

Authenticity, Nostalgia and Taste: The interaction between Greek restaurants in Amsterdam and their clientele

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Abstract

This study explores the relationship between Greek restaurants in Amsterdam and their clientele. Through a discussion of how they engage with how cultures may be authentically portrayed within restaurants, how ethnic food affects the customer through synaesthetic nostalgic remembrance, and the significance of taste acquired through the habitus on the restaurant, this study ultimately endeavours to highlight this interaction, and how they influence each other. The essential conclusion this study came to was that these interactions guided the restaurants to become socially embedded within their cultural setting.

Contents

Abstract	3
Chapter 1	
i: Introduction	5
ii: Dissertation Aims	5
iii: Socio-Historical Context of Amsterdam	6
iv: Chapter Overview and Literature Framework	7
Chapter 2: Methodology: Multi-Sited Ethnography	
i: Introduction	10
ii: Defining the Multi-Sited Approach	11
iii: Space and Time	13
iv: My Methodology	16
v: Ethical Considerations	20
Chapter 3: Authenticity and Atmospherics: Representing Ethnicity	
i: Introduction	22
ii: Atmospherics and Authenticity	22
iii: Grekas Griekse Traiterie (Grekas Deli)	26
iv: Waves Greek Restaurant n' Café	30
v: Zorba de Griek	32
vi: De Athene	35
vii: Conclusion	37
Chapter 4: Food, Memory and Nostalgia: The Customers' Experience	
i: Introduction	38
ii: Food, Memory and Nostalgia	38
iii: Grekas Griekse Traiterie (Grekas Deli)	42
iv: Waves Greek Restaurant n' Café	47
v: Zorba de Griek	49
vi: De Athene	51
vii: Conclusion	54
Chapter 5: Taste and Social Identities: How Consumption Influences Boundaries	
i: Introduction	55
ii: Bourdieu, Taste and Class	55
iii: Boundaries and Social Identity	57
iv: Grekas Griekse Traiterie (Grekas Deli)	59
v: Waves Greek Restaurant n' Café	62
vi: Zorba de Griek	65
vii: De Athene	69
viii: Conclusion	71
Chapter 6: Conclusion	72
Bibliography	75

Chapter 1: Introduction

The introduction to *'The Restaurants Book'*, begins with a brief disquisition of the social significance of restaurants, a portion of which reads as follows;

'...many of the most interesting aspects of social and cultural life in our contemporary world are featured in restaurants. Restaurants bring together nearly all the characteristics of economic life studied by cultural anthropologists -forms of exchange, modes of production, and the symbolism behind consumption- under one roof. Restaurants provide a context in which questions about class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality all play out. Many of the central concepts used to define cultural worlds -such as the distinction between domestic and private life, or the rules surrounding relations with kin or with strangers-are challenged in restaurants. Moreover restaurants have become important symbols of postmodern life itself... ..increasingly carrying out symbolic work previously reserved for monuments and parades, representing the ethos of cities, regions, ethnic groups and nations. From the sensual to the local, to the symbolic and global, restaurants, we believe, constitute ideal total social phenomena for our postmodern world.' (Beriss, *et al.* 2007:1).

This, in my view, quite concisely summarises the significance of the ethnographic study of restaurants in general, and partly explains, its allusion to the multifarious 'total social phenomena for a postmodern world' that occur within restaurants, why I have elected to conduct this study, and the themes that underpin it (Beriss, *et al.* 2001:1).

Dissertation Aims

Thus, in essence, the main purpose of this project is to primarily explore the interaction between different ethnicities within restaurant spaces. As a locus from which to analyse these themes, ethnic restaurants have proved to be particularly conducive to analysing the display and interaction of ethnic identities (Jang 2010; Jang 2012; Ebster 2005; Tsai 2012; Pardue 2007; Warde 1997; Abbots 2013), with Jang (2010) stating that '[e]thnic restaurants not only serve as eating establishments, but also function as "cultural ambassadors" that

communicate foreign food and culture to local customers' (2010:663). To that end, I have broken down this main goal into three core themes that direct each fieldwork chapter of this study, individually addressing the broader aims, and collectively providing a comprehensive analysis from their respective angles.

These core themes are as follows:

- ❖ Authenticity and Atmospherics: How ethnicity is portrayed within the Greek restaurants through atmospheric manipulation, and how it is interpreted by the customer.
- ❖ Food, Memory and Nostalgia: How is this displayed ethnicity interpreted by the customer: the relationship of the synaesthetic experience of food and how it may lead to triggering recollection and nostalgia.
- ❖ Taste and Boundaries: How choices within an ethnic restaurant reflect a sense of taste fostered from social identity can influence social boundaries between the Greek ethnic restaurant and the customer, to ultimately become socially embedded within it.

I argue that, through these key themes, the social and ethnic interaction between ethnic restaurants and their customers contributes to the evolution of emergent culture; by presenting a space that continually facilitates the intermingling of social and ethnic groups, leads to a shifting and blurring of social barriers, which may lead to the integration of the ethnic restaurant into the host culture.

In analysing these aims, I used Amsterdam as the focal point of my study, not least due to the historical and cultural prevalence of cultural diversity within the city.

Socio-Historical Context of Amsterdam

Peering very briefly into the historical narrative of Amsterdam, it may be argued that, propelled by global trade and commerce, it has always been accommodating to the arrival of new cultures and new cuisines. Following 'The 80 Years War', the city rose to become a flourishing hub of trade, and proto-capitalism often referred to as the 'Golden Age', that granted people equality in economic freedoms, in particular, the right to buy and sell property. As a port city, Amsterdam's growing trade and colonial influence connected them

to communities all over the world. The birth of the world's first multinational company in 'The East India Trading Company', brought new spices, foods and cultures back to Amsterdam, which were consumed by a wealthy merchant class (Reitbergen 2015:98). As colonies expanded across the globe, a large number of colonial migrants such as Antilleans and Surinamese began to enter Amsterdam, giving the city a 'cosmopolitan outlook' (Nell, *et al.* 2009:11). As trade expanded, Amsterdam became a multicultural node within Europe, and the centre of world trade (Reitbergen, 2015:92). As the city emerged in the 20th century, the seeds of cosmopolitanism had already been laid, creating an atmosphere of tolerance and multiculturalism. It was during this century that migration really began to grow exponentially, with the commercialisation of long distance travel and the modern infrastructure transformed by improving technology (Otterloo, 2009). This began with the entrepreneurial Chinese restaurant owners in the 1930s, who, in order to expand their businesses and attract more Dutch clientele, began marketing their cuisine as an inexpensive 'new kind of eating experience' (Otterloo, 2009:45). From the 1960s onwards, these Chinese-Indonesian restaurants began fusing their cuisines and adapting them to Dutch tastes. This paved the way for other settlers to arrive in successive waves, with large numbers of Italian restaurants beginning to appear in Amsterdam, followed by 'Spanish, Greeks, and Turkish restaurants' in the 1970s, who would introduce new cuisines to the local Dutch (Otterloo, 2009:51). This led to a rise in eating out amongst Amsterdammers who were 'a curious public looking for something new' (Otterloo, 2009:48,50), as the population became more affluent and had more free time to spent exploring new foods.

In bringing these historical events to the fore, Amsterdam's reputation as a place of ethnic diversity and tolerance become legitimised as cultural heritage, which makes it an ideally situated locale from which to conduct a study based on the interaction between Amsterdam-based Greek restaurants, and their clientele.

Chapter Overview and Literature Framework

As I begin each chapter with a comprehensive analysis of the key academic literature that covers each theme, what follows here is a brief outline of the key literature that helped frame my approach to each topic. Moreover, I provide a brief outline of the contents of each chapter in consideration of these main influences.

Chapter 2: Methodology: Multi-Sited Ethnography

This chapter lays out my methodological approach to this study, with a specific emphasis on my use of multi-sited ethnography. I first outline what is multi-sited ethnography is, using the primary texts of Marcus's (1995) seminal paper that introduces the notion, followed by Falzon's (2005), comprehensive study that further fleshes out the methodology. Their core argument is that fieldwork research sites need not be necessarily bounded to a singular place, but may instead be co-created through the research itself, and spread out over multiple locations. I argue that this approach was best suited to my aim of researching multiple restaurants within Amsterdam. I also defend the methodology against the criticism that by dividing my time between multiple sites, I would be drawing 'shallower' pools of data, primarily due to the notion of compression of space and time (Marcus 1995:97). As both space and time are experienced simultaneously, the researcher will always follow a trajectory through both and would thus render the issue obsolete as data would be gathered regardless. I end the chapter by detailing how I make use of the ethnographic past tense throughout the study, and addressing any ethical issues that arose while within the field.

Chapter 3: Authenticity and Atmospherics: Representing Ethnicity

In Chapter 3, my research began with attempting to define what constitutes authenticity. It became apparent however that there were, as concisely put by Taylor (2001), 'at least as many definitions of authenticity as there are those who write about it' (2001:8), which were in some cases, contradictory. Rather than therefore arguing from one fixed definition of what constitutes authentic ethnic portrayals, I reflected this diversity in the literature as I slowly formed my own definition throughout the chapter and applied it to my fieldwork data. One of the most useful writers of this regard was Cohen (1988), who introduces the idea that commoditisation of culture can lead to a loss of perceived authenticity, to give way to a 'staged authenticity' that appears exotic but has no real meaning for the locals it is supposed to represent. I thus take on a more contextual and subjective interpretation of authenticity, that is something applied by the customers' own criteria for authenticity, rather than the more objectivist true or false dichotomy.

