsistence economy (Pamuk, 1998). Therefore, the goods produced

were limited to a size that could only satisfy daily consumption, and accumulation could not be achieved (Coşkun, 2011). Various researchers have deliberated on whether the economy remained static, examining practices and the processes of negotiation and resistance (Pamuk, 1998). From the mid-17th century, the expansion of novelties, entertainment products, and goods consumption among lower social classes indicated the emergence of dynamic consumer culture and markets (Karababa, 2012).

3.1.3.2. After the Turkish Republic Proclamation

The modernization process of underdeveloped or undeveloped countries is defined as transforming the nation's existing order and material civilization from one form to another (İnalcık, 2011). Modernization means changing the way of life and the way of thinking, moving towards something better and more developed than the existing style and procedure (Ortaylı, 2008). Turkish society has experienced many reforms towards modernization since the Tanzimat, and many reforms have taken place in the formation of the state and nation with Atatürk and intellectuals. With the establishment of the Republic, important steps were taken to make the state and society secular. Modernity is used in the same sense as the new, the recent time that has moved away from the old (İnalcık, 2011).

During this period, foreign capital was cautiously allowed to enter the country. There were also attempts to develop the domestic economy through national economic policies. The Incentive Industry Law, established in 1927, offered various incentives and subsidies to industrial establishments (Altuğ et al., 2002). In 1929, tariffs were abolished, and import restrictions were introduced. As a large proportion of essential consumer goods were imported, a strategy of domestic production instead of imports was implemented (Kepenek & Yentürk, 1990).

The proclamation of the Turkish Republic meant a new society and a new audience for advertisers. Advertisements conveyed Western and modern identity through clothing, showcasing innovative styles and promoting a lifestyle distinct from the past, with both men and women featured. According to Kepenek and Yentürk (1990), employing contemporary products allows individuals to attain social values like prestige, beauty, and enjoyment, even if these products are noticeable. In the Ottoman Empire, the notion prevailed that advertising was regarded as a form of

display, viewed with a sense of shame (Karpat, 2002). With the effect of this understanding, the realization of the importance of advertising was delayed.

During that period, there were advancements in chocolate, which was perceived as a replacement for Turkish delight within the confectionery and sweet category. Despite establishing a chocolate factory in Feriköy in 1927, the popularity of Turkish delight persisted until the 1980s (Palacioğlu, 2003). The sustained popularity of Turkish delight was mainly due to the broad variety of desserts offered in traditional Turkish cuisine. Additionally, chocolate remained accessible only to high-income individuals during that time (Palacioğlu, 2003).

3.1.3.3. The 1980s: Reshaping Turkey's Economy

Regarding its impact, the 1980s hold a significant place in the history of Turkey. What makes the 1980s different from other periods is that they were marked by the economic liberalization wave experienced in the world. The development of the liberal wave inevitably impacted society and cultural life. During this period, people began to shape their identities with the onset of mass consumption. In essence, the emergence of a new consumption culture led to the creation of novel cultural groups, where the level of consumption became a primary indicator of social differentiation (Harvey, 2003). In Turkey, the 24 January 1980 Decisions and Structural Reforms led to several changes in economic, social, and cultural areas (Selçuk & Ertuğrul, 2001). These decisions, which aimed to increase exports to overcome the shortage of foreign exchange, caused income inequality due to Turkey's inability to control imports. One of the motives behind these decisions was the desire of the growing global economy to view Turkey as a potential market (Selçuk & Ertuğrul, 2001).

Consequently, capital owners and producers aimed to explore new consumer bases (Selçuk & Ertuğrul, 2001). Indeed, the agreements with international organizations resulting from these decisions led Turkey to incur a substantial debt burden.

Consequently, the country transitioned into a consumer society primarily driven by excessive imports (Selçuk & Ertuğrul, 2001). Turkey started implementing policies without an industrialization strategy, and planning, consumption, and trade were encouraged rather than production (Cilasun & Kırdar, 2012). The process of reform, beginning with the liberalization of the foreign trade regime and financial sector and

culminating in the liberalization of capital accounts by the end of 1989, brought about a profound transformation in market structures.

The foundation of the chocolate production technology used in Turkey dates back to 1975 (Kurt, 2012). Due to the foreign exchange shortage experienced between 1975 and 1980, production capacities remained limited, leading to a lack of investment in advertising. Despite the foreign exchange constraints during this period, investments continued, and the operation of these investments accelerated after 1980 (Kurt, 2012). Moreover, the imposition of customs duties on cocoa beans was removed. With the elimination of customs duties on chocolate and cocoa beans, classified initially as a luxury product category, significant progress was observed after 1980. During this period, investments were exclusively directed toward the chocolate sector (Kurt, 2012). Chocolate and biscuit factories were established, and the development of chocolate confectionery products was prioritized (Kurt, 2012).

During the 1980s, as the import regime underwent gradual economic liberalization, there was a significant rise in imports - from US\$ 8.21 billion in 1980 to US\$ 15.95 billion in 1989 (UN COMTRADE, 2023). According to the United Nation's COMTRADE International Trade Database, Turkey imported over US\$ 300 million of sugar and confectionery in 1989 (UN COMTRADE, 2023). This level of imports continued into the 1990s, but the US\$300 million level was not reached until 2015. This led to the conclusion that the economic reform and adjustment process of the 1980s was utilized by the sugar and confectionery sector.

3.1.3.4. Late 2010s - Back to Tradition

In the late 2010s, embracing the past with a fresh and unique approach resulted in increased fragmentation and the establishment of a niche market. Brands that describe this sweet as highly suitable for innovative methods have given different touches to Turkish delight. Traditional flavors began to be crafted with textures beyond ordinary forms. Furthermore, these changes extended beyond diverse flavor combinations, encompassing significant modifications in the raw materials used in production. Turkish delight production involves using fruit extract and handcrafted fruit powders. By crafting a novel Turkish delight recipe using apple concentrate instead of refined sugar, they achieved perfection at every production stage with meticulous attention to precise measurements (Benbasat, 2020). Significantly, the

production of rose-flavored Turkish delight exhibited a deviation from the typical pink color. New generation brands produce vegan and gluten-free Turkish delights. In addition to that, they create variations such as salt-pistachio-caramel, mastic-mulberry, cherry, strawberry, and walnut flavors, both for summer and winter. One producer depicted the new generation Turkish delight as a synthesis of contrasts: traditional yet modern, old yet new, and Eastern yet Western (Benbasat, 2020).

As the market evolves, Turkish delight continues to impress consumers with its rich heritage, versatility, and changing range of confectionery, offering choices across different tastes and experiences. In the late 2010s, the existence of online marketplaces and the representation of Turkish delight brands with a large number of accounts on social media started to change Turkish delight preferences. While its presence might not be extensive in chain supermarkets, sales of these products are conducted through online sales platforms and company websites. Furthermore, the new generation Turkish delight has established itself as a niche market through consumers' preferences and collaborations with various venues and coffee brands. Online marketplaces provided easy access to traditional products and enabled them to reach a broader consumer base (Darley et al., 2010). Consequently, producers offer many brands and product varieties on online platforms. Looking at current data, Trendyol, Turkey's largest e-commerce platform, is projected to have a turnover of over 75 billion TL in 2022 and currently offers a total of 309 new generation Turkish delight and derivative products with different packaging and ingredient options from ten manufacturers (Trendyol data, July 2023). Variations such as matcha powder, anise, raspberry, red pepper, and sumac were introduced. Brands such as Servet, Marsel, Vevis, Selamlı, Lokum Atölyesi, Nostima, Bilokum, Züber, Lokumland, and Lokumbox began to sell products on online marketplaces such as Trendyol, Hepsiburada, and Amazon. Several brands, like Marsel, Vevis, Nostima, and Servet, also take orders through their company websites.

Furthermore, the price of new generation Turkish delight, which also varies in sales units compared to 'traditional' Turkish delight, is higher. I compared the July 2023 online marketplace prices of the Hacı Bekir brand and Marsel Delight. While traditional Turkish delight is sold by the kilogram, new generation Turkish delight boxes are sold by quantity or grams. According to my observations from these brands, a single piece of new generation Turkish delight is sold for approximately 10

Turkish Liras. On the other hand, when I divide the kilogram price by quantity for traditional Turkish delight, it is about 6 Turkish Liras per piece. In both compared products, there are no expensive nuts or additional ingredients.

There has been significant progress in physical retail stores in recent years, with corner stores opening within shopping malls and flagship stores established in cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Antalya, and Muğla. To illustrate, Marsel's Lokum Bar in Bomonti, Selamlıque's store in Bebek, Servet's shops in Fethiye and Göcek Marina, and Vevis's store in Emaar Shopping Mall have become physical locations where new generation Turkish delights are presented to customers. These physical stores also organize tasting events, effectively gathering customer feedback.

3.2. Methodology

In this section, I evaluate the research's scale based on various dimensions to ensure findings and conclusions. The measurements used in this evaluation are inspired by McCracken's (1988) identification of contentious aspects in qualitative methodology. Qualitative methods are most suitable for research that analyzes and describes the attributes and significance of entities and processes (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003). Following a similar rationale, Valtonen and Moisander (2006) assert that qualitative research effectively provides meaningful insights when the goal is to elucidate and gain a deeper understanding of how taste evolves within established cultural and social frameworks and its impact on the market.

After developing an interest in this research topic, I engaged in observation to comprehend the sensations and experiences of Turkish delight consumers. I examined my own experiences and preferences, and as my awareness about the subject grew, I also conducted observations to understand the processes of change. As a Turkish delight consumer, I visited the Hacı Bekir store in Ankara, which I frequented twice to purchase Turkish delight, as part of this study. During these shopping experiences, I interacted with fellow consumers I encountered and engaged with individuals in my immediate social circle who also indulged in Turkish delight. Additionally, I placed an online order once with Marsel Delight and once with Vevis, and experienced purchasing Turkish delight online. Furthermore, I listened to the memories shared by acquaintances, including those of my grandparents, related to Turkish delight.

Therefore, this study is built on a framework designed to thoroughly comprehend individuals' Turkish delight consumption practices and how these factors have shaped the taste and niche market of Turkish delight, providing a comprehensive and detailed perspective. Considering all these factors, in this research, the utilization of qualitative techniques arises from the nature of my research objective. Firstly, I research the history of the market for a product consumed from the 18th century to the late 2010s and describe the Turkish delight market in light of documents like historical newspapers, magazines, company websites, and social media visuals. In my research's historical market development section, I have divided my research into specific historical periods of social, cultural, and economic importance for Turkey. In this section, I aim to understand Turkish consumers better to uncover their meanings about the period's social, cultural, and economic dynamics to understand Turkish consumers' confectionery consumption.

My research sheds light on the consumption habits of high-end new generation Turkish delight consumers, examining how these practices have evolved and guided their preferences. This can only be achieved by comprehending and interpreting the consumers' preferences, experiences, and tastes. Therefore, I used a variety of qualitative research methods in my study. Firstly, I employed documentary research to analyze historically significant periods. Secondly, I used semi-structured interviews and projective techniques to understand consumers' experiences, preferences, and tastes since the study examines how Turkish delight consumption practices have increasingly diversified in recent years with the emergence of new taste preferences and relevant Turkish delight market dynamics. In line with this objective, the study adopted a qualitative approach and utilized semi-structured interviews with new generation Turkish delight consumers.

According to Levy (1999), various aspects of symbolism, meaning, or comprehension frequently necessitate considering an individual's preferences. To serve this purpose, I focused on the importance of Turkish delight consumption, the practices of consumers, and changing consumer tastes. I attempted to elucidate the significance of this 'traditional' confectionery from the perspective of its consumers, aiming to unveil and portray their viewpoints (Maxwell, 2008), in other words, illuminating the emic view (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003). I conducted semi-structured interviews with 10 high-end Turkish delight consumers to better understand their

preferences and experiences toward confectionery consumption. These interviews are open-ended questions that exhibit informants' values and motivations related to their consumption practices. Through these interviews, I could identify the broader social and cultural conditions influencing informants' consumption patterns.

Moreover, qualitative research provides the flexibility to incorporate unpredictable phenomena and controls into theoretical frameworks. This adaptability enables the creation of novel concepts by drawing from the impacts of researched phenomena. In this way, it is possible to make a constant comparative analysis and change the data while evaluating it with theory in data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In grounded theory methodology, theory-making and social research are closely intertwined research processes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Qualitative research is better suited for gaining insight into the mechanisms underlying the occurrence of circumstances rather than focusing on the results of changes in consumption practices.