As I also explored the ways in which restaurants may manipulate their environments to appeal to their clientele, the work of Kotler (1974), was particularly significant, as he

introduces the notion of atmospherics as the 'conscious designing of space to create certain effects on buyers...to produce specific emotional effects...that enhance his purchase probability' (1974:50). To that end, he outlines the multisensory ways in which the atmosphere may be manipulated to create that desired effect in the customer; being visual, tactile, aural, olfactory and gustatory. I thus proceeded to analyse each restaurant in light of the atmospheric manipulation of the owner, with a specific focus on how that relates to ethnic authenticity.

Chapter 4: Food, Memory and Nostalgia: The Customers' Experience

In exploring the theme of the relationship between food, memory, and nostalgia, Sutton's (2001) publication has been most informative. He used his ethnographic work on the Kalymnian Greek to demonstrate how the consumption of food is inherently synaesthetic, which means it crosses all sensory registers, which are individually conducive to triggering recollection, and so collectively create a strong sense of recall. He goes on to demonstrate how such reminiscences may have a strong emotional and nostalgic element, particularly in migrating Kalymnians Greeks. When I conducted my research within the restaurants, I was keen to observe and pursue how the consumption of ethnic food may lead to recollection and nostalgic responses.

Chapter 5: Taste and Social Identities: How Consumption Influences Boundaries

In examining the formation of taste and how it interplays with social boundaries, the works of Bourdieu (1984) and Warde (1997), have been central to my discussion. Bourdieu (1984) argues that taste is a manifestation of social class that emerges through the 'habitus', which may be summarised as economic, social and cultural capital, or the influencing features of one's upbringing (1984:110). As taste may be expressed through the choices people make in consumption of commodities, it is also an indicator of social class. Warde (1997) expands this notion by arguing that consumerist society encourages self-identities to be formed along non-linear lines and therefore to allow other group identities to replace social class as the defining social group (1997:13). Thus when I interviewed my research participants, I was keen to find out what were their main influences in the formation of the sense of taste, and how whether, through the consumption of ethnic food within these Greek restaurants, they instigated change within the restaurant to become more socially embedded within their social environment.

Chapter 2: Methodology: Multi-Sited Ethnography

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, the essential premise of this study is to examine the interaction between the Greek restaurants and their customers within Amsterdam, through the key themes of authenticity, nostalgic remembrance and taste. In addressing this aim, I contend that the most cogent methodological approach is multi-sited ethnography, as it has the capacity to take into account the spatial and temporal scope that this study requires, which I intend to prove in the following pages. Using the key resources of Marcus, and Falzon, I argue that one of the most crucial aspects of the multi-sited approach is the unbounding of sites from one fixed location, to many, that are in part discovered through the fieldwork research itself, and partly guided by the research plan.

As a term, 'multi-sited ethnography' entered common anthropological lexicon following George Marcus's (1995) formative article that framed and developed the ethnographic method he began almost a decade earlier in the book *'Anthropology as a Cultural Critique'* with Michael Fischer, in which they used the term 'multi-locale ethnography' (Marcus, *et al.* 1986). With the publication of the article, Marcus captured and concretised an emerging trend amongst anthropologists and social researchers in their approach to ethnographic fieldwork, which corresponded to the wider changes in cultural understandings of the nature of space, time, history, art, politics, culture, and society. It marked a philosophical shift in ideological approach away from absolutist ideas of positivism and functionalism that characterised the modernist era, and towards a relativist and subjectivist one that is now broadly referred to as postmodernism (Harvey 1990). His work thereby laid the foundations of the methodological approach, allaying certain fears and anxieties of the practice with 'a defence against potential critiques' (Falzon 2009:26). There have since been a number of publications that have challenged, expanded and developed the methodology, but arguably none more comprehensive than the study edited by Mark-Anthony Falzon (2009), which serves to not only further develop the practice and theory of multi-sited ethnography, but to also 'outline a program for the second generation and project into the future' (Doring

2012:599). Through this study, Falzon draws upon George Marcus' ideas and reconstitutes them within the context of contemporary anthropological thought; with contributors approaching the subject from multiple angles through multi-sited examples. In this chapter, I draw on these two key authors, among others, in my account of my methodological approach, the reasons for taking such an approach and my assessment of its limitations and advantages.

Defining the Multi-Sited Approach

The distilled essence of Marcus', and later contributors', argument is that the tendency in earlier ethnographic studies to use an 'intensively-focused-upon single site' to build a map of cultural units that, once all spaces are filled, will constitute the totality of all culture in a comprehensive 'World System', is inherently flawed in its premise (Marcus 1995:96). The notion that culture may be reduced into bounded units, infers that it is possible to discern natural borders within culture, or perhaps even that culture is conveniently uniform enough to facilitate such compartmentalisation. This perception of cultural uniformity also extends to the implied illusion of uniformity in space and time, such that the completed study of one single site may hereafter represent all cultural formations within it and be acceptably regarded in absolute simultaneity as a homogenous piece of a perceived heterogeneous whole that is the world system. Indeed one of the influential trends that Marcus attributes to the emergence of multi-sited ethnography is the ideological compression of space and time (Marcus 1995:97). What is proposed instead is a decentring of the 'site', allowing the researcher the freedom to follow social phenomena that are spatially unbounded, or in two or more locations. In this way, the research 'site' is defined through the research itself as it unfolds. That is not to say, however, that Marcus rejected the notion of a 'world system', rather that culture should be observed in recognition of its place within the whole by employing a decentred methodology; one that takes into consideration the 'constant state of displacement' of the 'people, information, goods, and ideas' within that whole, which indeed by such traits makes the whole possible (Falzon 2009:5). This represents a dramatic shift from the functionalist and positivist methodology developed and employed by early anthropologists such as Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, the latter of whom, operating on the presumption that social life is scientifically quantifiable, ahistorical and static, attempted

to document the social lives of those he conducted research on, such as the inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands (1922). The fact that multi-sited ethnography employs a process of 'following' cultural formations, as they present themselves to the researcher, renders the research inherently holistic as the borders of the field sites emerge through the research itself (Falzon 2009:37). By contrast, the functionalist and positivist single site ethnography employed by Malinowski paradoxically strives for holism, even though the research is inherently fragmentary and partial in its pursuit for particulars. This partiality is noted by Marylin Strathern who describes this 'collage' approach as being 'a kind of hypercutting of perceived events, moments, impressions' (Strathern 1991:110). She goes on to conclude that such hypercutting leads to a disjointed image by reasoning that '...if elements are presented as so many cut-outs, they are inevitably presented as parts coming from other whole cloths, larger pieces, somewhere' (Strathern 1991:110). In so doing, she echoes the arguments of *'Writing Culture'* (1986), that argues that that ethnography is not 'part of a project whose aim is the creation of universal knowledge' (Clifford, *et al.* 1986:131), but rather, a project of 'mak[ing] do with a collection of indexical anecdotes or telling particulars with which to portend that larger unity beyond explicit textualisation' (1986:131). This refers to the way in which ethnographic information is recorded in recognition of the fact that it will only ever be a collection of textualised particulars that refer to the 'larger unity' that is the world system. The parameters of multi-sited fieldwork sites may not entirely be guided by cultural threads within the field, however, nor are they guided entirely by the researcher. A number of contributors to the subject of methodological practices in social research (Ingold 2008;Falzon 2009;Evans 2012) comment on how the 'siting' process of research is a collaborative enterprise, where data and fieldwork sites are determined both by the parameters set by the research design, and by that which is discovered within the field. For example, when I arrived in Amsterdam to conduct the fieldwork for this study, I knew that my research sites would be Greek restaurants, but I was not yet clear as to which specific restaurants would be included or would agree to fully participate, nor did I know what data they would yield and how they would appear in my final analysis; it was through conducting the research itself that the demarcations of my sites became clear. Similarly, while I was aware of the macro themes that would guide my research, but I was fully conversant with the subthemes that would form the basis of my discussions, until, through the co-production of information generated with my participants and through observations,

such subthemes presented themselves. This process of guided discovery would inevitably mean that there is an unavoidably large amount of information that will not be accounted for in my final writing up of this study, as the sense of 'whole' achieved is a whole that exists only within the confines of the study itself. A similar conclusion is alluded to in Clifford and Marcus' study, in which Stephen A. Tyler recognises a new form of holism that is 'emergent rather than given, and...[is]...one that emerges through the reflexivity of text-author-reader', and holds none of those three exclusively as a 'means of the whole' (1986:133). Therefore, the 'site' is a construct made exclusively by the ethnographer, for a study, and the precise shape and form it assumes did not exist before and shall only exist within the study thereafter. In this way, the ethnographer is the progenitor, creator and producer of emergent holistic sites' within the world system. The ethnographer then 'follows' the strands in accordance with the parameters of the study. Thus, by defining such parameters, the ethnographer, in tandem with the research participants and the information they yield, is still actively co-creating the shape and form of the anthropological study, and the ethnographic site.

Space and Time

Another significant distinction multi-sited ethnography makes from traditional methodology is that it takes into consideration shifting cultural and scientific perceptions in the nature of space and time. Indeed it is through such considerations that Falzon defends the methodology against the 'lack of depth' charge that is often levied in opposition to its use (Falzon 2009:7). This difference to which I am referring, that George Marcus referred to as 'space-time compression', (1995:98) stipulates that the essential difference between space and time contracts in light of the recognition that both are socially produced as 'a product of interrelations', as Falzon puts it (2009:4). Such notions had already been granted scientific validity for some time, following the publication of Albert Einstein's *On Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies* in 1905, that shattered modernist and positivist notions of time and space being fixed, bounded and absolute, to being something relative and experiential, as characterised by the post-modern period. Treating space and time as relative, socially produced phenomena could be seen as a natural step in the ideological and methodological

progress of anthropological and ethnographical enquiry when regarded in consideration of these ideas.