One of the fundamental principles of this study is its adaptable design, which permits the development of a grounded theory. In qualitative research, another key principle is the researcher's openness, as it allows for extensive theory-building opportunities. In this context, after documentary research on the Turkish delight market and consumption practices and diversification since the 18th century, I chose semi-structured interviews and projective techniques to collect data to understand the changing preferences of Turkish delight consumers.

Next, in this chapter, details about data collection methods, sampling, and other considerations are addressed. Trustworthiness, immediacy, and research ethics concerns are covered in the next section.

3.2.1. Data Collection Methods

I used multiple data collection techniques, including documentary research, semi-structured interviews, and projective techniques, to gain insights into consumption practices, market dynamics, consumer experiences, tastes, and preferences (Table 1). Since Turkish delight is a part of the tradition, a symbol of generosity and hospitality consumed on special occasions, I would like to record the names of the brands that informants know and are familiar with to support my arguments in the following chapters.

Table 1: Data Collection - Sources and Objectives

Name	Source	Objective of Use
Documentary Research		
Historical newspaper and magazine advertisements	Akşam, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet, İkdam, Akşam Postası, Yeni Sabah, Son Telgraf, Tan, Tercüman Gazetesi, Yeni Yıldız Dergisi, and Akbaba Dergisi- Total 60 visuals	Provide a valuable historical context for understanding the conditions and practices of the past
Social Media posts and website visuals	Servet,Züher,Marsel,Bilokum,Lokum Atölyesi, Nostima,Vevis,Lokumland,Lokumbox,Selamlıque company website and/or Instagram and Facebook pages - Total 45 visuals	Comprehending how brands enable engagement between consumers and their latest products, monitor the trends they pursue, create relationships with their customers, and highlight specific messages
Historical books	Priscilla Mary Işın's ' Gülbeşeker: Türk Tatlıları Tarihi ' (2008), ' Osmanlı Mutfak İmparatorluğu ' (2014), ' Bereketli İmparatorluk: Osmanlı Mutfak Tarihi ' (2020), Emine Gürsoy Naskali and Salih Mehmet Arçın's ' Kahve Yanında Bir Lokum ' (2017)	Learn about Turkish delight in the Ottoman Palace cuisine and the history of Hacı Bekir, the oldest confectionery shop in 18th century Turkey and visuals from these books since unavailability Ottoman-era records in archives in Ankara
Semi-structured Interviews	10 new generation Turkish delight consumers with high income and educational capital	Reveal the emic perspective of consuming new generation Turkish delight
Projective Techniques	Sentence completion, dream exercise, and personification	Gain a deeper comprehension of the elements that impact the preferences and consumption behaviors of the individuals providing information

In designing this study, I aimed to create a structure that would lead to the attainment of data saturation. Data saturation is attained when the study gathers enough information to allow for its replication and when obtaining new data or conducting further coding becomes challenging (Guest et al., 2006). When relevant data collection methods yield comprehensive and detailed descriptions, combined with a well-suited research study design, the process is significantly facilitated, enhancing the likelihood of effectively addressing the research question. During my documentary research and interviews, I observed that data saturation for analysis was evident as I encountered repetitive patterns, consistent codes, and similar responses (Guest et al., 2006).

3.2.2. Documentary Research

Documentary research provides a valuable historical context for understanding the conditions and practices of the past; it allows me to comprehend the changes and variations in Turkish delight consumption after the new century. It is a crucial element in the historiography of Turkish delight from the 18th century onwards as it grants access to and analysis of primary sources from the mentioned period. These

newspaper articles were analyzed using procedures Golder (2000) outlined between 1930 and late 2010s. Humphreys (2010) suggested that newspaper articles, as a form of mass media discourse, possess distinct characteristics in shaping and reflecting public perceptions compared to newspapers, blogs, magazines, or other documents. I examined magazines and periodicals from 1923 to the 2000s at the National Library in Bahçelievler, Ankara, between March and May 2023. I reviewed publications such as Akşam, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet, İktam, Akşam Postası, Yeni Sabah, Son Telgraf, Tan, Tercüman Gazetesi, Yeni Yıldız Dergisi, and Akbaba Dergisi. By scrutinizing historical records, I grasped how Turkish delight was produced, sold, and consumed in the past. This information can aid in comprehending how Turkish delight consumption has evolved over time and how historical and social factors have driven its taste changes and market. Secondly, to conduct contemporary documentary research, I examined the online platforms, websites, and social media profiles (Facebook and Instagram) of new generation Turkish delight brands, including Servet, Marsel, Vevisel, Selamlıque, Lokum Atölyesi, Nostima, Bilokum, Züber, Lokumland, and Lokumbox. I analyzed 45 visuals within these accounts. By scrutinizing the types of Turkish delight depicted in the visuals, the text and words used, as well as objects other than Turkish delight present in the images, I conducted an analysis of various elements integrated into the visual presentations of these brands for contemporary documentary research.

Documentary research identifies pivotal actors, events, and trends that have reshaped Turkish delight consumption. Analyzing newspapers and magazines, I pinpointed significant turning points, such as shifts in production methods, price changes, spatial modifications, and emerging new markets. This provides insights into the Turkish delight market and examines continuities and discontinuities in tastes and practices.

Lastly, documentary research confirms patterns and trends in Turkish delight consumption that might not be apparent through other data sources. By examining advertisements from various periods, I unveiled alterations in Turkish delight advertising, ingredients, flavors, or packaging that mirror broader shifts in consumer preferences. Archival research facilitates constructing a nuanced and detailed historical narrative of Turkish delight consumption, encompassing the broader social, economic, and cultural contexts that shaped its development. Overall, archival

research is pivotal for situating Turkish delight within a historical context and comprehensively understanding its cultural and historical significance.

Additionally, to better contextualize the history, I examined sources such as books, articles, photographs, and reports (Kozinets et al., 2013). These sources include: Priscilla Mary Işın's 'Gülbeşeker: Türk Tatlıları Tarihi' (2008), 'Osmanlı Mutfak İmparatorluğu' (2014), 'Bereketli İmparatorluk: Osmanlı Mutfağı Tarihi' (2020), and Emine Gürsoy Naskali and Salih Mehmet Arçın's 'Kahve Yanında Bir Lokum' (2017). Initially, I gathered data from these books to understand the context, tradition, and historical aspects of Turkish delight consumption and related experiences in Turkey.

3.2.3. Semi-structured interviews

I used the semi-structured interview to reveal the emic perspective of consuming Turkish delight today. I interviewed the 10 Turkish delight consumers, as the study required disclosure of emic meanings experienced and created by informants. Including diverse perspectives enhances the trustworthiness of the research findings (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989). Therefore, I tried to reach a diverse sample in terms of age, occupation, and gender. Before the study started, a pilot application was made for interview questions, and necessary changes were made. A pilot study was carried out with informants representing traditional and new generation Turkish delight consumers to develop interview questions.

Semi-structured interviews are most suitable for topics that require a deep understanding of the informant's preferences, experiences, and tastes. Generally, interviews are more appropriate for research questions that are broad, complex, or difficult to quantify and require a rich and nuanced understanding of the informant's subjective experiences. Also, interviews help analyze informants' personal experiences and how they interpret and make sense of these experiences. I aspire to uncover informants' preferences, experiences, and tastes. Due to the extended and diverse nature of responses obtained from open-ended questions compared to closed-ended ones, the interviews are structured to include multiple open-ended questions. Insights into the informants' perspectives can be gained by employing open-ended questions, avoiding the imposition of predefined categories that might limit their choices and responses. This approach allows for a more comprehensive

understanding of how the informants view the world (McCracken, 1988). Open-ended questioning enables informants to articulate their worldview in their own words, drawing upon their experiences and personal meanings (McCracken, 1988). To facilitate this process, I attempted to establish a supportive structure that promotes participants freely articulating their thoughts, emotions, and feelings.

3.2.3.1. Informants

During the initial phase of the study, I conducted a pilot interview and used the insights gained to develop an interview protocol for subsequent informants. The interview protocol comprehensively encompassed all aspects related to Turkish delight. Throughout most of the interviews, I adhered to the sequence of questions in the guide to create a comfortable atmosphere for the informants. Additionally, I conducted the interviews in a conversational, warm, and genuine manner. During the interviews, my goal was to keep the conversation flowing smoothly without manipulating the responses (Patton, 1990).

Afterward, the questions focus on how the participants consume 'traditional' confectionery and Turkish delight, their shopping habits, and memories of Turkish delight. Semi-structured interviews lasting between 45 and 60 minutes were conducted with 10 traditional and new generation Turkish delight consumers. I obtained approximately 420 minutes of recordings, which filled 147 pages. Interviews were recorded in the Zoom Cloud and transcribed via the software tool Transkriptor. According to Kozinets et al. (2013), online interviews can play an essential role in many online research studies. In the age of Skype, online interviews conducted via audio and visual connections can yield substantial richness and value (Kivits, 2005). Online interviews have the advantage of being recordable in both audio and video formats. Due to the informants living in multiple cities in Turkey, all interviews were conducted via Zoom with video. I always tried to transcribe the interviews on the same day it was held. Bryman (2016) suggested that in academic writing, it is recommended to transcribe interviews on the same day they are conducted. This approach ensures that important information is preserved and helps the researcher remember the interview. Recording and transcribing interviews offer several advantages, such as overcoming memory limitations and avoiding

preconceived notions or assumptions about what the interviewees are expressing (Bryman, 2016).

The informants were given an overview of the study, which focused on Turkish delight. To comprehend the social context of the informants and how it shapes their lives, the interviews commenced with fundamental biographical inquiries. These questions, known as grand tour questions in line with McCracken's (1988) approach, covered aspects such as age, gender, occupation, hobbies, and other relevant details. The interview then moved on to more specific topics, such as the informant's views of their confectionery consumption, memories of Turkish delight consumption, shopping routines, and recent observations. After a few questions, I started asking about their consumption of Turkish delight and how they buy and consume it. The changing tastes in recent periods and the differentiations in flavor, ingredients, and packaging were also questioned. The interviewees were allowed to choose the time and date for the interviews. Whenever the informants touched upon the main themes of the study, further probing and exploration were conducted. A complete set of predetermined questions can be found in the interview protocol provided in Appendix A.

The interview sample selection was created for each respondent, considering the differences in age, gender, and occupation (McCracken, 1988). In qualitative research, it is appropriate to use purposive sampling to identify specific Turkish delight consumers who can provide insights into Turkish delight consumption practices and the Turkish delight market. Purposive sampling involves selecting informants based on particular criteria, such as their consumption behavior, experience, or preferences toward Turkish delight. I obtained in-depth information and better understood the market by targeting specific Turkish delight consumers based on their consumption behavior, experiences, or preferences.

Various methods can be employed to recruit informants for qualitative research, including social media or other relevant channels. Social media platforms, particularly, have become an increasingly popular method for reaching out to potential informants due to their widespread usage and accessibility. However, it is essential to ensure that the recruitment process adheres to ethical principles and respects the rights and privacy of the informants (Mason, 2002). Achieving this

involves furnishing comprehensive details about the study and its objectives, obtaining verbal consent, clarifying the research purpose and procedures, and guaranteeing that informants have the autonomy to withdraw from the research at any point. I also maintained confidentiality and anonymity, ensuring that informants' personal information and data were protected and not shared with anyone else without their explicit consent. I also mentioned that I would use pseudonyms for informants in the data analysis. By taking these steps, I ensure that the informants' recruitment process is conducted respectfully, ethically, and transparently.

Social media platforms such as Instagram, LinkedIn, and Twitter were utilized to reach a broader audience when attempting to reach new generation Turkish delight consumers. Specific hashtags and keywords related to Turkish delight consumption can be used to target the relevant audience. Additionally, the recruitment process was further expanded through snowball sampling. This method was used to identify potential new generation Turkish delight consumers who may not be easily accessible through purposeful sampling. I started by interviewing a few new generation Turkish delight consumers I reached through Instagram and asked them to refer others in their network who also consume new generation Turkish delight. By doing so, I accessed a pool of informants who may have unique perspectives and experiences related to Turkish delight consumption, thus enhancing the richness of the data. By including informants representing various perspectives, I took measures to maintain the authenticity of my research. As a result, the relatively small sample size did not pose a concern, as the research could be justified in terms of trustworthiness and immediacy, considering the methods employed to generate and interpret the data, which will be discussed further in this study. In qualitative research, the focus is not on demonstrating the widespread prevalence of cultural practices but on understanding how these practices are culturally directed. This study aims to shed light on cultural practices often taken for granted (Valtonen & Moisander, 2006). Informant profiles are in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Information Profiles

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Occupation	City of residence
Cem	30s	Male	Brand Manager	İstanbul
Çınar	40s	Male	Freelance Consultant	İzmir
Burak	40s	Male	Project Consultant	İstanbul
Faruk	30s	Male	Lecturer	İstanbul
Melisa	30s	Female	Tax Auditor	İstanbul
Leyla	30s	Female	Publisher	İstanbul
Selim	30s	Male	Bank Branch Manager	İstanbul
Beril	20s	Female	Energy Consultant	Ankara
Batı	20s	Male	Growth Manager	İzmir
Nil	20s	Female	Digital Marketing Executive	İstanbul

3.2.4. Projective Techniques

Projective techniques were also applied before the questions during the interview session. The rationale behind employing projective techniques is to mitigate the potential impact of biases when directly eliciting consumers' viewpoints and comprehending their perceptions regarding Turkish delight. This precaution is necessitated by the recognition that personal expressions shared by new generation consumers can be susceptible to unconscious motifs, rendering them intricate to articulate, thereby culminating in the potential for systematic biases (Britten & Fisher, 1993).