Moreover, movement through space and movement through time may be regarded as experientially indistinguishable, as the transition from one moment to the next is never experienced in isolation from the transition from one space to another. Through the movement of both, all cultural formations and relations are emergent and held in a perpetual state of flux. Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand describes the movement of individuals through both as a 'path starting at the point of birth and ending at the point of death' (Hägerstrand 1970:10). Therefore the criticism that the multi-sited method poorly substitutes ethnographic depth in favour of a 'shallower', spatially dispersed field, becomes inconsequential; as Falzon concisely summarises in stating 'understanding the shallow may be a form of depth' (Falzon 2009:9). The multi-sited ethnographer substitutes the lengthy time spent in one single site, and the information that would yield, for that which is drawn from multiple sites in accordance with the boundaries of the study. The information accumulated from such an approach would be no less enriching as it would correspond to and embody the field sites that are, as I have already established, in a constant state of displacement. Unlike a bounded, single sited approach, this methodology facilitates an active alignment of the fieldwork sites with the parameters of the study. These distinctions I have been discussing were significant for this study as they afforded me the freedom to traverse between multiple Greek restaurants without concern that I was sacrificing the time I had spent within one for the sake of another, indeed it was through my perambulations that I was able to discern the borders of my field-sites. Moreover, the data I collected, that followed my trajectory through space-time, was more accommodating for the transitory nature of the restaurant business with a constant turnover of clientele, as I was able to often present myself as a fellow diner and thus be in a position of perceived sociability and quickly develop a rapport.

Tim Ingold's (2008, 2014) formative publications on the subject of anthropological and ethnographical enquiry, particularly '*Anthropology is NOT ethnography*' (2008), have exhibited many of the main points of argument that I offer here in favour of a multi-sited ethnographic method. He has, for example, drawn from the ideas of Radcliffe-Brown in suggesting that social structures must be viewed in a similar manner as organic life,

specifically in the sense that they are both understood to be processes, with social phenomena being 'emergent rather than specified from the outset' (Ingold 2008:77). In making this case, Ingold presents a reformulation of the term 'social'; characterising it as 'the constitution of the phenomenal world itself', rather than one that describes an isolated and specific type of phenomena (Ingold 2008:80). Hence, it may be argued that observed phenomenon constitutes the summation all the relations that are 'enfolded' within its character, such that the removal of any singular part would decontextualise it from its constituent elements that make it whole. Furthermore, Ingold redefines the word 'life' to something inherently social and embedded within this ontology, such that life is held to be an emergent field of relations, rather than any single animating principle. His argument draws back to and reinforces the defining principles of the multi-sited approach that presumes that the field-site is constantly in a state of movement, as part of a globular nexus of interconnectedness.

Thus, by recognising the processual nature of cultural formations, Ingold has highlighted the futility in attempting to build any kind of cultural map of supposed homogenous units within a heterogeneous whole that would stand to represent them thereafter. The multi-sited method draws information that is naturally confined to that which is co-produced in accordance with the study. While it is unavoidable that a certain level of cutting would take place, all the information compiled in this way would be relevant to the study. During my fieldwork research, for example, for all four of the restaurants that made up the research sites, the fact that I only conducted research inside the restaurant itself, meant that they would seem to have been physically cut from their immediate surroundings. However, this was compensated for by the fact that within the restaurant spaces I could analyse the social interaction between those that came to and left the restaurant. Also, by understanding cultural formations as organic in nature, and then by expanding the meaning of 'life' as being social by nature, blurring the boundaries between the living and nonliving, demands that I approach their study with a methodology that is equally organic in how it constructs sites, and how it treats social phenomena.

My Methodology

It is in recognition of the displacement of people, ideas, and culture over space and time that I have opted to report and analyse my data in the ethnographic past tense. By recounting ethnographic information in the present tense, I would be capturing an image forever locked within that present moment that would contradict the very ideological foundation on which multi-sited methodology is built. In the publication of the 1992 GDAT debates, Tim Ingold's introductory remarks express a similar sympathy with such a view in stating 'The trouble with the ethnographic present...is that it robs the life of these people of its intrinsic temporality, removing their society from the 'timestream of history in which ethnographers and their own societies exist''. He continues to say that '...to represent the people as existing forever within that moment, caught—as it were—in suspended animation, is to consign their lives to a time that, in the experience of the ethnographer, has already been left far behind.' (Ingold 2005:163). I do not wish to imply through my account that those represented within my study are locked within the past. Moreover, if such social life is in a constant state of change, that only exist as the summation of all the relations that are enfolded within its constitution, then the notion that 'culture' is an entity locked in time is a false characterisation. Thus when I entered into a restaurant, and began corresponding with people, I did so with the constant recognition Ingold's social ontology of emergent culture and constant change.

It is for these reasons that multi-sited ethnography was the best-suited approach to study such themes as authenticity, nostalgia and taste within Amsterdam's Greek restaurants. Restaurants are inherently transitory; the business is dependent on a constant stream of customers, all of whom have respectively unique accounts as to how they came upon the restaurant, coalescing within the same space. They each purchase and consume the food and drink on offer before leaving, to make way for the next customer. Thus, it seemed clear to me that in order to capture this movement, I had to adopt a methodology that was capable of embodying a transitory approach to fieldwork. Moreover, the very presence of an ethnic restaurant, which has been the focus of my fieldwork research, is the product of globalising dynamics, by which people and cultures have migrated out of their place of origin to somewhere new that resulted in the formation of a restaurant that bears many resemblances to those cultural origins. Multi-sited ethnography is able to trace those

movements in accordance with the needs of my study, as it is not bounded to one spot, but co-creates boundaries of multiple sites through the fieldwork itself.

In consideration of the restaurants' transitory nature, Michel Foucault's (1986) work '*Of Other Spaces*,' in which he outlines the general principles of heterotopias, provides an important measure of understanding in interpreting the essence of the restaurant space and it has informed the manner in which I approached fieldwork. His work suggests that a restaurant could be regarded as a temporal heterotopia, or a 'heterochrony' (Foucault 1986:26).

At the most fundamental level, it is the space of a simple transaction, one enters to consume food and drink in exchange for money and then leaves. One may observe the restaurant on another level, however, where Foucault's heterotopias serve as a means to cognise particular phenomena that occur within the ethnic restaurant spaces that would otherwise not fit within the trajectory of space-time that the multi-sited method is so adequately suited. From my experience in the field and as I aim to demonstrate in the following pages, the ethnic restaurant has a tendency to generally recreate a distilled ethnic image of their respective culture, such that when you enter, it appears as though you have been transported to, for example, a rural and rustic Greek tavern. Despite being enmeshed within the present moment, and recognising the emergent nature of cultural formations, a customer, by the design of those that run the restaurant, is experientially transported through both time and space to a place that is not bounded to globalising dynamics. Such places may be regarded as heterotopias of juxtaposition, where there are multiple places layered into one space. On the one hand, a customer is within a space in Amsterdam, and on the other, they are also within whichever place the owner, and the staff of the restaurant have designed. This effect is further enhanced when taking into consideration also of the transporting effects of food through synaesthetic recollection. This effect was popularised by Proust's (1913) 'Madeleine moment', when he took a spoonful of tea-soaked Madeleine crumbs to his mouth, which synaesthetically precipitated a transporting experience of vivid reminiscence that was not bound by time or space. Thus, as a place that sells food as part of its modus operandi, as well as a heterotopia of juxtaposition, the ethnic Greek restaurant is inherently transporting. This connection between food and memory is something that has

been well developed by a number of academics, some of whom I highlight in this study, where I elaborate on these ideas in far greater detail.

Falzon (ibid) further notes that participant observation is a valid mode of enquiry in which a multi-sited ethnography should be researched. Participant observation has been the accepted method of anthropology research and a defining characteristic of the discipline since Malinowski's (1922) account of anthropological enquiry, and I do not break from this. Practically this meant that I documented information as I have moved through my research sites, and I employed the rather tried and tested method of field notes, jotted down in an A6 pad of paper that I carried with me. I could thus commit to paper any observations or abstract thoughts triggered within the field whenever I had needed to. For passive observation, such use of note taking has proved generally effective. However, when it came to conducting interviews with my research participants, I found that my notes did not effectively capture all the necessary information, particularly in light of the fact that my subthemes were still being formulated through the fieldwork research itself. The notes would consist of that which I felt to be of most import at the time of writing, but would prove insufficient later as the project evolved, and certain details would slip from my attention. To address this, I adopted a much more rigorous and systematic approach towards my fieldwork that ran concurrently with writing up the first drafts of my chapters. I further enhanced my data through the use of my mobile phone's camera and audio recording facilities, which allowed me to review digital data, conversations and interactions retrospectively and with greater accuracy. This would naturally only be done with the understanding and permission of my research participants.

I was afforded the opportunity to do this due to the fact that I determined to live in close proximity to my fieldwork sites throughout the course of this study, thus it was rather uncommonly written whilst still within the field, spanning twelve months from August 2015 to August 2016. Based upon the merits of doing so, I weighed this to be the best course of action for drawing the best results in this study. I had the most significant advantage of flexibility, and long-term research gathering that is not typical of academic research at this level. I was able to accumulate fieldwork data whenever I needed to do so, and whenever was most convenient for my research participants. This became ever more prevalent an advantage when some of the owners of the restaurants were unable to meet or speak with

me for weeks at a time, as I could simply meet whenever was most convenient for them. As for my other research participants, I had to arrange for them to visit me in order to take them to my research sites for interviews. While these features were profoundly useful, there were some limitations that I negotiated throughout the study. The fact that I could not access the physical library resources of the university, restricting some the literature I would have otherwise had access too. Moreover, certain unforeseen features became apparent whilst within the field, the most hindering of which was my highly insufficient internet connection, which further reduced my access, at times, to online resources. Most notably, frequent visits to Greek restaurants inevitably resulted in the frequent purchase of their cuisine, which at times placed serious financial strains that added an extra element to negotiate for fieldwork excursions.