I utilized projective approaches to eliminate social desirability bias in consumer behavior research and shed light on the hidden and unconscious dimensions of individuals' personalities (Levy, 1999). Several projective techniques encompass picture association, object personification, psycho-drawing, role-playing, sentence completion, and word association (Kozinets et al., 2013). Rook (2006) highlights that

the research objectives guide the selection of these methods. In this study, sentence completion, dream exercise, and personification were used to understand better the factors influencing informants' preferences and consumption behaviors.

By employing sentence completion, I aimed to reveal unconscious associations in a more detailed manner than just a single word (Kozinets et al., 2013). In this study, six sentence completions were asked after the grand-tour questions of the interview. Analyzing the responses, I tried to understand consumers' connection to Turkish delight and willingness to try new flavors or variations. Through this exercise, I aimed to uncover key perceptions and preferences that may not be immediately apparent through direct questioning (Mason, 2002). Secondly, for object personification, I asked the following questions: 'If the new generation Turkish delight were a person, what would he/she be like? What would his/her job, education, gender, and family be like?'. Formally, the questions aimed to understand how 'traditional' and new generation consumers perceived Turkish delight. This exercise helped to reveal the meanings of Turkish delight. For example, one informant personified Turkish Delight as a comforting and nostalgic figure, indicating its importance as a source of comfort in their lives.

In the dream exercises, the researcher uses dreams as a realm of fantasy where many things are possible (Kozinets et al., 2013). I asked the informants to describe a dream in which Turkish delight was mentioned. The analysis of dream narratives allows me to access consumers' unconscious desires, wishes, and motivations about Turkish delight. By revealing hidden desires, symbolic meanings, and emotional connections, it sheds light on the psychological aspects that influence their preferences (Kozinets et al., 2013).

3.2.5. Data Analysis

Data analysis began with historical and contemporary documentary research. It initially involved collecting old newspaper and magazine advertisements from archives, then analyzing social media visuals and dedicated websites of new generation Turkish delight brands. Visual content analysis was employed to analyze both online and offline data. Visual content analysis is a systematic procedure that objectively analyzes a research question. It also aids in making implicit and explicit generalizations about actions, roles, and situations in visual content (Jewitt & Van

Leeuwen, 2001). After a preliminary analysis of contemporary photos collected from the social media accounts and websites of new generation Turkish delight brands, as well as historical images gathered from old newspapers and magazines, I developed categories to facilitate accurate analysis. The emerged categories from the data include product features, characteristics of sales points, and reflections of significant social and economic events of the period. I aimed to understand their meanings by examining printed historical advertisements, analyzing contemporary social media and web content, and studying photographs on social media accounts.

In the interview transcripts, I followed the approach outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and subjected it to coding to categorize and analyze the information provided by the informants. The coding process started with open coding, which involved separating, comparing, conceptualizing, and organizing data about distinct events and phenomena (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Concepts serve as labels for specific events and phenomena, while categories group related concepts. The naming of concepts and categories is derived from the information provided by the interviewees, including their own expressions. I sometimes named the categories and concepts myself but aimed to stay closely aligned with the informants' statements. One data analysis method was employed to understand the consumption practices and changes in taste and market within Turkish delight consumption: the grounded theory approach. The data obtained from interviews, historical and contemporary documentary research were subjected to coding using grounded theory procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). After completing the open coding process, which exposes the connections between a category and its subcategories, the subsequent step involves establishing explicit relationships between the various categories and constructing a limited number of higher-level categories. This stage involves axial coding, which centers on defining a category based on the conditions that led to its emergence, the specific features of the context in which it is embedded, the strategies of action/interaction used to handle or apply it, and the resulting consequences of these strategies (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Subsequently, the selective coding phase comprises identifying a core category and gradually connecting it to other categories. These connections need to be confirmed, and the classifications should be further developed and enhanced.

I aimed to leverage the strengths and advantages of grounded theory procedures for more robust and comprehensive research outcomes. Advanced coding methods in

grounded theory significantly reinforced the connection between peripheral categories and the main category (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Data integration was conducted during the fourth stage of the analysis, facilitating the establishment of interrelationships among all categories. Relevant literature was continually consulted to understand the data, and there was a constant reversal between data and theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The conclusion in the next section is a combination of practices and taste changes in Turkish delight consumption, the emic perspective of the consumers in the interviews, and the ethical interpretations that the researcher has built on relevant theoretical frameworks.

3.2.6. Assessing the Research Quality

The upcoming segment delves into the qualitative aspects of quality within this research. It addresses how the quality of the study was considered and indicates potential areas for further improvement.

3.2.6.1. Trustworthiness and Immediacy

Wallendorf and Belk (1989) established the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and integrity to assess reliability in consumer studies. A study is considered reliable if the representations of the structures of the studied reality are adequate and believable (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989). Among the numerous criteria, I evaluated those relevant and applicable to my study. As tools for assessing the trustworthiness of qualitative research, credibility and immediacy were considered in this study.

3.2.6.2. Credibility

Credibility in a study pertains to the degree of accuracy with which the findings depict reality (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989) and the extent to which the collected data accurately reflects the perspectives of research informants on the subject (Saunders & Townsend, 2018). Wallendorf and Belk (1989) propose various methods to improve credibility during different stages of the research. To enhance the credibility of the study, I utilized a combination of qualitative methods during the data collection phase, following the recommendations of Wallendorf and Belk (1989). I employed documentary research, interviews, and projective techniques. So, the focal point of my research was using qualitative methods during data collection, which resulted in a more comprehensive and credible data source.

3.2.6.3. Immediacy

I explain what kind of data was collected in this research, what type was obtained from what kind of samples, and how it was analyzed. Again, regarding methods, I try to clearly state what I did, why, and how I did it. I clarify three main elements (Ger, 2009). First, I continued documentary research and interviews until I got to know the subject I was working on closely. Additionally, to ensure a sense of immediacy and authenticity, I, being a consumer of Turkish delight myself, developed connections with the stores frequented for purchasing Turkish delight in everyday life.

Essentially, I immersed myself in the field to comprehensively grasp the practice of Turkish delight consumption and the dynamics of the Turkish delight market (Ger, 2009). Finally, with the presence of these two items, I aimed to show why the findings and conclusions were not a coincidence (Ger, 2009).

3.2.6.4. Research Ethics

Utilizing qualitative interviews raises multiple ethical considerations (Mason, 2002). Research ethics involves the researcher's conscientious attention to the rights of study informants and other individuals impacted by the research throughout every stage of the study (Saunders & Townsend, 2018). I have been attentive to the researcher's obligation concerning objectivity and its impact on the quality of the research. A critical research approach necessitates that researchers contemplate the ethical ramifications of their study. Initially, I utilized pseudonyms to enhance confidentiality and maximize privacy (Saunders et al., 2015). Also, in my interviews, I inquire about consumption-related matters and reveal informants' feelings concerning their consumption practices. Occasionally, the subject matter may become sensitive for the informants, especially when delving into aspects related to their families, memories, or past experiences. In such cases, I have adjusted the sequence of my questions and eliminated specific questions from the protocol based on my own experiences.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The main objective of this study is to understand how the mass market of Turkish delight, which is assumed to be 'traditional,' has transformed with changes in consumer preferences and taste. I have carried out this research to understand the historical context of market dynamics and positioned it to examine the consumption practices of the individual to understand the market transformation encountered with the taste change in the late 2010s.

This section is divided into two parts. In the first part, I take the context of market development to make sense of the historical process and analyze the mass market. In the second part, I try to reveal the changes in the new generation Turkish delight consumers' tastes, preferences, and experiences. This section begins with a socio-historical analysis of archives on the Turkish delight market from the 18th century to the 2000s, which I have analyzed from primary sources, namely historical and contemporary documentaries. The second part details a contextualized understanding of the new generation of Turkish delight consumers I interviewed, whose practices negotiate between the old and the new.

4.1. Historical Market Development

One of the central challenges in scrutinizing the evolution and alteration of markets is the necessity to be attuned to context and process. In analyzing the historical market development of Turkish delight, I draw on archival data on Turkish delight and my introspection into Turkish delight. As Giesler (2008, p.739) explains, ‘a processual understanding of how markets change requires analyzing complex socioeconomic systems over time. ‘

Four different periods were analyzed in the research. In the 18th Century, Turkish delight's introduction to the confectionery market was documented. I focused on the 1930s to observe the modernization policies of the Republic. Additionally, I determined the mid-1980s to comprehend the impacts of economic liberalization and globalization, given the notable changes in Turkey's tax, import, and export systems and the commercial diversification of sugar derivatives and chocolate. Lastly, based on the contemporary documents I examined within the scope of my study, different flavor combinations emerged in the late 2010s, new generation Turkish delight products were made available for online sales, vegan, sugar-free, additive-free, and gluten-free options gained popularity, and various brands started offering them. In this period, new generation Turkish delight brands collaborated with coffee companies, creating sales points such as Lokum Bar, where presentation and variety diversified. These periods, representing key events, therefore seem appropriate to trace Turkish delight consumption and its importance to the public.

4.2. Turkish Delight: From the 18th Century to the 1930s

I want to draw attention to historical sources highlighting different varieties of Turkish delight and the significance of the Hacı Bekir brand in Istanbul. Hacı Bekir Efendi came to Istanbul from Kastamonu in the 1770s and opened his candy shop in 1777 (Sevimli & Sönmezdağ, 2017). Although there is a lack of informative advertisements or records from the initial period, a newspaper advertisement dating back to the beginning of 1891 showcased Şekerci Hacı Bekir as a brand, inviting confectionery, cookie, syrup, and mainly Turkish delight enthusiasts to their store in Bahçekapı (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). Confectionery production and sales stores in the heart of the Ottoman Empire's capital, Istanbul, were concentrated around the Eminönü district. Typically, containers filled with candies were positioned near the

forefront of these stores, now commonly referred to as display windows (Işın, 2008). Production and sales were conducted in the same stores. These confectionery stores also furnished products for peddlers, and occasionally, they incorporated seating spaces reminiscent of contemporary bakeries (Işın, 2008). Four years later, another advertisement mentioned the commencement of mastic and rose-flavored Turkish delight production (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). The Hacı Bekir was prominently featured in newspapers. It encouraged individuals interested in Turkish delight to visit their stores for significant products during religious holidays and daily routines, such as consuming Turkish delight alongside Turkish coffee (Kuzucu, 2010). Based on the historical reference book I've reviewed, certain trade-related documents indicate that confectionery shops frequented by tourists visiting Istanbul also began exporting Turkish delight (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). The mention of mastic and rose-flavored Turkish delight alongside plain options indicates the variety in the Turkish delight market, allowing me to perceive the range of Turkish delight choices available.

4.3. During the 1930s - Republic's Modernization Policies

Following the transition to the Latin alphabet, in 1929, only Hacı Bekir advertisements were found in magazines and newspapers. Alongside the modernization policies in Turkey during 1930s, Turkish delight emerges as a national confectionery with different flavors and various sales points. In the sources analyzed during the period spanning from the 1930s to the late 2010s, I identified four main themes to analyze market development (Table 3). The first was luxurious and stylish shops all around the world, deduced from street and avenue references in advertisements; the second was product variety; the third was special occasions when advertisements and columns were published, and the last one was determined as craftsmanship. Firstly, the emphasis on Turkish delight shops and availability in advertisements and columns began in the 1930s. The advertisements mention the specific locations of Hacı Bekir branches, including Ankara, Beyoğlu, Galata, Kadıköy, Pangaltı, and Mısır, highlighting the opening of luxurious and stylish shops (Figure 1).