The nature of this particular research would have greatly benefitted from being able to work in each of the restaurants, thus becoming an 'insider' to their operations. However, I was only able to achieve this in Waves Greek Restaurant n' Cafe, where I worked for only a week as a favour to me by the owner. For the others, unfortunately, there were not any positions for me to work, and so I made do with steadily accumulating interviews, ongoing dialogues and encounters with customers over the course of the twelve month period.

As a location, Amsterdam was chosen in particular for its historical openness to new cultures and cuisines, such as its incorporation of Chinese-Indonesian food following World War II, to the extent that to eat out in the Netherlands is to 'eat out ethnic' (Otterloo 2009:41). While there is no official data regarding the number of Greek people within the Netherlands, some studies have indicated that the registered population was somewhere close to 20,000 in 2014, which was following a surge of Greek immigration following the Greek financial crisis (Pratsinakis, *et al.* 2017:87). This would make the Greek population within just Amsterdam relatively small compared to many other countries such as Germany, Australia, or the United Kingdom, places where official data place populations at proportionally far higher. Despite this, there seemed to be a number of well established Greek restaurants that I found to be quite popular among the local Amsterdam clientele.

Ethical Considerations

In my general conduct throughout the fieldwork and subsequent study, I adhered to the 2012 code of ethics guidelines set out by the *American Anthropology Association*. While the nature of the research was not particularly contentious ethically, the transitory nature of the restaurant did raise some minor ethical questions that need addressing. Most notably, the fact that I would have to often disrupt people's meals to try and establish a rapport within the limited time frame of a single encounter, would on occasion elicit annoyance in other customers, and make it more difficult to explain my general aims and the purpose of my study to a satisfactory level. I discovered this early on in the research and thus proceeded to enhance my data by bringing people with whom I was already well acquainted to the restaurants to use as research participants. This presented several advantages, not least that this allowed me to ensure they were fully informed of the nature of my research beforehand, and grant me the leisure of observing them throughout the entire mealtime. I was also able to go back to them at my leisure for follow-up questions and arrange follow-up meals, which created an ongoing dialogue in some cases, and allowed me to draw more relevant observations. While this proved very effective, their observations were primarily useful in researching for Chapter 4 on nostalgic remembrance, as the primary aim was to observe the effects of the ethnic restaurant on the customer, granting me a more personal interaction through direct observation. It also proved useful in Chapter 5, where I could observe their interaction with the restaurant in comparison to the normal clientele.

Furthermore, I ensured that the owners of each restaurant knew precisely why I was within each of their restaurants, and in most cases received written consent to allow me to conduct my research, and interact with their customers.

Despite conducting the research in a country where English was largely the second language, I had no real difficulty in communicating with the local Dutch or tourists, as they all tended to have an excellent grasp of the English language. When communicating with Greek research participants, I would converse with them in Greek as often as possible, but as it is my second language, it was often the case that conversation naturally reverted back to English, where most participants had a high level of fluency. On rare occasions, I encountered some Dutch customers who were not as fluent as others, but never to the extent that conversation would be limited in any real way.

While the four restaurants that became the main sites of this study were not specified from the outset, I did have a list of Greek restaurants within Amsterdam drawn before my arrival. The list contained all the Greek restaurants situated within the 'centrum' district, chosen for their close proximity to one another and therefore within relative walking distance, and for their diversity. Upon my arrival in the area, I systematically visited each restaurant, and endeavoured to communicate with the owner of each. In some instances, the restaurant owners were not willing to participate in the study, and did not allow me to conduct any research there, which I of course followed. In several other cases, I could never get into contact with the owner, and in one case, I elicited a slight aggravation due to several failed attempts to arrange a meeting. The restaurants that remained were the ones that I managed to arrange interviews with, and that granted me permission to conduct my fieldwork research there.

In conclusion, I employed a multi-sited fieldwork approach to gathering field data, due to the flexibility it afforded me in using multiple restaurants, and the fact that it also afforded me the flexibility to allow the boundaries of the research sites to be co-produced through the fieldwork itself, had shown to be an important element of the research.

Chapter 3: Authenticity and Atmospherics: Representing Ethnicity

In this chapter, I analyse the way in which Greek restaurants have manipulated their environments to create an ethnically Greek reconstruction that they felt would appeal to their customers and how they interact with and respond such ethnic displays. In doing so, I discuss the notion of authenticity and essentialised cultural representations, and the dynamics between public and private space within restaurants. The information presented is based on my conversations with the owners of each restaurant, and that which is drawn from my own inspections over the course of multiple visits.

Atmospherics and Authenticity

Ethnic restaurants are placed in an ideal position from which to analyse how ethnicity may be represented; through the manipulation of the space within the restaurant, they reproduce a version of ethnicity that is a reflection of a place characterised by that ethnicity, and as such, calls into question their legitimacy via the perceived authenticity of the restaurant. Authenticity has been defined and redefined by a multitude of academics (MacCannell 1973; Cohen 1988) with Richard Handler (1986), for example, defining it as the perception that something is 'unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched, and traditional' (1986:2).

Paradoxically, the adjectives Handler uses to characterise authenticity are contradicted by the fact that a restaurant is only considered 'ethnic' if it is situated outside of the place of origin, thereby rendering it a reproduction of ethnicity, and thus not 'unspoiled, pristine, genuine, and traditional' but a recreated version of those things. On the other hand, it may be that authenticity constitutes the 'exotic characteristics reflecting the culture of a country[; a]...uniqueness and difference', which would allow an ethnic restaurant to achieve sincere authenticity by means of its differences (Jang, *et al.*, 2011:990). What is clear is that authenticity is nonetheless broadly regarded as a virtuous trait amongst restaurateurs and consumers, and the standard by which all ethnic restaurants are thereby graded (Ebster, *et al.*, 2005:42; Yang, *et al.*, 2009:236;), and has resulted in ethnic restaurants exploring the

full spectrum of synaesthetic and multisensory experience (Jang, *et al.*, 2010). To this end, the work of Philip Kotler has been significant; coining the term 'atmospherics' to specify 'the effort to design buying environments to produce specific emotional effects in the buyer that enhance his purchase probability', which in effect takes into account the main sensory channels through which the atmosphere may be experienced (Kotler, 1974:50). Kotler argues that, as customers are sensitive to the sensory qualities of a business's atmosphere, by being atmospherically aware, businesses can attempt to manipulate the sensory environment to create one that they feel will attract customers. Moreover, he highlights that, for a restaurant, all the senses play a factor, covering the visual, aural, olfactory, tactile, and gustatory senses, and thus must be taken into consideration when analysing any restaurant. If a restaurant is successful in this pursuit, it would suggest that they have achieved at least a visage of authentic ethnic representation.

However, to simply appear authentic would imply that, beneath the surface, the restaurant is insincere in its representation. One core contributing factor to this notion is that a restaurant is inherently exhibitionist; a performed enterprise of service and consumption, which Jochnowitz characterises as '...“great theatres” of culinary performance' (Jochnowitz, 2007:115). In congruence with this view, Joanne Finkelstein writes that the restaurant is an entertainment industry of 'performative pleasures' (Finkelstein, 1998:202). She argues that the restaurant facilitates such performances by means of their design and intended clientele, such that if one wishes to assume the role of a formal nature or a more 'frivolous attitude...where a totally theatrical atmosphere is recreated', they are able to do so (Finkelstein, 1998:205), under the guise of anonymity among strangers. The appeal of the ethnic restaurant lies in the ability to experience the exoticism of foreign culture in a sanitised space, making the whole experience, by such a line of argument, inherently disingenuous. Finkelstein also argues that the social relations that occur within the restaurant are represented through the 'ambience, décor, furnishings, lighting, tableware and so on' which alludes to the significance of the atmospheric manipulations stipulated by Kotler (Finkelstein, 1989:3). In essence, the authenticity of ethnic restaurants is merely the commoditised product of market forces and thus can never be genuine in an objective sense.

Moreover, the very use of the word authenticity can be problematic when applied to ethnicity, or indeed culture, as it calls into question the properties that characterise a cultural group to be regarded as authentic or not. There is no real consensus as to how authenticity may be applied objectively, as I have exemplified by already providing two definitions that approach the subject from dissonant perspectives. The essential issue lies with the fact that culture is in a constant state of flux as it moves through time and space (see Chapter 2), leaving no one image we may use as a template for authentic reference in recreated versions of ethnicity. The implication, therefore, is that the authentic image is drawn from an essentialised western perception of an ethnic group that bears no real life semblance, but is instead a collection of caricatures.

Taylor's article on the subject provides an illustrative example of how authenticity is treated as a currency for experiencing 'realness' in the tourist industry (Taylor, 2001:8). He highlights how the image of authentic culture is typically viewed as a time in the past, and thus an accurately authentic representation 'must pay homage to a conception of origins' (2001:9). In this way, Taylor suggests that authenticity is equated with the traditional, using the example of the tourist advertisements attempting to construct a pre-European image of Maori culture in New Zealand as the 'true' and authentic version of that culture, whilst ignoring any contemporary depiction (2001:9).