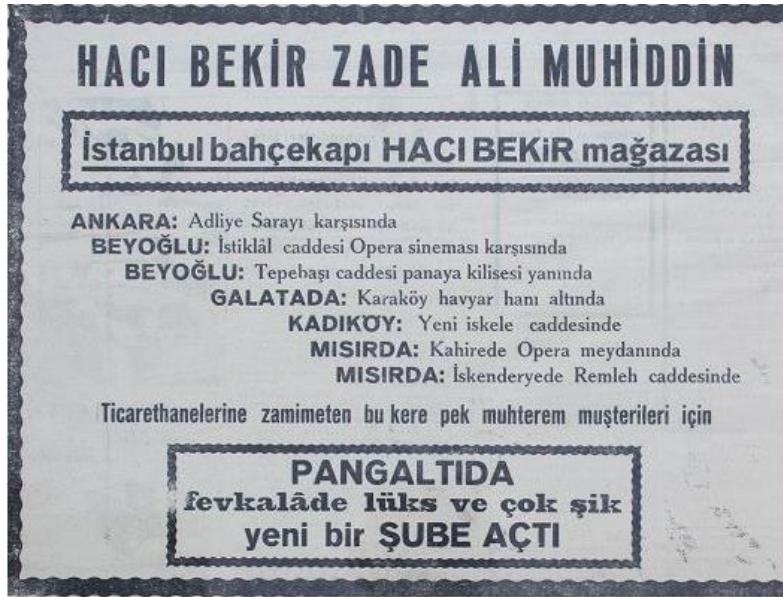


Figure 1: 24.12.1930-Akşam

Secondly, in the 1930 advertisements, new products were introduced, such as variations of coconut-flavored, pistachio, and hazelnut Turkish delight, along with the explanation of the worldwide renown of Turkish delight. The ads also highlighted the craftsmanship required for making Turkish delight. The advertisements in the 1930s emphasize the history of the business by stating that it is a 163-year-old enterprise.



Figure 2: 09.11.1939-Yeni Sabah

In 1932, Akşam newspaper mentioned the production of coconut-flavored Turkish delight according to the season. Again in 1934, the Akbaba newspaper stated that 'real sugar' is used in Turkish delight, halva, and confectionery (for detailed advertisements, see Appendix B). The advertisements show that Turkish delight is important in Turkish culture, and its popularity and fame extend beyond national borders. The use of 'real sugar' in Turkish delight, halva, and confectionery emphasizes 'real' sugar in the production process, as stated in the 1934 note. When

the extent to which it appeared in advertisements is considered, it can be asserted that consumers deemed the type of sugar important even in those times. In 1939, a column in the same newspaper emphasized the unique quality and reputation of Hacı Bekir and positioned it as a symbol of excellence in Turkish confectionery.

Thirdly, it was observed that religious and special days were emphasized in advertisements and columns. In 1938, Hacı Bekir was portrayed as the symbol of joy during religious holidays, and the advertisements emphasized that receiving a box of Hacı Bekir Turkish delight brought immense happiness beyond any other gifts. Also, in 1939, Yeni Sabah Newspaper stated that ‘everything can be imitated, but Hacı Bekir's texture is exceptional.’ Similarly, in 1939, the Yeni Sabah newspaper drew attention to the Hacı Bekir Turkish delight and emphasized its association with festivals, homes, and family visits. In interviews conducted in subsequent periods regarding the varieties, I observed that the plain variety was being sold without profit margins, and there was an encouragement for the public to consume delight on all special days and religious holidays. The plain Turkish delight was positioned as accessible for everyone. This shows that Hacı Bekir Turkish delight is deeply rooted in Turkish culture and daily life and is indispensable to religious holidays and social gatherings.

Lastly, when confectionery was considered a fine art in Ottoman culture, the Hacı Bekir delights, commonly known as the preferred choice of those who valued Turkish delight, are acknowledged as the foremost representation of this art (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). During this period, newspaper articles described confectionery as a ‘national art’ (Naskali & Arçın, 2017). Advertisements highlight the presence of skilled artisans and emphasize the significance of Turkish delight. The distinct originality of Hacı Bekir Turkish delight is emphasized by highlighting its preparation following the traditional Turkish taste and crafted by Turkish artisans.

The cultural importance of Turkish delight is evident as it is fondly remembered as a preferred gift and treat during significant events like religious holidays and social gatherings, emphasizing its role in hospitality. The kilogram prices of Turkish delight, nougat, and halva in the 1930s emphasize these confectionery products' increasing commercialization and market presence. The kilogram prices of six types

of Turkish delight are listed: plain, rose-flavored, mastic, hazelnut, pistachio, and cream.

In summary, the historical development of Turkish delight production, initially limited to the Ottoman Palace, continued with the introduction of production in Istanbul, evolving to be accessible to the general public. From the 18th Century to the end of the 1930s, advertisements highlighted Turkish delight's presence, diversification, the significance of confectionery marketplaces, connections to special occasions, and the association with craftsmanship. Turkish delight emerged as a symbol of excellence deeply ingrained in culture during this era. Some advertisements even displayed the kilogram prices of Turkish delight, emphasizing affordability and accessibility after periods of sugar scarcity. The enduring popularity of Turkish delight throughout these years accentuated its cultural and commercial significance, portraying it not only as a cherished gift but also as a cultural heritage that transcends time.

4.4. Economic Liberalization and Globalization in the Mid-1980s

After 1980, the increase in competition between producers, the increase in the number of products and the effort to differentiate the product, and the concern to ensure the continuity of consumption increase the need for advertising (Yanıklar, 2010). In this period, it is seen that advertising has become one of the main inputs, such as raw materials, and the market shares of those who attach importance to advertising have increased. From 1980 onwards, there was a noticeable trend where advertising assumed a role comparable to raw materials as a primary input, leading to increased market shares for those who prioritize advertising (Yanıklar, 2010). Particularly in the mid-1980s, alongside the rise of neoliberal policies, advertising entered a deliberate phase of engaging with the branding process. Advertising goes beyond merely providing a distinct identity for a product or its creator; it facilitates brands' acquisition of cultural significance (Sinclair, 2015).

When analyzed in terms of variety, as in the previous period, in Yeni Sabah newspaper adverts in the 1980s, it is seen that sherbet, ice cream, and almond cookies are introduced. Although not directly related to Turkish delight, it shows the expansion of Hacı Bekir's product range and its efforts to introduce new sweets, cakes, and pastries to the market. The types of Turkish delight, such as rose-flavored,

mastic, hazelnut, pistachio, and cream, were written in advertisements. In 1988, Milliyet newspaper stated that Hacı Bekir Turkish delight is an indulgence that gives a unique pleasure with its delicious flavor and packaging. Thus, it is emphasized that Hacı Bekir Turkish delight is identified with superior quality and luxury. Also in 1988, Milliyet Newspaper announced the addition of a new flavor to Hacı Bekir cookies and cakes: coconut cream. In this advertisement featured in Milliyet Newspaper, the brand entices its consumers to discover new flavors (Milliyet, 1988). When advertisements are examined from the perspective of place, Turkish delight shops in Bahçekapı and Kadıköy are still highlighted. However, the advertisements do not emphasize special days and holidays.

The analysis of advertisements and magazine archives up to this period does not indicate a noticeable change in Turkish delight. Since this study's unit of analysis focuses on newspaper and magazine advertisements, the declining visibility of Turkish delight ads is potentially associated with the changes in the confectionery market's composition. The appearance of various chocolates in advertisements indicates new and differentiated trends during this period. Recent analyses of globalization indicate the expansion of consumer culture from Western societies to other regions (Ger & Belk, 1996). While globalization enhances world integration and fragmentation, it also highlights and reinforces differences (Pekman, 2001). Despite homogenization due to similar behaviors exhibited by people living in different countries, significant cultural differences persist among nations and societies. In other words, globalization operates toward both integration and fragmentation (Bauman, 2001). Implementing neoliberal policies in Turkey led to substantial transformations in social and cultural spheres, affecting all aspects of life. Despite the fragmentation observed in Turkish delight advertisements and promotions, another renowned confectionery type, chocolate, overcame raw material supply challenges by leveraging the removal of customs duties on cocoa beans after 1980. In this period, advertisements of both foreign brands like Nestle and domestic brands like Ülker increased. In Figure 3, family ties associated with Ülker Chocolate are emphasized, while in Figure 4, the emphasis is placed on 'World's Confection' with a Nestle advertisement. The Nestle advertisement claims that 'all family members, both young and old, will love Bonanza.' Thus, chocolate advertisements

and promotions exemplify the integration facilitated by globalization, demonstrating the dual nature of integration and fragmentation.

However, globalization has a profound effect on the socio-cultural field, and it is seen that globalization is a process in which new tendencies coexist. This process includes cultural homogenization and heterogenization (Friedman, 2020). While the confectionery market in Turkey has been guided by global trends and economic regulations, resulting in homogenization, consumer preferences for confectionery have become more heterogeneous.



Figure 3: 11 Mayıs 1984- Tercüman



Figure 4: 3 Şubat 1982- Hürriyet

4.5. Turkish Delight in the late 2010s and Beyond

In the late 2010s, local producers with a desire to utilize creativity and produce different flavors emerged in the Turkish delight market (Benbasat, 2020). Sweets containing elements of tradition, such as halva, and Turkish delight, garnered interest (Benbasat, 2020). The question of improving upon these familiar tastes led to the experimentation with the new generation of Turkish delight, encompassing heritage and family within its creative process (Benbasat, 2020). In this context, taste connects history, place, objects, and people (Probyn, 2016). When analyzing their websites and Instagram and Facebook pages, it becomes evident how the Instagram and Facebook pages of new generation Turkish delight brands blend tradition and novelty to establish a strong bond with their followers and customers. The emphasis is on vegan and gluten-free products made without refined sugar, using whole fruits and local nuts, and free from artificial flavors and colorings. In many social media posts, both the range of products and their distinct characteristics are highlighted. In this context, three different themes emerged: Iconic items of tradition-sense of nostalgia, the charm of the past, and attachment and familiarity (Table 3). Another issue that draws attention here is that Turkish delight advertisements before and after 2010s are not made with common themes, but consumers combine traditional Turkish delight and new generation Turkish delight with their own practices.

It was seen in the adverts and posts, matcha powder, anise, raspberry, red pepper, and sumac-flavored Turkish delights stand out as a ‘mind-blowing flavor combo.’ By meticulously curating visuals, using cultural symbols like the evil eye, and incorporating elements such as board game backgammon and tesbih, which is considered a symbol of good luck, protection, and spiritual well-being and lace (dantel), these pages evoke a longing for cultural heritage while creating a captivating and meaningful experience. Additionally, incorporating old soda bottles and shopping bags (file) are nostalgic elements. They symbolize the simplicity and charm of the past, evoking a sense of sentimental attachment and cultural familiarity. One of the new generation Turkish delight brands, Vevise, has chosen to incorporate frames with vintage family photographs in their ‘bayram’ greeting message (Figure 5). The black and white family photos evoke a sense of nostalgia. In the period following the late 2010s, it can be understood that there was a trend of returning to

tradition and family accompanied by the emergence of renewed and distinctive content. Furthermore, it was identified that there was even more differentiation in the market and the emergence of a niche market.



Figure 5: ‘We wish you a happy holiday with Vevise flavors.’

Table 3: Historical and Contemporary Documentary Research - Themes

Source	Dates	Data Set	Themes
Akşam, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet, İktidam, Akşam Postası, Yeni Sabah, Son Telgraf, Tan, Tercüman Gazetesi, Yeni Yıldız Dergisi, and Akbaba Dergisi	Four Periods: Between 1930 to 2010s	30 photos, from newspaper and magazines	Luxurious and stylish shops (sales points in Turkey and abroad) Product variety (plain, rose, hazelnut, pistachio) Special occasions (holidays, social gatherings, weddings) Craftsmanship
Servet, Züher, Marsel, Bilokum, Lokum Atölyesi, Nostima, Vevise, Lokumland, Lokumbox, Selamlı que company website and/or Instagram and Facebook pages	Late 2010s to 2023	Social Media posts and website visuals- Total 45 visuals	Iconic items of tradition (tespih, tavla, file) -sense of nostalgia Charm of the past Attachment and familiarity

4.6. Consumer Taste, Preference, and Market Change

After examining the historical market development, in order to understand the taste and market changes in the late 2010s, I am conducting interviews with 10 participants who are engaged in high-income jobs and have a university education. Through their consumption of the relatively expensive product, the new generation Turkish delight, I am analyzing changes in their preferences and the market.

An in-depth analysis reveals a fundamental and overarching theme from the empirical data. This overarching core theme is called Bridging 'Tradition' and Novelty, and related themes are a) Global Health Concerns, b) Appreciation of Heritage, and c) Evolving Global Taste Regimes. These three themes concerning the new generation Turkish delight were consistently reiterated during the interviews. Through the practices emerging from interviews, consumers are engaging in the act of bridging (Table 4). These are not mutually exclusive and overlap to a certain

extent. Therefore, aspects and elements of the new generation Turkish delight and related flavor change are discussed from different perspectives in this chapter. This part explains the themes mentioned above from the data in more detail. To illustrate the main themes, selected excerpts from the interview data are utilized as illustrative quotes.

Table 4 : The Practices of New Generation Consumers and Producers

New Generation Consumer Practices	New Generation Producer Practices
Consumers prefer healthy snacks after sports Consumer are taking a break while shopping Consumers prefer to eat things that are presented tastefully	Producers produce vegan, gluten-free, sugar-free but sweetened with apple extract and natural ingredient options and featuring unique flavors with
Consumers are shopping online, making purchases from Lokum Bar, flagship stores and corner locations in shopping malls	Producers offer Turkish delight for sale in places such as Lokum Bar, flagship stores, shopping mall stores, corners at 3rd wave coffee shops, and online marketplaces
Consumers are willing to purchase 6-pack and 9-pack options as gifts	Producers create single, 6-piece, and 9-piece packages
Consumers accept high prices and often prefer single purchases despite the higher unit price in order to try different flavors	Producers charge high prices due to the quality of ingredients compared to traditional Turkish delight price range
Consumers encounter the new generation of Turkish delight through not only weddings or funerals, but also strategic collaborations with coffee brands, restaurants, festivals, and prestigious hotels	Producers engage in partnerships with establishments such as hotels, restaurants, festivals, and renowned coffee brand- Nespresso
Consumers are shopping for nostalgic items they see at Lokum Bars or online stores	Producers promote new generation with social media visuals and iconic items like backgammon, lace

4.7. Bridging 'Tradition' and Novelty

I analyze new generation Turkish delight as a bridge between the 'traditional' and the new. All the informants in my interviews had experiences consuming 'traditional' Turkish delight and associated memories. The interviewees discussed their tastes and preferences for the new generation Turkish delight they have recently begun consuming, considering their past experiences with 'traditional' Turkish delight as a reference point.

Bridging has its challenges, but as I realized in this study, it can create new ways of revealing the complexity of evolving and changing markets and tastes (Fernandez & Figueiredo, 2018). I analyze the new generation Turkish delight as a bridge between the 'traditional' and the new. All participants in my interviews have experienced

consuming 'traditional' Turkish delight and have associated memories. The interviewees discussed their tastes and preferences for the new generation Turkish delight they have recently started consuming, considering their past experiences with 'traditional' Turkish delight as a reference point. Also, Maciel and Wallendorf's (2017) study for artisan beer consumers can be utilized to understand the dynamics of taste regime acquisition related to group affiliations, such as cheese lovers and organic coffee consumers. These studies deepen our understanding of the dynamics of groups acquiring a taste regime within their social group. In the case of Turkish delight, high-end Turkish delight consumers mostly preferred new generation Turkish delight. The only difference is the desire not to break away from their past. Arsel and Thompson (2011) illustrate how consumers adapt their tastes to match their community or social circle by recognizing and adopting the prevailing taste norms. In the example of Turkish delight, specific characteristics of the global taste regime interact with a 'traditional' product. Yet, the 'traditional' aspect of Turkish delight functions either as a way of fostering a sense of belonging (Gronow, 2002) or as a model of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984).

This situation is often interpreted as a social boundary created by taste (Gronow, 2002; Holt, 1998). In fact, this situation creates distinctions in a status game (Üstüner & Holt, 2010). Within this framework, taste is examined as a profoundly communal capability stemming from social class and educational background (Bourdieu, 2011; Holt, 2002), evident in personal preferences linked to class-related resources such as education or prolonged familiarity with aesthetic sense (Holt, 1998).

Three themes unite the 'traditional' Turkish delight with the new generation of Turkish delight and serve as explanations for this bridging (Figure 6) Global Health Concerns, b) Appreciation of Heritage, and c) Evolving Global Taste Regimes. My findings are about consumption practices that overlap with the taste regimes prevailing in the world but also maintain a 'tradition.'

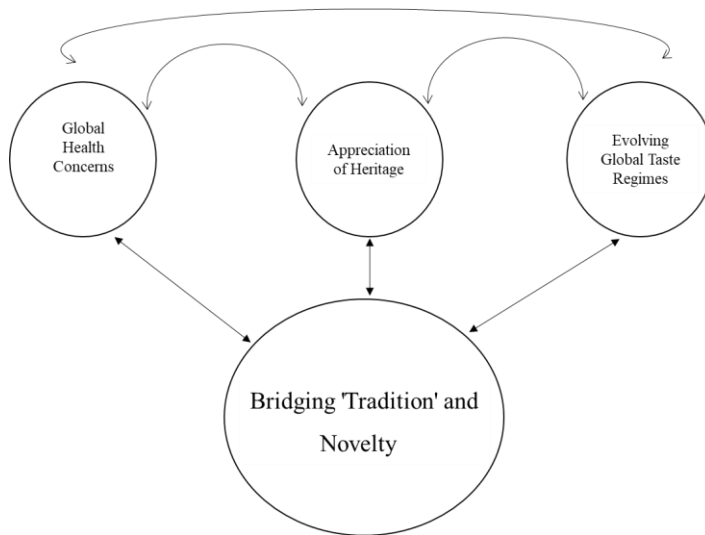


Figure 6: Picture of Findings

4.7.1. Global Health Concerns

Being a developing nation, Turkey presents a structure that demands a detailed examination of distinctive societal trends. Social and cultural distinctions are shaped by individuals' inclination toward Western influences (Rankin & Ergin, 2016). In this case, these inclinations toward distinguished characteristics define new generation Turkish delight.

In another study, Rankin and fellow researchers (2014) discuss a fresh, globally interconnected consumer framework emerging in Turkey. This cultural consumption approach mirrors patterns of consumption that reflect a recognition of elevated and popular aspects of Western culture. Although my interviewees used to consume 'traditional' Turkish delight, they now shape their diets with Western forms. Thus, Turkish delight has started creating a niche market among new trends. It is essential to understand that the eagerness to learn and adopt recent trends can lead to transformation.

Arsel and Bean (2013) explain the regime of taste, which they conceptualize as a discursive system linking aesthetics to practice, with the regime of practice following Foucault's (1991) justifications and regularities. Although taste regime is also used in the applications and interpretations of Bourdieu's distinction theory, its conceptualization is made more explicit in this way. In summary, Arsel and Bean (2013) define the taste regime as a system that regulates the aesthetics of practice in a consumption culture. New generation consumers aspire to align with the global

taste regime by embracing the distinctiveness they favor in Turkish delight. In this context, the global taste regime encompasses trends like sugar-free and gluten-free consumption and extraordinary flavors. All these factors contribute to forming the new Turkish delight market, constituted by global preferences.

According to Bourdieu (1979), taste is the foundation of everything a person possesses, and while uniting individuals shaped by similar conditions, it also sets them apart from others. Rejecting others as unnatural and harboring aversion towards different lifestyles may be one of the most powerful barriers between classes (Bourdieu, 1979). In this context, aversion to the 'traditional' is not in the form of disgust or bullying. The new generation consumers savor the taste for new generation Turkish delight because they adopt the global taste regime; in other words, they embrace global trends but do not want to abandon their 'traditions.' Üstüner, Ger, and Holt (2000) did not interpret the emergence of the new urban henna night as resistance or a claim of local distinctiveness against the global. However, based on the responses I obtained from the informants I interviewed regarding their consumption of the new generation Turkish delight, my inference is that they resist snack options such as oat bars, which have low sugar content but are part of the global taste regime. As a result, they tend to gravitate towards a product they are familiar with as part of their 'traditions.'

Nonetheless, this does not prevent them from transforming Turkish delight, which can be considered a softer form of negotiation. Consequently, Turkish delight is changing to an expensive and high-end market. Turkish delight is positioned in this niche market in Turkey, focusing on healthier alternatives.

The worldwide inclination is toward favoring low-sugar alternatives (Keller & Guyt, 2023). Although the trend in the world is gluten and sugar-free products, consumers are looking for distinguished products in this area which is new generation Turkish delight.

Leyla responded to my question about what kind of confectionery she consumes as follows:

There have been changes in my sugar consumption in recent years, and I find it positive. I feel much better now as I have reduced red meat and sugar consumption, avoiding biscuits and wafers. I prefer

natural and healthy options, and Turkish delight at the same time, particularly Marsel, is one of my favorites. I'm accustomed to having Turkish delight, which I cannot easily give up like other snacks. Marsel, as a new generation Turkish delight, feels like a stylish choice and holds a special place in my life (female, 30s, publisher).

In addition, Çınar described aspects of the new generation Turkish delight that were supported by the sales unit as healthy, as well as its ingredients:

Whenever I pass by the Lokum Atölyesi in the shopping mall, I always go in to buy Turkish delight made from natural ingredients. The best part is that they even sell a piece. I believe in quality rather than quantity. I don't want to mess up my diet. I'd rather not harm myself, so I continue to enjoy that single piece made with local and natural ingredients (male, 40s, freelance consultant).

Another informant, Nil, gave the following answer to my question about how she tried the new generation Turkish delight depending on some health concerns as follows:

I don't have any severe health problems, but I am sensitive to gluten. Ideally, Marsel is gluten-free and appeals to those with this sensitivity. I don't need to reduce my quality of life. I don't have to eat oat or other healthy snack options because I have gluten sensitivity. I don't like snacks with the word 'form' in the name that claims to be healthy. I don't want to give up my favorite confection because I have such sensitivity. I don't accept that. I want to buy gluten-free Turkish delight; that's my quest (female, 20s, digital marketing executive).

According to Arsel and Bean (2013), the concept of "taste as distinction over other groups" (p. 139) refers to preferences and assertions of status and uniqueness compared to other groups. In the case of Turkish delight, this distinction is evident between consumers of 'traditional' varieties and establishes an unintentional classification among different groups due to the high prices of new generation Turkish delight.

Occasionally, this can manifest as a form of rebellion against the imposition of a global taste regime, as noted earlier by my interviewee, Nil. However, in all cases, the admiration for the new generation Turkish delight is formed through negotiation between the old and the new, connected to heritage. Another prominent theme that emerged from the responses obtained after the interviews was the appreciation of heritage.

4.7.2. Appreciation of Heritage

The notion of heritage initiates a conversation concerning the connection between past and present. Heritage offers historical depth and enduring structure in a constantly evolving world (Bessiere,1998). Also, it should be considered a social construct rather than something petrified and fixed (Bessiere,1998). Heritage is constantly forming and changing. As Türe and Ger (2016) state, it is possible to change to adapt continuously without losing heritage values. It is a constantly revised social product, continually changing and evolving (Bessiere,1998).

My interviewees often discussed their childhood memories of 'traditional' Turkish delight and emphasized their connection to the product. Therefore, it is possible to discuss a new generation that eliminates undesirable aspects and opens up innovations to adapt to global consumption trends and concerns (Türe & Ger, 2016).

As Bourdieu (1979) highlights, taste brings together individuals who share similar conditions while setting them apart from others. In the interviews, informants share a typical enthusiasm for Turkish delight, yet they remain distinguished from each other due to various factors constituted by global consumption trends. To illustrate, when I asked them to tell me about their dreams involving Turkish delight, they talked about the past, drank coffee on weekends in old coffee houses, and started from the memories of that period. This dream section, in itself, has the potential to facilitate the understanding of the role Turkish delight plays in their lives. Furthermore, their preference for new generation Turkish delight due to different pursuits and expectations indicates a deeper appreciation of the heritage associated with Turkish delight.

Leyla's explanations gave details in this respect:

I love the new generation Turkish delight because they've managed to keep that nostalgic feeling from my childhood while twisting it. It's amazing how they've updated it so much, yet the familiar texture is still there, and it brings back all those memories of my time with my grandparents.

The best part is that I can enjoy these new varieties without compromising pleasure. I don't have to eat something ordinary to keep the tradition alive; I do it in a more sophisticated and classy way. Growing up in a modern family that also cherished traditions, I feel like savoring the new generation Turkish delight brings back

those beautiful moments we had together. It's a delightful connection to my roots; I cherish it (female, 30s, publisher).

Such nostalgic elements become desirable for people who want to return to their roots (Ger & Belk, 1996) or relive a past (Türe & Ger, 2016). Although there are global consumption trends that favor nostalgia, Leyla desires not to preserve solely the nostalgic or old in her life as they are. She appreciates and supports efforts to keep the 'tradition' alive and negotiate by drawing from the old and the new. Most interviewees embrace any effort to introduce Turkish delight to a broader consumer base and genuinely appreciate the diverse flavor combinations and the interest in their culture.