One of the essential issues, it seems, is that ethnic authenticity is being defined by those outside the ethnic group. Therefore, in light of this, it may also be possible to argue that a more balanced and corresponding version of ethnicity may be authentically portrayed in the case that it is the sincere production of someone of that ethnicity. The ethnic space of the restaurant is an attempt to recreate the familiar, as an extension of a personal ethnic identity. Jang (2010) characterises this as 'objectivist authenticity', whereby an ethnic restaurant may be considered objectively authentic if the food is prepared by those native to that cuisine and culture, as authenticity is judged by originality (2010:665). By such terminology, customers of such ethnic restaurants would be engaging and consuming a sincere and authentic representation, as it would be an expansion of the owners' designs and culture. If originality forms the basis for objective analysis, however, then that raises the question as to whether the owner's own perceptions of culture may be followed as reliable and objective. Indeed, the native is just as susceptible to adhering to cultural images as the

foreigner, considering they experience just a fraction of it within the broad scope of movement through space and time.

Moreover, as Cohen (1988) points out, authenticity is not an inherent quality of certain 'ethnic' things, such as Greek restaurants, but a trait that is imbued by onlookers, such as their customers (1988:378). As such, it would be better to focus on the individual perspectives on the authenticity of both the clientele and that of the owners of the restaurants, rather than attempt to come to any kind of absolute conclusion about the authenticity of each restaurant. This takes a more existential view of authenticity, that is "being true to the self" as described by Trilling (1973) and Rousseau (1903). Steiner's (2006) article provides a succinct outline of this form of authenticity, in that it is '...having a sense of one's own identity and then living in accord with one's sense of one's self' (2006:300). To that end, Jang's (2010) definition of a 'constructivist' approach may be more pertinent, which he defines as a relative approach to authenticity, depending on the onlooker's personal criteria of that which is genuine or real. In this way, the 'originality' of things becomes irrelevant, emphasising instead the 'symbolic meanings derived from social construction' (2010:665). This subjective and contextualised vision of authenticity accounts for the multitude of different interpretations and perceptions and breaks the analysis away from the simplistic dichotomous definitions of just 'genuine' or 'fake' (Cohen 1988:377). Therefore a more cogent mode of analysis would be to explore why authenticity is seen as desirable among consumers such that ethnic restaurants would want to capitalise on it by commoditising their culture. Cohen (1979) provides a compelling insight into this phenomenon in correlating a sense of 'alienation' to a desire to experience the 'other'. In essence, those individuals that feel a disconnect with the cultural milieu of modernity will be more likely to pursue authenticity. This forms the basis for his typology of 'modes of tourist experiences', where he breaks down tourist's desire to experience authenticity into five groups (1979:182). These are; experimental, experiential, existential, recreational, and diversionary. The further you move along this scale of modes, according to Cohen, the 'less strict the criteria of authenticity employed by the tourist will tend to become', and the less alienated they tend to feel (1988:377). For example, Cohen defines 'recreational' tourists, as those who seek to experience something outside of their current norm, as a means to escape from the stresses of a modern, working life. The experience is meant to rejuvenate,

and so does not have a clearly defined or strict criterion for what is authentic. From the perspective of someone in the latter end of the spectrum, Cohen argues, such recreational tourists can be regarded as 'easy to be taken in by blatantly inauthentic, or outright contrived, commercialised displays', which stems from a lack of care for the authentic (1979:184).

In order to determine how authenticity is atmospherically constructed within these ethnic restaurant spaces, I interviewed and spoke to the owners of each restaurant, trying to discern their intentions that underlie such constructions, and to see whether they had undergone any changes. In turn, I endeavoured to analyse how the clientele interprets the restaurants in relation to its authenticity.

This chapter will also analyse the various atmospheric strategies employed by the owners of each restaurant in creating ethnicity.

Grekas Griekse Traiterie (Grekas Deli)

Approaching from Amsterdam central station, this is the first Greek restaurant of my four research sites that I encountered. In terms of size, it was also the most modest, consisting of one small thin room, in which the kitchen, food counter and tables and chair all share space. Moreover, being on the east side of the 'Singel' canal, it is not as favourably located as my other sites, that are in bustling shopping and grazing areas. The Singel canal encircles the very centre of Amsterdam, and the particular stretch that the 'the Grekas Deli' was situated has fewer restaurants and shops along it drawing fewer pedestrians and tourists, that generally tend to stick to the central roads and canals.

It was due to the size and location that I had found the restaurant to be rather inconspicuous at first, with nothing but a small hanging blue sign with faded gold letters writing 'GREKAS DELI' to indicate that it was indeed the Greek restaurant I had been looking for. Interestingly, and it seems to be a common practice among those that desire to make something appear Greek, the letter E is invariably replaced by the Greek letter sigma 'Σ', due to its similar but obviously more Greek appearance. Linguistically such a feature can only work for non-hellenophones, as the phonetic equivalent in English is the letter 'S'. Despite that, there were no overt displays of ethnicity at the entrance or window of the

restaurant. Inside, the entire restaurant consisted of one room, with the kitchen area partitioned off from the tables and chairs by a low wall, so that one may peer into and observe the preparation of the food.

The décor inside was simple and Spartan, but was still indicative of ethnicity, if a little more subtle in its representation. I had noticed, for example, that there was a clear olive tree theme running through the restaurant; along the upper half of one wall was a hand painted olive tree, bearing black olives ready for picking and another on the low wall that partitions the kitchen from the dining area. The tablecloths and menus also shared depictions of olive branches bearing olives snaking across them. Moreover, behind the deli counter to the left of the restaurant stood long rows of olive oil imported from Greece and atop each table stood two bottles, one filled with the Greek olive oil and the other with vinegar. When I queried the owner of the restaurant, Panayiotis, on this, he explained that he placed emphasis on the cuisine, and was not so interested in decoration, stating that “the food is most important...I don’t worry so much about the decorations”. I later discovered that Panayiotis had purchased the restaurant from another Greek owner 16 years ago, the décor of which he described as being “too much”, what with all the “...garlics *points to the walls*...some fish things. It was too busy...too much...different colours...yellow, red, green. It was too much”. Indeed even his decoration drew back to the cuisine, as olives and olive oil form a central component in many, if not most Greek dishes in some form or another. It could be argued that the fact that he had felt that the previous design was “too much”, and made the decision to create an environment he felt best suited him and Greek culture, may suggest that in his case the restaurant was a natural manifestation of his Greek taste, a taste that formed due to Greek background. This would, in fact, be an example of Trilling’s existential authenticity of truth through genuine self-expression. While this may have been a contributing factor, it would be simplistic to assume that the design of the restaurant has only been determined by Panayiotis’s innate knowledge of Greek culture. It implies that his restaurant would not be subject to the commercialising dynamics of a business, particularly the economic pressures of running an ethnic restaurant in a foreign country. There would inevitably have been other considerations such as the type of demographic he was trying to attract, and certain positive elements to attract them to his particular restaurant. When I queried him on this, he responded enthusiastically that he gets “...many many Greek

customers”, particularly students, coming to his restaurant. As an approximation, he surmised that roughly forty percent of his customers were Greek, with the rest a mixture of local Dutch and tourists. As a proportion of customers, that meant that the Grekas Deli saw a higher number of Greeks customers than the other three restaurants. This would thus imply that there are some elements of the restaurant’s atmospheric construction of Greek ethnicity that was attractive to the local Greek community and Greek tourists.

Panayiotis offered a potential answer when he remarked at a later encounter that he wanted the food he served to be “...the same as in Greece”, adding that “this is Greek food...I do not change anything. If people come here...they want to try Greek food, so I serve them Greek food”. Indeed, in a number of conversations with customers, a common observation was that they felt the restaurant’s food to be like being in Greece. One Australian-Greek customer I spoke to explained that he thought the food to be “really like how [his] mum used to make it”, and so he would come as often as possible. I had also overheard him saying how the restaurant was the most authentically Greek he had found in Amsterdam. From the Dutch and tourist customers I spoke to, I often heard praise for the authenticity of the restaurant, with one tourist diner exclaiming that she thought that not only the food but the whole restaurant was like a “...Greek island in the heart of Amsterdam”.

These observations suggest that the customers generally accepted the restaurant to successfully represent Greek ethnicity. Panayiotis’s emphasis on the food being the same as the food in Greece, without “chang[ing] anything”, also implied that this was something he considered to be one of the central features of attraction for his restaurant. Indeed, while it may not have been possible for the food to be exactly the “same as in Greece”, what with many of the ingredients being acquired locally such as certain meats and vegetables, and a particular type of Greek cheese called kefalotyri (κεφαλοτύρι) being substituted for a more locally accessible and affordable equivalent, the restaurant’s food seems to have been regarded as authentically Greek enough by a variety of clientele demographics. Moreover, a number of the customers also regarded not only the food but also the decor to be authentic, despite some noticeable differences. Generally speaking, restaurants in Greece tend to be quite spacious, with a large outdoor seating area. The fact that the restaurant was small and narrow in the distinctive Amsterdam architectural fashion, naturally cannot

be helped, but nonetheless, detracts from the supposed ethnic presentation of ethnicity. Yet the clientele overlooked these features.

Another significant aspect to the restaurant's appeal seemed to stem from its homely quality. Typically a restaurant is generally regarded as a 'semi-public space' (Jacobs, *et al.*, 2003; Muller 2009), due to the fact that it is privately owned, and yet still accessible to the public on the condition that certain criteria are met; not least being that they purchase the food and drink that is on offer, but also in some cases that a certain dress code is observed, and that some unwritten social codes of behaviour are adhered to. In some cases, it may be argued that the fact that a restaurant is the privately owned enterprise of a person, or a family can blur the boundary between the privately owned home and that of the privately owned business. Indeed, it may be the case, as it was in the Grekas Deli, that some features of the restaurant lend themselves to the sensation of dining as a guest of another's home; what with its relatively small size, and a relaxed and informal atmosphere on a quieter and calmer street. The restaurant was run by the owner; his wife, wife's brother, and a family friend, all of whom share in all the duties, including the cooking and waiting tables, depending on whoever is available to do so. The deli counter served to enhance this homely appeal, as they would place within it a cornucopia of homemade Greek dishes, dips, and tubs of olives, arrayed in such a way as to be suggestive of a Greek dining table. As many of the Greek cuisines can take hours to cook, they would prepare them beforehand and put them on the display, such that it may occasion that they would run out of some of the dishes on the menu. By contrast, some of the other restaurants would reheat much of their foods from a freezer, creating a more impersonal affect. It is perhaps for these reasons that the restaurant sees a much higher number of regular Greek customers, mainly in the form of students than the other restaurants I have been researching. Panayiotis added to this homely quality by recounting how he sometimes closed the restaurant whenever he had a particularly large booking and could only accommodate for that particular group. In such instances, the whole restaurant was catering to only one particular group exclusively, in much the same way as one would in the privacy of the home. In other cases, he detailed how he would be asked to cater for a customer's barbeque, where he would have to spend the entire night before slow cooking an entire lamb in preparation. Thus, contrarily to the

standard custom of a customer journeying to the restaurant to dine, the restaurant staff goes to the private home of the customer to provide food.

For the non-Greek clientele, who still made up the majority of the customers for the restaurant, this kind of intimacy, in crossing the boundaries of private space may institute a sense of communal belonging for both them and the restaurant.

Waves Greek Restaurant n' Café

Waves Greek Restaurant n' Café (henceforth 'Waves') was situated on a very busy pedestrian walkway 'Lange Leidsedwarstraat' that was filled with a multitude of multi-ethnic eateries. The area was very popular and saw large numbers of tourists and locals coming out to eat and shop. This particular street was almost exclusively filled with a variety of multiethnic restaurants, and so many hungry perambulating pedestrians were channelled into it, browsing at their leisure. The restaurant typically had a member of staff stationed outside to usher in and welcome potential customers.

In front of the restaurant, as with the majority along this street, were several tables and chairs. They did not serve the purpose of seating customers however as one is typically occupied by the restaurant's delivery employees, while another hosted an open menu for the pedestrians perusal. This had more to do with the time of year as it was too cold to eat outdoors. Above the entrance hung a neon blue sign saying 'Waves GREEK', but no other ethnic homage. Inside, the restaurant was long and thin, stretching back with a long line of tables and chairs. Along the right wall hung a sizable canvas depicting an idyllic Grecian landscape that looks out across the coast of Santorini. Besides this rather large image on the wall, there were no other particularly obvious ethnic representations present within the restaurant, besides a few fish themed paraphernalia. The effect was that the customer's gaze would inevitably fall upon the image, depicting the white and blue painted buildings that are synonymously associated with Greek culture, standing on the precipice of a cliff that falls into a bright blue sea. The angle of the shot was at eye level, such that one may imagine oneself looking out through the window of a restaurant within the Greek island. The owner did not, in fact, explain that this was his intention, but he did express a desire for the customers to feel as though they "...walk in and they are in Greece for a moment...you

know...then they step out and they are in Amsterdam". This effect was enhanced by an endless playlist of Greek music, and of course the provision of Greek cuisine.

That aside, the restaurant had the appearance of a generic café restaurant, with modern and simple furniture, by which I mean that they did not contribute to an overall impression of ethnicity. The dishes served at the restaurant tended to be those most well known, not necessarily limited in number but rather concentrated around a variety of grilled meats and fish dishes. When I asked Rishie, the owner, about his menu, he said that he was trying to appeal to as many customers as possible, "I wanted to have something for everyone...if you want to have a big meal...sit down, have a bottle of wine, you can do that. If you want to have something quick we have a separate menu for gyro...you know". Gyro is a rather popular Greek fast food snack, with donner pork or chicken wrapped up in pitta bread with salad vegetables. The fact that he created a separate menu specifically to appeal to the wants and appetites of a broader audience is indicative of the influence the consumer had in shaping the restaurant to suit them, whilst still maintaining a Greek ethnic theme. Indeed, he also said that the Dutch customers, that formed around half of his clientele tended to favour dishes with meat and fish as a central component, which lead him to increase the variety of such dishes on his menu. Later conversations had revealed that he had also adjusted certain recipes to make them creamier, which is another quality the Dutch people tended to prefer. In conjunction with this, he also started increasing the number of vegetarian options on his menu, in order to account for the growing demand from tourists and younger people, who, he remarked, "...eat more vegetarian foods".

The adjustments Rishie made in his restaurant underscores the significance of the commercialisation of ethnicity, pressuring him to adapt in order to better suit the demographics of his clientele. The fact that he explicated how tourists also form a large number of his customer base, which I attributed to the restaurant being situated on a busy pedestrian thoroughfare frequented by tourists, compounds the notion that ethnic restaurants, while presenting what appears to be an authentic representation to some, becomes embedded within the host culture due to certain economic pressures. A number of ethnographic and gastronomical studies discuss this notion that the arrival of new foods to a country, gradually changes the palette of the local population to incorporate such foods. In

this case, as certain studies have shown, the ethnic restaurant also adjusts the product to suit the locals.

On one occasion I conversed with two patrons of the restaurant. They were a young couple in their mid-twenties, who explained to me that they were visiting Amsterdam from Germany for the weekend. After shopping in the nearby boutiques, clothes shops, and sweetshops, they had decided to forage for a place to eat for lunch. They saw that Waves had a number of vegetarian dishes available on the menu outside. I asked them what they thought of the restaurant in terms of its atmosphere. They responded that they thought that it "...looked very modern and clean", adding that while they have never been to Greece, they liked the culture, describing it as "exotic", and something they were curious to try again. Within Cohen's (1979) modes of touristic experience, they would fall under the 'recreational' kind of tourist, in that they are using the experience as a recreational escapism without applying any real critique into the authenticity of the restaurant, seeking instead the 'pleasure of entertainment', that the restaurant offers (1979:182). The fact that they were drawn by the vegetarian dishes as a deciding factor also highlights the significance of consumer demand over the restaurant, and justified the changes Rishie had made.

A number of the conversations I had with the customers seemed to, in as far as I could judge, fit within a similar paradigm. The experience was for them inherently for the function of both enjoying the 'Other' without too much engagement with the authenticity, and finding nourishment through the food.

Zorba de Griek

Out of all my research sites, 'Zorba de Griek' (henceforth 'Zorba') was the most favourably located for drawing customers, sitting on the corner of a busy pedestrian crossroads, a little further up from Waves. Due to the intersection of the 'Lange Leidsedwarstraat' and the 'Leidsekruisstraat', Zorba was exposed to a large number of pedestrians approaching from four directions. The restaurant also rather dramatically stood out from its neighbouring restaurants with its large blue sign placed against a white background, colours that are synonymously associated with Greek culture, and not typically seen decorating any other ethnic restaurant or eatery nearby. Structurally, the inside of the restaurant was the most

unique, breaking away from the others that had a thin, rectangular eating space, where it was wider and turned to the right at an angle so that the eating area of the restaurant was that of a square horseshoe. The kitchen, while not being 'open' to the customer in the same way the 'Grekas Deli' was, still allowed the customer to observe the cooking process as the kitchen was separated by a very large window rather than a wall. In this way, the customer can watch the chefs prepare their meal from their table.

Visually, the inside was clearly designed to make the customers feel as though they had stepped through a portal into an ethnically condensed Greek space. The simple wooden furniture mirrored a sense of the naturalness and informality that comes automatically to the typical Greek taverna. On every available surface on every wall hung some sort of Greek related painting or photograph, and Greek columns that connected to form archways superimposed over the restaurant windows. Above archways hung grape vines, such that when one peered out into the street outside, the view would be partially obscured and framed by this ethnic décor. On the walls hung printed copies of artwork that would have covered ancient Greek pottery, and postcards that revealed the picturesque views of Greek beaches. The effect of all these visual elements, accentuated by the playing of traditional Greek music, compounded the effect of leaving Amsterdam and arriving in somewhere ubiquitously Greek, that is both spatially and temporally rooted outside the path of the time-space continuum. As I have already alluded to in Chapter 2, the fact that this restaurant is both a physical space within a building in Amsterdam, and yet also has been designed to appear to be somewhere ethnically Greek, outside time and space, makes it a both a heterotopia of juxtaposition and a heterochrony. As Foucault (1986) states 'the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (1986:25). In doing so, the restaurant appeals to an imagined past image that crosses authenticity with a traditionalist idealism, which could promote, according to Cheer (2013), 'essentialised stereotypes', of the ethnic other (Cheer, *et al.*, 2013:443).

The owner, Leo, explained to me that he had inherited the restaurant from his parents, who had, in turn, purchased it from a Greek gentleman. He admitted that they did not have much of an input into the design, preferring to keep the restaurant as it was when they acquired it. As they draw in enough customers already, they felt that changing the current

design was not necessary. This further demonstrates how much the commercial market can influence the way in which ethnicity it portrayed. Leo did not feel the need to change, since the geographical location of the restaurant, and the atmospheric design that he inherited was successful enough in drawing customers that there was no imperative to change it.

Leo did disclose to me, however, that he had seasonally adjusted the recipes in order to better the weather, such as providing more hot and filling dishes during the winter and more salad, I did, however, engage in conversation with one of the waiters who was Greek, who disclosed to me that much of the food that is on offer is either frozen or comes from a can, including the Greek food dolmades, which was instantly noticed by a Greek fieldwork informant of mine the moment the dish was presented to him (see Chapter 4). To demonstrate this, he brought me samples of the food to try, adding that "...the only thing we make fresh is the tzatziki", which he also had brought in a spoon.