Throughout the interviews, the attributes of Turkish delight linked to festivities and communal sharing, previously discussed as part of its heritage dating back to the 18th Century, were commonly discussed. In addition, the new generation of Turkish delight quickly adopted and participated in traditional ceremonies. The new generation of Turkish delight enthusiasts continues to uphold and nurture ties with the past, Melisa explained:

A connection between me and Turkish delight goes back to my childhood. It is a flavor I am familiar with. The new generation ones are both new and traditional. It allows me to connect with the past. For this reason, it makes me feel at home; it makes me feel safe. My family is from the Uşak; when I was a child, we put Turkish delight between two biscuits and made 'kıstırma.' One of the new generation brands did the same, but again between two biscuits with different flavors of Turkish delight. When I eat it, it reminds me of my family during the previous religious holiday this year. The Turkish delight's flavor was natural and took me back to the past (female, 30s, tax auditor).

Finding a way to respect heritage while embracing innovation has played a key role in incorporating the new generation of Turkish delight into daily life. The new generation Turkish delight aims to blend this heritage with global consumption trends.

Faruk highlights a distinct perspective during our interview:

The current form of Turkish delight attracted me in every aspect because I have always been interested in stories and products that belong to us. And this new generation Turkish delight has something special to offer. It has unique flavors and natural ingredients; brands have added a contemporary touch to 'traditional'

confectionery. The ingredients and packages have a fresh twist. Plus, I adore the evil eye beads on the boxes; it's a reminder of our heritage too. It's both traditional and incredibly delicious; the blend of tradition and innovation gives it a charm. The Turkish delight I get from Selamlıque isn't just any regular confectionery; it's a delightful journey that bridges the past and the present. Even though I'm in my late 30s, I still love the feeling it gives me (male, 30s, lecturer).

Turkish delight, a cherished heritage, has been traditionally known for its original texture, deeply ingrained in consumers' daily lives. However, with its contemporary outlook, the new generation Turkish delight embraces a fresh perspective with the help of global taste regimes. A convergence of the evil eye bead and global consumption trends is seen in Faruk's case. The evolving tastes might stem from this dynamic interplay between tradition and innovation.

Also, sharing new generation Turkish delight with friends, children, and family was the most frequent response of the informants. Various brands made from natural ingredients, gluten and sugar-free, and with different flavor combinations mean introducing different and innovative flavors to people's loved ones and giving them a unique experience.

When I ask Çınar about his new generation Turkish delight experience with his children, he answers as follows;

One of my children is 8, and the other is 5. It makes me happy that they have our values. Continuing the tradition with my children brings enjoyment. It brings me great joy that they also have a fondness for the taste of Turkish delight, just like I do. I like to enjoy the same things, and that binds us together. It feels like passing down a heritage from me to my children. We often buy new generation Turkish delight. We buy sugar-free varieties from Lokum Atölyesi whenever we visit the shopping mall (male, 40s, freelance consultant).

As in the example of Çınar, heritage is more than just a commodity; it represents a genuine social decision (Bessiere, 1998). In other words, a decision or preference is shaped based on the special significance attributed by members of a social group. The focus lies on the associations between the item and the person. The core of the heritage definition revolves around understanding and acknowledging 'heritage consciousness,' which involves collectively recognizing the unique importance attributed to these products as shared among individuals (Bessiere, 1998).

I ask Faruk the first word that comes to mind when he thinks of a box of Turkish delight. He says 'richness' and explains it as follows:

It's not about the price of the Turkish delight. The price is not a significant concern if I'm purchasing a gift. A Turkish delight would make a wonderful present for a housewarming celebration. I exclusively purchase it as a gift for those I believe will appreciate it. For example, I buy Turkish delight as a gift not only for my mum's friends but also for my own friends. A product that was once only produced in the Ottoman Palace, now I take it as a gift to my friend. This is a heritage. I love the ones with orange blossom extract. I find the new generation Turkish delights surprising. It's a stunning experience for those who don't know what's inside the box (male, 30s, lecturer).

Certain types of food, such as champagne, caviar, and wine, have evolved into symbols and markers of social status. They serve as distinguishable characteristics that allow individuals from different social circles to recognize one another and showcase their respective lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1979). Bringing new generation Turkish delight as a gift to both Faruk's mother's friends and his own friends establishes a distinctive circle for him. Also, Faruk's response indicates a creative negotiation of meanings from diverse sources, encompassing both old and new – the heritage and a distinctive and innovative new flavor, orange blossom. This phenomenon serves individuals in distinguishing themselves within local social hierarchies and is commonly observed in consumption patterns (Ger & Belk, 1996). The goal of differentiating oneself through practices and tastes, this process of differentiation becomes even more visible as one moves upwards in the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1984). From this point of view, differentiation in the high-end new generation Turkish delight market is analyzed.

4.7.3. Evolving Global Taste Regimes

In sociological terms, taste refers to individuals' daily choices and preferences. Under this theme, the distinction between consumers is analyzed through 'traditional' and new generation Turkish delight. Tastes and aesthetics are also related to the human ability to decide what is beautiful, good, and right. However, the quest for the new generation Turkish delight is not solely focused on this aesthetic appeal but also on achieving distinctiveness.

Studies centered around consumers highlight the need to evaluate elements such as daily routines, the desire to create uniqueness, curiosity, and the urge for new experiences. Keyder and Yenal (2011) argue that the Westernization of Turkey's food sector after the 1980s and 1990s has altered eating habits and preferences. To illustrate, during these periods, driven by globalization, pizza has become an integral part of daily consumption. In confectionery, these changes are also observed in the trends of the late 2010s, particularly evident in the transformation of 'traditional' Turkish delight.

The pricing policies have led to the emergence of a niche market, which can be attributed to the raw material characteristics guided by global dietary trends. However, Turkish delight is transformed without completely losing its general form, preserving some of its features, from its name to its texture. These characteristics act like an anchor that is firmly rooted in tradition. As stated by the interviewees, it continues its life with its 'elegant and stylish' features. This situation also produces a claim to distinctiveness.

As Bourdieu (1979) highlights, this aesthetic perspective allows the product to distinguish itself through the unique expressions it embodies as a 'traditional' item. New generation consumers expect products to have aesthetic appeal and no longer tolerate their absence. One of my interviewees, a senior management position at a bank, expressed dissatisfaction with the powdered sugar that frequently spills on his black suit while consuming 'traditional' Turkish delight. One of the aspects he appreciated about the new generation Turkish delight was its lack of coating, which prevented any spills or stains on his black suit while eating it.

Leyla, an enthusiast of new generation Turkish delights, further elaborates on her response by discussing various aesthetic features aside from the coating:

I think it is very stylish to eat Turkish delight. I buy a lot of Turkish delights at home. I like the chocolate-covered Kahve Dünyası Turkish delights. Also, Marsel's box is so beautiful. Some packages are eye-catching enough to be a 'coffee table book.' It is no longer necessary to put Turkish delight in a bowl. The box designs are as intricate and detailed as the Turkish delight (female, 30s, publisher).

Beril strengthens the importance of the aesthetic perspective:

I open the new generation Turkish delight boxes like opening a jewelry box. It's a box that shines like gold (female, 20s, energy consultant).

Beril shares her experiences with the new generation Turkish delight, offering a fresh perspective on its accompaniments:

I tried the new generation Turkish delight at the coffee festival in Bilkent Center. It was sugar-free and piqued my interest. The salty and bitter varieties left a pleasant aftertaste. Later, I bought a new generation Turkish delight with strawberries from a coffee shop, Kronotrop. Although I had never considered trying it before in a 3rd wave coffee shop, its placement there was too tempting to resist. Turkish delight isn't just for religious holidays or Turkish coffee anymore for me; I enjoy it with a latte, espresso, and tea. I even tried it with cold herbal tea and strawberry – I loved it. I'm not limited to Turkish coffee; I'm entirely on board with exploring innovations (female, 20s, energy consultant).

As Beril mentioned, a story of embracing flavors in the new generation of Turkish delight sets new generation consumers apart from others. Most informants stated that this is how they broaden their horizons and experiment with flavor combinations. It would be appropriate to outline the experiential value of innovation (Coşkuner-Ballı & Sandıkçı, 2014) because it can be stated that the characteristics of the product do not remain constant and are handled in different ways by consumers. Contrary to the common view that reduces the desire for new products to personality traits such as the search for novelty (Hirschman, 1980) or the search for sensation and uniqueness (Burns & Krampf, 1992), it is possible to say that the global taste regime shapes products, and a close examination of Turkish delight reveals that the heritage has undergone a transformation of taste, often inspired by global consumption trends, while actively seeking a fashionable expression. In the case of Turkish delight, a 'traditional' product, it is the search for aesthetics and difference that transforms consumers' tastes. The novelty is produced in this way.

Furthermore, in this point, it is necessary to mention boundaries of new generation. Despite consuming the new generation of Turkish delight, they have emphasized tastes that they do not associate with Turkish delight. Some of the informants, who are open to negotiating between 'traditional' and new in both traditional desserts and Turkish delight, have also added that they did not like some variations labeled as innovation, and they could not relate them to Turkish delight in terms of texture or

flavor. For instance, an informant who encountered poppy-seed-covered Turkish delight explicitly expressed strong opposition to it.

Batı elaborated on how the new generation Turkish delight, along with its innovative aspects, has integrated into his daily life, encompassing flavor and sales points:

For example, we are a couple who love Turkish delight and live in İzmir, but it is very sugary in summer and difficult to consume. We tried a fresh variety of citrus in Nostima. We tasted it by buying just two pieces. In Istanbul, our first shopping will be Nostima citrus Turkish delight (male, 20s, growth manager).

During the interview, Nil conveyed her aspiration to possess a distinguished means of demonstrating a privileged position within social life, as mentioned by Bourdieu (1979):

If any producers come across your research, I want to say that I'd love to attend new generation Turkish delight production workshops. It's a unique confectionery, so I'm keen on keeping up with its developments. I'm curious about creating gluten-free Turkish delight and trying out spicy variations. While bread workshops might not interest me, as there are plenty, the Turkish delight workshop is genuinely appealing, offering a chance to try these fresh recipes and techniques. I sincerely desire more opportunities to see how it is sweetened with apple extract. In the future, I plan to express these pieces of information to like-minded individuals who share similar interests with me (female, 20s, digital marketing executive).

The new generation Turkish delight appears to be a confectionery favored by the new generation consumers to indulge in this high-end market. New generation customers refer to the new generation Turkish delight as a delightful respite and a sweet treat for the senses amidst daily life's busy and hectic routine. It lets people identify each other and display their lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1979) without revealing their heritage. Hence, individuals who mentioned frequent consumption of Turkish delight in their daily routines also exhibit this distinguished characteristic in their everyday lives.

Interviewees also personalized the new generation Turkish delight, describing it as someone they want to connect with, someone they want to talk to, someone they want to meet, someone who has proven themselves. In addition, the informants stated that if the new generation Turkish delight is a person, it will be an extraordinary person who has adapted to modern life and sees and tries innovations.

When I asked Melisa, one of the interviewees, if the new generation Turkish delight were a human being, she answered as follows:

The new generation Turkish delight would be a white-collar woman. I am speaking from my own point of view. It would be a middle-aged, well-educated, detail-oriented person who likes to enjoy life. I also like snacks at the office. I like the small packages sold in quantities because I can even throw them in my bag. It is a tradition that I can carry in my bag. It also surprises me; its softness reminds me of compassion (female, 30s, tax auditor).

Selim was born in Afyon, a city renowned for its 'traditional' Turkish delight. However, while working in Istanbul, he explained that as a way to break the monotony of the day and refresh his energy, he tried the new generation Turkish delights, stating the following:

I am originally from Afyon, but our 'kaymaklı' Turkish delight with clotted cream should be kept in the fridge. It is impossible to eat everywhere. I don't want to have such restrictions. Turkish delight is my habit, my tradition. There was a meeting at a hotel in Istanbul recently, and I was happy to see the new generation Turkish delight on the tables. Discovering the familiar flavor in a novel presentation at a luxurious international hotel made me happy. Afterward, I started following Marsel Delight and ordering it online (male, 30s, banker).

Batı, a manager in a gaming company, described the new generation Turkish delight included in the Nespresso coffee capsule set he purchased as follows:

I recently purchased Nespresso capsules as I had run out of the ones I had at home. Nespresso had developed an Istanbul Collection. Upon buying three packs of Nespresso, they offered a complimentary box of Marsel Delight, claiming it was a perfect match for coffee. I intended to purchase the packs regardless because I also consume a significant amount of espresso. This delight box was perfect. It also complemented Nespresso exceptionally well (male, 20s, growth manager).

Burak explains how he first became acquainted with Marsel Delight by collaborating with another venue. Furthermore, he describes his attachment to a product that is not readily available everywhere, showing his preference for purchasing it whenever possible. According to Burak, the location has established a partnership that sets apart the new generation Turkish delight from others and positions it in a high-end place:

I first noticed Marsel Delight when the brand collaborated with a restaurant in Istanbul called Pandeli. They created a Turkish delight named 'Bazaar,' inspired by the flavors of the Spice Bazaar, with prominent notes of cinnamon, walnuts, and apples. I noticed it when I went to dine at Pandeli. It had a beautiful presentation as well. Although I usually don't have dessert after a meal, I decided to try it out, thinking it must be good since it's offered at Pandeli. Marsel Delight captured my heart completely. From then on, every time I visited Pandeli, I would buy their Turkish delight, as it was not available elsewhere (male, 40s, project consultant)

Burak's response highlights establishing a privileged position and a distinguished representation in the social sphere through Pandeli, which the new generation consumer appreciates. By conducting a concise analysis of the new generation Turkish delight shops and point of sales from this perspective, it becomes feasible to gain insights into the current state of differentiation. Marsel Delight provides both coffee service and Turkish delight sales at the Lokum Bar located in Bomonti-Şişli, Selamlıque in Bebek, Vevis in Emaar Shopping Mall, Servet in Fethiye and Göcek Marina, Nostima in Bakırköy, and Lokum Atölyesi is available in various shopping malls in big cities like İstanbul and İzmir. The popularity and appreciation of the new product can be seen in its unconventional distribution and the places it is sold. New generation consumers favor these locations for their purchases, indicating a positive response to the novelty. They talk about their experiences as they went to Emaar Shopping Mall, bought new generation Turkish delight while strolling in Bebek, selected new generation Turkish delight from a specific corner in a Kronotrop Coffee Shop, and tried coffee-Turkish delight pairings at Marsel Lokum Bar. This dynamic relationship between tradition and innovation is evident. The shops involved are aesthetically pleasing in their displays and storefronts and are a source of innovation.

In summary, the data indicates that the Turkish delight market began to take shape during the Ottoman period with the opening of sales shops in the 18th century and the commencement of production in Istanbul. Originally a product exclusively produced and consumed in the Ottoman Palace, Turkish delight was later made available to the public. Subsequently, in the 1930s, with the adoption of the Latin alphabet, advertisements and news related to Turkish delight started to appear in newspapers. Turkish delight shops were highlighted for their various flavors during this period, such as coconut-flavored, pistachio, and hazelnut. Additionally, values such as craftsmanship and its integral role in special occasions were emphasized.

Advertisements predominantly highlighted the popularity and affection of the general public for Turkish delight. In the 1980s, with economic liberalization and the elimination of customs duties, the import of industrial chocolate and raw materials led to the initiation of production in Turkey. During this period, international brands such as Nestle established factories in Turkey. In the late 2010s, a shift in consumer preferences and experiences for Turkish delight was observed with the emergence of the new generation of Turkish delight. This new era combined tradition with global consumption trends, introducing Turkish delight varieties with attributes like vegan, gluten-free, and featuring unique flavors. Consequently, a niche market emerged, wherein the new generation of Turkish delight, now a high-end and expensive product, began to establish its presence on both online and offline marketplaces. In this phase, almost all interviewees strive for change and differentiation while maintaining their childhood memories and family traditions, reflecting their attachment to cultural heritage.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter elaborates on the primary findings of the research and deliberates on the study's constraints. Suggestions for future research endeavors pertaining to the topic are also provided.

I aimed to understand the evolution of the ‘traditional’ Turkish delight market and how it responds to changing consumer preferences and tastes. I examined and analyzed the consumption of confectionery, snacks, and Turkish delight in the daily lives of new generation Turkish delight consumers and the emerging practices and meanings. Considering the changes in taste, global trends, heritage, and the search for distinction, an intriguing perspective on the new generation of Turkish delight emerge. These elements come together to create a bridge between the traditional and the new and constitute the preferences of Turkish delight consumers.

Turkish delight, produced in the Ottoman Palace before the 18th century and sold in shops by Şekerci Hacı Bekir after 1777, reflects Turkish culture as a ritual of consumption alongside Turkish coffee. The findings of the study emphasize the close relationship between the development of the Turkish delight market and historical and socio-economic factors. Throughout this process, the Turkish delight market initially offered plain flavors and later diversified to include variations like mastic and rose-flavored, addressing consumer preferences.

In the period after the proclamation of the Republic in the 1930s, the consumption of Turkish delight at social gatherings and festivals increased in terms of variety and sales points. Additionally, the information that shops were also open on weekends was emphasized in many advertisements, highlighting the opportunity for family shopping. Advertisements that highlight the artisanal qualities of Turkish delight and claim its unrivaled nature stand out. A newspaper advertisement emphasizes the distinctiveness of Turkish delight, underlining that it is prepared according to the national taste of Turks and made by Turkish workers, thus being a 'traditional' confectionery. In light of all this information, it is evident that the Turkish delight market is shaped by its unique product features and embedded in everyday life, from shopping to special occasions.

The effects of economic liberalization and globalization in the 1980s show that both homogenization and fragmentation trends are evident in the confectionery market. The removal of customs duties on cocoa beans increased chocolate production and imports. Although chocolate advertisements frequently seen in newspaper advertisements in this period point to homogenization and fragmentation in confectionery and snacks, Turkish delight advertisements in the examined period do not differ from the previous period, the 1930s. During this period, advertisements for local brands like Ülker and foreign brands like Nestle have increased. Drawing on Friedman's (2020) definitions of cultural homogenization and heterogenization, it is possible to assert that the confectionery market in Turkey was guided by global trends and economic regulations, leading to the involvement of chocolate producers and imports. This situation has led to homogenization, but consumer preferences for confectionery have become more heterogeneous. The presence of chocolate in advertisements has led to a dilution in the prominence of Turkish delight advertisements.

However, in the late 2010s, a new generation of Turkish delight, a fashionable version of the 'traditional' confectionery, emerged. The distinctive features of Turkish delights, such as being vegan, gluten-free, sugar-free, and made of natural ingredients, show that it is in alliance with global consumer trends. Differences in where these products are sold, their varieties, packages, and consumers' preferences are easily recognized. These characteristics contribute to the understanding that markets are adaptive systems and that individuals actively shape markets (Giesler &

Fischer, 2017). Therefore, this study illuminates the changing practices, tastes, and the market in consuming a 'traditional' product. Furthermore, Goulding and Saren (2007) have observed this phenomenon, while Sandıkçı and Ger (2010) emphasize the significance of comprehending the intricacies of market dynamics. The research findings demonstrate the presence of actors who, in conjunction with changes in taste and preferences, utilize diverse resources to bring about change in the market openly and freely. For instance, actors can resist specific market arrangements and forge new ones or effect change in the market by legitimizing or delegitimizing specific market offerings or practices.

This study examines the quest for distinctiveness in a 'traditional' product by high-end Turkish delight consumers and focuses on understanding the reasons behind it. The desire to change and modernize certain aspects of Turkish delight allows it to depart from its conventional image and create a noticeable impact. Thus, the potential of the product to make a difference in the market and consumer perception aligns with Giddens' (1987) theory, reflecting the transformative power of individuals' actions on the societal structure. Consumers who are university graduates and work in high-income professional jobs prefer new generation Turkish delight because it combines 'traditional' and innovative elements. In line with this comprehensive perspective, I examined how consumers with university degrees and high-income professional occupations integrate 'traditional' and innovative features in the new generation Turkish delight. Also, according to Bourdieu (1984), taste constitutes the fundamental norms of distinction. Therefore, it is possible to indicate that the new generation Turkish delight is consumed by consumers in a niche market, considering its price, ingredients, promotions, and sales points.

Consistent with prior research, the findings of this study demonstrate that consumers are a part of the macro networks of meaning, discourse, space, and practices (Epp & Price, 2010). The impact of specific narratives from Turkey's governing political party is worth considering. Post the late 2010s, the Justice and Development Party's neoliberal strategies placed emphasis on the 'yerli ve milli' discourse. Simultaneously, comparable narratives started to manifest in the consumption patterns of consumers (Theodorou, 2022).

In light of all this, to understand the phenomenon of Turkish delight, I employ the concept of creating a bridge between the 'traditional' and the new. Consequently, I have developed themes of analyzing global health concerns, the phenomenon of cultural heritage, and the evolving global taste regimes to create a distinction to understand the relationship of the new generation of Turkish delight with 'tradition' and changing tastes. Also, all my findings show that consumers are comfortable with 'traditional' Turkish delight and new generation high-end Turkish delight, consuming both depending on time and place and not marginalizing or abandoning the other.

Firstly, the main focus of this study is to highlight how the Turkish delight market has experienced a substantial transformation by intertwining global taste regimes and evolving consumer preferences. The study reveals that the new generation of Turkish consumers has adopted Western/global eating patterns, which has created a niche market for Turkish delight. Drawing attention to the interaction of 'traditional' and global consumption trends of the product, this study shows that consumers are looking for different and healthier alternatives that align with global consumption trends but, simultaneously, are different. It is stated that despite global trends, consumers care about 'traditions' and heritage; therefore, Turkish delight is going through a process of negotiation and transformation.

Secondly, this study emphasizes that the appreciation of heritage plays a vital role in the new generation consumers' Turkish delight preferences, as these preferences link the past with the present. Interviewees associate childhood memories and family traditions with 'traditional' Turkish delight, indicating a desire to preserve these ties and adapt them to global consumption trends. The new generation of Turkish delight successfully combines nostalgic elements with contemporary elements, offering consumers a pleasant experience. This negotiation between the past and future of Turkish delight reflects consumers' efforts to create a sense of belonging to their cultural heritage. Through my interviews, I clearly identified that all informants shared about Turkish delight and related products were directly related to a sense of attachment to heritage.

Finally, I argue that some specific characteristics of the new generation Turkish delight emerge between distinctive tastes oriented towards global consumer trends. A

dynamic interaction shows the negotiation between the traditional and the new by consumers with higher income and education levels. The findings indicate that taste, as emphasized by Bourdieu (1984), is rooted in the manifestation of an individual's habitus. In this context, it is possible to assert that taste needs to be evaluated in conjunction with high-end Turkish delight consumers' class background and educational capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 2002). This search for change in the new generation of Turkish delight gives a 'traditional' product the capacity to make a difference (Giddens, 1987). The search for difference drives the new generation's consumption of Turkish delight. Turkish delight provides a pleasant break from busy daily routines and allows individuals to enact their privileged position in social life. However, at this point, innovation does not abolish tradition (Giddens, 1994); innovation establishes a bridge with tradition. Holt (2002) argues that the perpetuation and reproduction of market-made commodities and enticing marketing symbols rely on the exercise of personal choices within the private sphere of everyday life. My research findings shed light on the possibility of reshaping the market by reproducing preferences and tastes within everyday life choices and global trends. New generation consumers show great interest in the aesthetic appeal of Turkish delight and appreciate its ingredients and design. As mentioned by Nil, the excitement and curiosity she feels about sharing information regarding the new generation Turkish delight encompass signs of status and claims of distinctiveness towards others (Arsel & Bean, 2013). However, the new preferences do not break its connection with heritage.

On the contrary, the transformation of taste has increased the visibility of the new generation Turkish delight. As Beril mentioned, new generation Turkish delight has become more firmly established in the present day by appearing at coffee festivals and 3rd wave coffee shops. Moreover, as Batı mentioned, it has become a part of collaborations with Nespresso. The quest for difference has intertwined with global consumption trends (Miller, 1987). The adaptation of integration into global consumption trends facilitates the emergence of a high-end market for Turkish delight. New generation Turkish delight is perceived as a unique product that preserves heritage and embraces innovation and novelty. Consumption of the new generation Turkish delight has been observed as a process through which individuals materialize or objectify values and meanings (Miller, 1987). The consumption of the

new generation Turkish delight has facilitated the understanding of assumptions about subjects and objects and their relationships (Miller, 1987). The new generation Turkish delight materializes cultural heritage, family history, and distinction.

Continuity within change means preserving the core essence and heritage of a 'traditional' product during its transformation (Bessiere, 1998). In the case of a 'traditional' product like Turkish delight, the focus is on how the product maintains its fundamental characteristics and historical significance while also adapting to global consumer preferences and trends. Exploring change within the new generation of Turkish delight offers the potential to impart distinctiveness to a 'traditional' product (Giddens, 1987).