These inevitably will not be the only determining factors. Certain market forces will come into play, where the need to draw in customers shaped the design which, in turn, may then overrule any other notions of authenticity. One could make the argument that 'Zorba de Grieks' use of columns, statues, and various other paraphernalia, do not necessarily make one feel as though they are stepping into a part of Greece per se, however, they are symbols that are irrevocably recognised as being Greek. Thus they may be individually transporting in their separate associations, rather than building on an overall sense that one is within a Greek restaurant. Such decorative decisions, however, may lead to a form of stereotyping in a bid to make things appear as ethnic as possible, appealing to a culturally unaware clientele. In Herzfeld's article '*Postprandial imaginings*' he postulates that 'Restaurants are purveyors of stereotypes; some are counter-intuitive or clearly of recent invention ...but others play to existing assumptions and resources' (Herzfeld, 2007:205). This line of argument stems from a sense that authenticity is an objectivist notion, that something can only be conceived as authentic in so far that it is produced by a member of that ethnic community. However, as I have already discussed, authenticity is far more subjective as a concept, not only in being true to the 'self' as Trilling proposed, but being constructed and influenced by whoever observes and exerts an influence upon it (Jang, 2010; Cohen, 1988).

De Athene

Upon entering De Athene Greek restaurant, situated on the east bank of the river Amstel, one would immediately be immersed in a complete creation of transporting Greek imagery. The front window, for example, was flanked by Parthenon columns, so that one peers into the restaurant as though one might also gaze at an ancient Greek structure. The walls were lined with images of ancient Greek statues, and idyllic landscapes of traditional homes along the coast of Crete. You would also notice that the main colour scheme of the restaurant was white and blue matching the national colours of the Greek flag, and reflects the style of traditional homes one may see on the Greek islands. The tables, for instance, were covered with blue and white chequered tablecloths, and were laid with blue tinted water glasses. The type of tables and chairs used were those one would commonly see being used in the Greek tavernas, that is, with simple wooden frames.

When I began to ask the owner, Emilios, about the aesthetic qualities of the place he explained to me that he had completely refurbished the restaurant to achieve a look he felt was more appealing and more Greek, in the enterprising hope of drawing in more customers. He believed that they enjoyed the environment, and that they were “entering into a part of Greece”. From his description, the restaurant used to hold a much more rustic appeal, with fishnets hanging from the ceiling and various Greek paraphernalia glued to the walls such as bouzouki guitars, and Greek pottery. Incidentally, he explained that his restaurant was busier before he redecorated. If the restaurant was indeed drawing in more customers prior to his redesign, then perhaps one may speculate that there is a conflict of expectation as to what form Greek culture should appear between the clientele and the owner. Whatever the case, Emilios’s changes did not translate into more clientele. It may have been the case, that the changes in design did not conform to the previous clientele’s criteria for what they generally accepted to be authentic, having grown accustomed to the previous aesthetic, such that in changing it, Emilios lost some of his clientele. If that were indeed the case, it would attest to the integrating effects of commercialised authenticity.

The restaurant had the appearance of one the traditional whitewashed Greek homes that appear on the images hanging on the restaurant walls. The overall appeal felt more polished than that of the other research sites, with dimmed lights, chequered blue and white tablecloth, and candlelit tables. The owner explained to me that he would occasionally

serenade his customers playing the guitar and bouzouki singing classic Greek songs, but usually “...if I have a few drinks first! *begins to laugh*”. I had the pleasure of witnessing this at a later occasion, as he and a personal friend each took up an instrument and began to sing a variety of traditional Greek songs. On other occasions, I have seen them both perform traditional Greek dancing between the rows of tables. The spectacle certainly lends itself to the overall impression of being transported to Greece, and showcases many of the more well-known elements of Greek culture, distilled into this relatively small space.

Such performances were always received with enthusiasm among his customers, and would sometimes precipitate their own participation to varying degrees. The fact that Emiliios performs such quintessential elements in Greek culture with such regularity, deviates from what that which is customarily performed in Greece itself. In particular, I noticed that he would incorporate the smashing of plates into the performed routines, much to the excitement of the customers. One such customer exclaimed upon witnessing this that he “love[s] these Greek traditions”. One comment I overheard upon witnessing this expressed that they “...love these Greek traditions”.

These practices are not as commonly performed within Greece itself, reserved for more significant ritual events, such as weddings or for celebrations, and rarely performed in tavernas. Such traditions are then consumed as authentic portrayals of Greek culture, highlighting how traditions may be commoditised for capitalistic gain within a commercial market. The use of the word ‘traditional’, which may be defined as particular practices that are ‘normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature’, implies that they are inherently static, reified by historical repetition (Hobsbawm, *et al.* 2012:1). However, as Hobsawm (2012) argues in his introduction to *‘The Invention of Tradition’*, tradition may be invented through the inculcation of behavioural norms and values through repetition. It is through such repetition that a sense of continuity is insinuated, creating the illusion that such practices may be traced back through time. Thus it is arguable that the repetition of such practices as a result of their positive reception, Emiliios invents among the clientele, or perhaps more pertinently, ‘re-invents’ these Greek traditions for their amusement. Cohen (1988) makes a similar point in his description of an emergent authenticity, in that authenticity is emergent, constantly being invented, and reconstituted in the same way that culture is. As such, when Emiliios performed traditional

practices, he was an active component in the reinvention of Greek culture within Amsterdam, embedding it socially. The essential difference between tradition and authenticity, therefore, as Sutton (2001) confers, is the implication of time, in that traditions, whether invented or historically grounded, suggest an extension back through time. By contrast, authenticity tends to imply why the Greeks are authentically doing in the present moment. In summary, both are emergent, as both are subject to the transition of space and time of culture, that I highlighted in the methodology.

Conclusion

Each restaurant had demonstrated a unique atmosphere, from which I could analyse from the framework of the key theme of authenticity. In doing so, I have been able to analyse further how authenticity can differ depending on the clientele. One of the most common features that applied to each restaurant was the influence of customer on the development of each restaurant. One unifying feature in regards to the authenticity of all the restaurants was that they were all generally accepted by their clientele in their respective representations of Greek culture. As ethnically Greek restaurants, each had endeavoured to create an atmospherically Greek setting that would be acceptable to their target clientele within their locale in Amsterdam. In such cases, what mattered was the believability of ethnicity to that specific clientele, such that if it were to not match, then something must have to be changed to better suit them. By such reasoning, the question of having a restaurant that perfectly matches a place of origin is irrelevant, as this does not seem to be a determining factor based on the evidence presented. Rather, as this study seems to suggest, it is that which seems authentically Greek to the clientele that really matters. One notable consistency of each restaurant was the tendency to be filled with Greek associating paraphernalia. Cohen (1988) would consider these various elements of Greek culture to be 'diacritical traits' that would otherwise not be condensed into such a small space, but are 'considered sufficient for the authentication of the product as a whole' as metonymic representations (1988:378). Such traits may range from the large canvas depicting Santorini in Waves, or Greek dancing in De Athene, which, together with all other traits collectively authenticate the image to the specific clientele of each restaurant.

Chapter: 4

Food, Memory and Nostalgia: The Customers' Experience

As discussed in Chapter 3, the ethnic restaurant is particular in that it offers a space in which the owner may articulate a version of Greek identity. It became clear that this image was also heavily influenced by the customer, as market dynamics shape the way in which the restaurant evolves, and can become embedded within the new location. The last chapter also looked into how the customer perceives the ethnic restaurant in relation to its authenticity. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to analyse how such ethnic spaces, and the provision of food, trigger nostalgic remembrance within the customer. It is perhaps obvious but necessary to point out that no culture is homogeneous or static; however, without having firsthand experience with any culture, lends itself to an illusion of homogeneity created by certain depictions filtered by a variety of media platforms, and potentially ethnic restaurants.

The information presented in this chapter consists of a collection of interactions I had with customers. In some cases, due to the temporary, transitory nature of a customer, the information is that of small chatter and informal conversations. In other cases, I sat down and had a more formal interaction and interviews. Lastly, in order to engage in more detailed and sustained interactions, some of the data was drawn from taking a small number of research participants to the restaurants as my companions.

Food, Memory and Nostalgia

The affect of nostalgia, that is, the sense of deprivation in the present of something from one's past, is a mental condition that one may argue is experienced by most if not all humans on some level. The modern word itself is an amalgamation of the two Greek words *Algia* (a sense of longing) and *Nostos*, (to return home) (Serematakis 1994:4). Boym (2001), in her study *'The Future of Nostalgia'*, traces the historical development of nostalgia, and notes that the word was first coined by a Swiss medical student in 1688, due to it being regarded as a curable disease rather than a psychological state of mind. She provides a

number of examples, such as the case of highlander Scots, who ‘...were known to succumb to incapacitating nostalgia when hearing the sound of the bagpipes – so much so, in fact, that their military superiors had to prohibit them...’ (Boym 2001:4). She then describes how such historical perceptions of nostalgia have changed from ‘the ancient myth to return home’, which may be a reference to the Homeric meaning in the *Odyssey* where the hero Odysseus longs to return home throughout his tribulations during the Trojan war, as highlighted by Erica Hepper (2012: 4), into the modern notion (Boym, 2001:7). According to Boym, what distinguishes modern nostalgia from the ‘ancient myth of the return home’ is ‘...mourning for the impossibility of mythical return’ to a clearly defined place that can never be reached (Boym, 2001:7,8). Thus, in this way modern nostalgia may be viewed as bereavement at the prospect of never returning to a past moment, place or time, that is unchanging in the mind of the nostalgic. Indeed, through the ideas of Reinhart Koselleck, Boym introduces two categories, the ‘space of experience’ and ‘the horizon of expectation’ (2001:10). The ‘space of experience’ is the incorporation of the past into the present, to the extent that to view, taste, smell or feel the familiar in the present may unfold a nostalgic response from the past. By that same token, the ‘space of expectation’ is the ‘future made present’ in that through expectation, the observer pictures him or herself in the non-experienced, whilst simultaneously being held within the present (Boym, 2001:10). Through the advent of industrial capitalism, and the monetisation of time, the difference between these two concepts diminishes with the word ‘progress’; ‘What mattered in the idea of progress was the improvement in the future, not a reflection on the past’ (Boym, 2001:10). In the fallout of this culturally embedded concept of progress, Boym argues, there has been a deluge of this modern form of nostalgia in the post-industrial age.