5.1. Implications

I suggest practical/managerial and conceptual implications regarding this study. Firstly, practical/managerial implications are intended for local entrepreneurs and traditional producers aiming to create new generation products. Local entrepreneurs should evaluate that despite consumers' pursuit of global trends and novelty, they also seek to establish a connection with tradition and cultural heritage. Turkish delight with distinguished flavors and textures, leading to the creation of a niche market, can serve as inspiration for products with similar cultural heritage attributes. For traditional producers, I stated that adapting to new trends doesn't need to be confined solely to traditional flavors, as customers and producers alike tend to avoid monotony. High-end Turkish delight consumers aspire to navigate innovation with their cultural heritage. Traditional producers can leverage this insight while managing their product range. The quest for change that has led to negotiation between the old and the new has provided the capacity to make an impact on a traditional product. The inference made within the context of Turkish delight can also be researched for a traditional cannoli siciliani recipe or used for a CCT paper examining the production of smoked pepper vodka.

The conceptual contribution of this study, belongs to consumers who seek and can afford change in the new generation Turkish delight while maintaining their connection with 'tradition'. These consumers appreciate features that set apart a 'traditional' product. In this process, high-end Turkish delight consumers engage in a negotiation between innovation and 'tradition'. However, considering the price of the

new generation Turkish delight, I might propose that this negotiation is only feasible for those who can afford it. I can probably suggest that being part of the mentioned negotiation is attainable for those who can afford the new generation Turkish delight.

Furthermore, Turkish delight consumers are showcasing behaviors that were previously viewed as acts of resistance by consumers, utilizing them in stylish practices. Consumers commitment to tradition and heritage can be interpreted as a form of resistance against the complete dominance of global trends like oat and products sold with words containing the word 'form' in their names. The reality of consuming Turkish delight in these different practices can be materialized, as it is now consumed individually rather than in kilograms and is observed not only alongside coffee but also as a snack during work or exercise breaks. The new generation of Turkish delight is now collaborating with international brands such as Nespresso, and there is discussion about it pairing with espresso rather than Turkish coffee.

5.2. Limitations and Future Research

This study examines how the high end of a confectionery market considered 'traditional' has changed along with consumer preferences and tastes. It does not cover all the intricacies of the consumption behavior of all Turkish delight consumers. The study aims to understand the new generation Turkish delight phenomenon in question, not to make generalizations to all Turkish delight markets.

Data collection presents a limitation. The study incorporates consumers' viewpoints and market information through interviews and historical and contemporary documents. Consumption and production perspectives could have better illuminated the understanding of market dynamics; however, producers declined to collaborate. Discussions with the new generation of Turkish delight producers could provide insights into consumers' preferences, perspectives on market trends, challenges, and strategies for evaluating market changes. This way, market dynamics could be analyzed more comprehensively.

In addition, a deeper understanding could have been gained through participant observation in the stores where new generation Turkish delight is sold. However, the

choice of extended interviews as the research method was appropriate regarding the research objectives.

Although generalizability is neither intended nor likely, the group of informants was selected to be as relevant as possible, including informants with different demographic characteristics like age and occupation. A future study taking into account specific generations (e.g., Generation Z born between 1996 and 2015) could examine the consumption habits of young people for a product that is considered 'traditional,' focusing on its impact on the market.

For people who have lived in Turkey for a long time and know Turkish delight, buying and eating Turkish delight is a ritual that comes from childhood and is rarely questioned. A similar study would provide a new and exciting perspective, selecting people who consume Turkish delight, were not born and raised in Turkey, and have no memories of Turkish delight. It can be examined which elements affect the consumption of a traditional product that does not contain a 'tradition.'

Understanding the phenomenon can be deepened by looking at the same subject from an outsider's perspective.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol (Turkish)

- Grand-tour questions

Projective 1 - Personification

- Yeni nesil lokum bir insan olsaydı nasıl biri olurdu? Nasıl bir hayatı olurdu, nerede yaşardı, giyimi, eğitimi, işi , ailesi nasıl olurdu?
- Geleneksel lokum bir insan olsaydı nasıl biri olurdu? Nasıl bir hayatı olurdu, nerede yaşardı, giyimi, eğitimi, işi , ailesi nasıl olurdu?

Projective – Dream exercise

- İçinde lokum geçen bir rüya tasvir etseydiniz neler anlatırdınız?

Projective 3 – Sentence completion

- Dolu bir lokum kutusunu düşünmek..... hissetmeme neden oluyor.
- Lezzetli bir lokumu şekilde tarif edebilirim.
- Yeni nesil lokumları tüketirken yaşadığım deneyimi olarak tarif edebilirim.
- Yeni nesil lokumlarda özellikleri çok iyi olarak sayabilirim.
- Yeni nesil lokumla ilgili beni en çok meraklandıran şey.....
- Yeni nesil lokum tüketme sebeplerim.....

1. Geleneksel tatlı tüketiminiz nasıldır? Mesela baklava, tulumba hangi sıklıkla tüketirsiniz?
2. Lokumla ilgili hatıralarınızdan söz eder misiniz?
3. Hangi lokum çeşitlerini daha çok beğeniyorsunuz?
4. Lokum tüketme pratiğiniz nasıldır? Eşlikçileri var mıdır?Varsa nelerdir?
5. Lokum alırken nelere dikkat edersiniz/ nesine bakarsınız?
6. En sevdiklerinizden ve sevmediklerinizden bahseder misiniz marka ve çeşit olarak?
7. Hangi zamanlarda lokum alırsınız?

8. En son lokum alışverişinizden söz eder misiniz? Ne zamandı? Nasıl bir deneyimdi hatırlıyor musunuz? Nerelerden lokum alırsınız?
9. Yeni nesil lokumun hangi çeşitlerini daha çok beğendiniz?
10. Hangi özellikleri yeni nesil lokum satın almanızda etkili oldu?
11. Farklı markalar gözünüze çarptı mı yeni nesil lokumda?
12. Kutular, paketler, sosyal medya iletişimleri hakkında ne söylersiniz?
13. Hiç misafırlıkta, bir cafede vs görüp tattığınız, beğendiğiniz bir lokum çeşidi oldu mu? Hangi özelliğini sevdiniz?
14. Yeni nesil lokumda sevmediğiniz şeyler nelerdir?
15. Tükettiğiniz geleneksel çeşitlerin hangi özelliğini değiştirmek isterdiniz?
16. Tükettiğiniz yeni nesil lokum çeşitlerinin hangi özelliğini değiştirmek isterdiniz?

Appendix B: Historical and Contemporary Documents (Selected Advertisements)

Historical Documents

Bileümle mamulâtının nefasetile
büyük bir şöhrat kazanan
HACI BEKİR ZADE
TICARETHANELERİ
MERKEZ SATIŞ MAZASI:
Bahçekapıda kadim HACI BEKİR mazası
MEVCUT ŞUBELERİ:
Beyoğlunda istiklal ve Tepebaşı caddelerinde,
Galatada Havyar hanı altında, Kadıköyünde
yeni iskele caddesi
MERKEZ ŞUBESİ
Ankarada Adliye sarayı karşısında Sakarya hanı altında
Enebi memleketlerdeki şubeleri
Kahirede Opera meydanında, İkenedriyede remle caddesi
Yeniden açılacak şubesi
Beyoğlu - KARAKÖY - KADIKÖY

Şöhret kıymettir!
Bir Fransız darbı meseli
böyle söylüyor:
Şöhret kıymettir!
Bu darbı mesele göre en
büyük şöhrat ve en büyük
kıymet bizdedir. Zira
Hacı Bekir zade
Ali Muhittin
Bu müesseseleri şöhrati cihet

KURBAN BAYRAMINIZ İÇİN
ALI MUHİDDİN HACI BEKİR
BAHÇEKAPU BEYOĞLU KARAKÖY KADIKÖY

İstanbuldan destalarına gönderdiğiniz en
güzel hediyeler
HACI BEKİR
Şeker ve Lokumlarıdır
ALI MUHİDDİN HACI BEKİR
BAHÇEKAPU BEYOĞLU KARAKÖY KADIKÖY

914 harbindeki şeker kıtlığını hatırlayalım da, bugünkü
şeker fabrikalarımızı kurduranlara minnettar olalım.
Bu Şeker bolluğunda bol bol
HACI BEKİR ŞEKERİ YİYELİM
ALI MUHİDDİN HACI BEKİR
Bahçekapı - Beyoğlu - Karaköy - Mısır (Kahire),
MEYVALI NUĞA

HACI BEKİR ZADE
ALI MUHİDDİN
MÜESSESE TİCARİYESİ
KAYMAKLI LOKUM
KESTANE ŞEKERİ
fevkalâde NOGA
çok leziz FONDAN
emsalsiz ÇİKOLATA

Meşhur Türk Şekercisi
ALI MUHİDDİN
HACI BEKİR
Şeker, Lokum ve diğer mamekâtli Enternasyonal Pazarlarda,
daima ihtiyacınızı karşılamak, dünyaya nam vermiştir.
Akide şekeri 240 Fıstıklı lokum 340
Sade lokum 200 Kaymaklı lokum 400
Güllü lokum 220 Cevizli baklava 340
Sakızlı lokum 220 Fıstıklı baklava 500
Fındıklı lokum 240 Seray baklavası 400
Hali Hadem Etnesi 300, Çocuk İlaç Hali Hadem Etnesi 400,
Karaköy Lokum 200, Elvan Şekeri 300, Elvan Şekeri Akidesi
300, Tulumlu Tost 200, Hali, şekerden Tahin Helvası 150.
BAHÇEKAPU İSTANBUL
BEYOĞLU
KARAKÖY
KADIKÖY
Satış Mağazaları

Babadan oğula
Dededen toruna
KALAN HAKKİLE KAZANILMIŞ BÜYÜK BİR ŞÖHRET
ALI MUHİDDİN
HACI BEKİR
Bahçekapı, Beyoğlu, Karaköy, Kadıköy

HİCBİR ŞÖHRET
SEBESİZ DEĞİLDİR!
ALI MUHİDDİN HACI BEKİR
MÜESSESESİNİN HALK TARA-
FINDAN KAPISILAN MAMULATI,
ŞÖHRETİN KALİTE İLE BİRLİK-
TESİNDEN DOĞMUŞTUR.
BAHÇEKAPU — BEYOĞLU — KARAKÖY —
KADIKÖY — MİSİR — ELKAHİRE

Ali Muhiddin Hacı Bekir
TİCARETHANESİNDE:
Akide şekeri 200, Karışık Bayram şekeri 280, Akidesiz ka-
rışık şeker 320, Badem ezmesi 300, İki 'kavru' badem
şekeri 320, Fıstıklı lokum 300, Sade lokum 180, karışık
lokum 220.
HACI BEKİR'in MEŞHUR ACIBADEM KURABİYESİ 18
Şerbetler 10, ayran 10, dondurma 20 kuruy
173 senelik büyük bir namı olan mamulâtımı yukarıda
gösterdiğim fiyatlarla Bahçekapı, Beyoğlu, Karaköy, Kadı-
köy mağazalarımızda
İSTANBUL SERGİSİNDEKİ
pavyonlarımızda satışa arzettiğimiz muhterem ahalimize
saygı ile ilân ediyoruz.
Ali Muhiddin Hacı Bekir

Dünyanın meşhur şekercisi
ALI MUHİDDİN HACI BEKİR
KAYMAKLI Lokum, KESTANE Şekeri
Tahin Helvası, Baklava
Taktiklerinden sakınmanız için adreslere dikkat edilmesi rica olunur.
Merkezi: Bahçekapı. Şubeleri: Beyoğlu, Karaköy, Kadıköy.

Ali Muhiddin
Hacı Bekir
Tatlıları enestir,
Hamur değil, canestir!
Usta elde oklava:
Açması yüz kat baklava!
Dünyanın ağız tadı:
Hacı Bekir'in adı.
Şekerleri, şekerlemeleri, kaymaklı lokumları,
kurabiyeleri ve emsalsiz kestane şekerleri ile
dünyaya şöhrat salan
Hacı Bekir(Zade): Ali Muhiddin
müessesesi, çeşitli tatlıları, tahin helvası ile
de sofralarımızın tek zevki, tek lezzetidir.



Türk şekerlerini
Türk lokumlarını
dünyaya tanıtan
bir milli müessesemiz
ALI MUHİDDİN
HACI BEKİR
BAHÇEKAPU - KARAKÖY - BEYOĞLU - KADIKÖY

Contemporary Documents