Brillat-Savarin’s formative work on *gustemology* provides an embryonic link between the consumption of food and how it interplays with memory. He surmises that expectations of food, particularly in concurrence with a strong appetite, coaxes

...memory [to] [recall] things which have been pleasant to the taste; imagination seems to see them, as it were in a dream. This condition is not without charms; and we have heard thousands of adepts exclaim in the joy of their heart ‘Oh, the pleasure it is to have a good appetite, and to know that a perfect meal awaits us! (Brillat-Savarin 1825:39).

The dream-like state to which Brillat-Savarin refers is offset by the appetite, and constitutes a series of positive recollections. Brillat-Savarin's postulations have been critical to the field of gustemology, and provide the basis on which much of the later works cited here have been built. Boym, for example, alludes to this gustemological connection to memory and nostalgia in stating that 'gastronomic and auditory nostalgia were of particular importance. Swiss scientists found that rustic mothers' soups, thick village milk and folk melodies of Alpine valleys were particularly conducive to triggering a nostalgic reaction in Swiss soldiers' (Boym, 2001:4). Seremetakis writes also of the triggering of nostalgic sentiment, in one case detailing the ethnographic vignette of a Greek man sipping his coffee, precipitating a 'sigh of release', which she describes as 'a moment of contemplation' or 'stillness', where aroma and taste prompt a nostalgic process of thought; defined as a 'returning "logismos" (thought) to distant times', with each sip (Seremetakis, 1994:13). This occasional sipping, and the nostalgic response it produces, compresses space and time to the extent that the temporal scenography of the past and present become 'arrayed before his [the Greek man's] consciousness' (1994:13). Seremetakis describes this example of meta-commentary as an exchange by which 'pains, emotions, and joys of everyday life' are shared (1994:13). Saleh's (2015) contribution to the book *Why We Eat, How We Eat* similarly applies these ideas to the significance of the '*kouroum*' (olive grove, fig tree orchard or vineyard) to the residents of the village of Kefraya, Lebanon. She explains how the villagers' communal act of pulling, preparing cooking, eating and tasting these plants, which also releases aromas and changes their textures, 'revitalises' and 'awakens' the senses, provides an 'intimate connection' between the time and place in which they grew, with the 'people and place' of the Kefraya (Saleh, 2015:115). She thereby concludes that 'these multiple encounters between bodies collapse time and space as sense become stimulated and kinship relations enforces...cultivat[ing] memories of lineage...[and] help to provide a connection between past, present and future' (2015:115).

Sutton's work remains perhaps the most comprehensive on exploring the link between the consumption of food and memory. In *Remembrance of Repasts* he examines how the consumption of food brings 'temporalities into the present' due to not only the social, but also the synaesthetic nature of eating, that is, 'the synthesis or crossing of experiences from different sensory registers' such as taste, smell or hearing (Sutton, 2001:17). To this end, he

demonstrates how olfactory sense plays a particularly effective role in inspiring recollection, with the example of a Greek student living in London, smelling a potted basil on the window sill and remarking with 'evident longing' "it *really* smells like Greece!" (2001:74). He builds on this by highlighting that taste and smell are synaesthetically interconnected, evidenced by the effect of a blocked nose on the ability to taste (2001:88), and how both smell and taste are in turn connected to vision through the evocation of mental imagery by means of stimuli to the nose and tongue (2001:97). Thus, through this sensory cross-over, the consumption of food is able to trigger recollection through every sensory channel. In addition, Sutton demonstrates how the social nature of food further accentuates the notion that food consumption is intrinsically an exercise in reminiscence and the enacting of embodied knowledge, and even elicits a strong emotional and nostalgic response. For example, he narrated how 'the desire of particular local food is referred to by Kapella as a "burning of the lips" that comes from missing something deeply' (Sutton 2001:79). Moreover, in another case '...a Kalyrnian woman describes her brother's longing for a bivalve prepared in brine (spinialo) as his *kaimo* – the noun form of the Greek "to burn," which translates as both "psychic pain" and "uncontrollable desire"' (Sutton, 2001:79). It is indicative of the power in which gastronomic cues have in triggering nostalgic memories in the present moment.

Sutton's work highlights how, unlike solid objects gift giving of food 'internalises debt', such that it demands 'verbal and non-verbal acts of remembrance and reciprocity' (Sutton, 2001:160). In essence, the temporary nature of food commits it to a temporal moment in one's memory, so that it may be drawn upon in a later reciprocal interaction. Sutton shows that the Kalyrnians do not expect a return in debt to the meals they offer one another, rather 'hospitality must be continually "witnessed" through narration to be thought of as socially effective' (Sutton, 2001:48). By continually 'witnessed' acts of culinary gift giving through narration, the meal is committed to memory, as a reflection of the giver's character. On one such instance Sutton details how during a meal gathering, some of the women took his presence as an opportunity to not only 'prove their hospitality in the present, by lavishing it on me', but also to insist that such hospitality was commonplace (2001:48). This led to Sutton being queried on what his thoughts were on the character of those that had shown him such hospitality, to them and outsiders that might have been

present. He was being asked to ‘testify to their generosity’ with questions that ran “David can tell you how many meals we have fed him” (2001:48).

The nostalgic response detailed by Sutton in light of his work on Kalymnian Greeks is something I intend to analyse in this chapter.

Grekas Griekse Traiterie (Grekas Deli)

In the previous chapter, I discussed how Panayiotis, the owner of the ‘Grekas Deli’ had redesigned the restaurant from what was “too much” and “too busy” into the homely, simple design that it was during my time there. I also mentioned that the design of the restaurant had a rather rustic appeal, such that it appeared to be older and thus implied tradition and authenticity to the customer. When I brought Stephanos, a rather old Greek Cypriot friend of mine into the Grekas Deli, the impact was almost immediate and rather different from my experience of entering the place alone. We walked into the small space of the restaurant and sat down on a small table. Behind the deli counter, we spotted and were enticed by what seemed to be the Greek dish *pastitsio* (παστίτσιο). I was reminded of Carolyn Korsmeyer’s contribution to the article ‘*The Sensory Experience of Food*’, whereby she discusses the significant interplays of sight and taste in the consumption of food, to ‘[summon] the anticipation of flavour which begins the process of the taste experience’ as after a quick glance over the menu, we quickly each gave in to our initial temptation and asked for two portions (Korsmeyer & Sutton, 2011: 463). The restaurant was almost entirely staffed by familial relations, and so at that time we were speaking with the owner’s nephew, who explained that what we thought to be *pastitsio* was, in fact, *moussaka*. The *béchamel* topping could have ambiguously been either dish, but no matter, at the time we were hungry and were as equally tempted by the notion of a filling *moussaka* as a *pastitsio* and so opted to have that.

Whilst waiting, Stephanos began chatting with Stella, Panayiotis’ sister from Thessaloniki and co-manager of the restaurant. The fact that they both were of Greek ethnicity proved to be a highly effective talking point as it was their respective Greek backgrounds that dictated the topic of conversation, and both also seemed to relish speaking in Greek with one another. Indeed, it was due to this commonality in culture, particularly linguistically and gastronomically, that helped them to quickly develop a rapport. This accentuation of

cultural similarity could be seen as an example of Alba and Nee's (2003) 'neo-assimilation theory' in action, which posits that over time, migrants groups may merge in the broader context of majority and minority relations. While there are certainly distinctions between Greek and Greek Cypriot cultural identities, the fact that they shared a general cultural commonality, could have facilitated this collectivised identity within a relatively shorter time.

As the conversation moved on she eventually grabbed a chair and sat with us, where she continued to explain that the olive oil that was on display in large metal canisters under the deli counter and shelves were all produced by her husband in Greece, and was emphatically better than the olive oil sold in the local supermarkets. The conversation between them was fast and enthusiastic, with gesticulating hands and typically exorbitant and verbose Hellenic prosodic tones. Eventually our food arrived, serving us two plates of hot moussaka. Stephanos immediately took the bottle of olive oil from our table and drizzled a healthy amount over the plate. I asked him if this was customary for Greek people, to which he replied;

“if you have freshly made olive oil, you put it on everything...toast...pitta...salad. For example, when I was a child my breakfast would have pitta, halloumi (a Cypriot cheese) and tomata with olive oil, and a herb called “diosomos” (oregano)”.

This is demonstrative of the central gustatory role olive oil has had in Greek cuisine, and something of a national pride. David Sutton's extensive work on Kalyrnian Greeks alludes to this deep sense of connection with olive oil with the account of a woman that endeavoured to demonstrate the difference between shop bought olive oil and the locally produced olive oil, marking certain signs of quality or 'qualisigns' through the viscosity, colour and smell by pouring each into a small glass, and then taste by being 'giv[en] each to taste on a piece of bread' (Sutton 2001:95). Similarly, Anne Meneley stressed the significance of olive oil in the Mediterranean diet, suggesting how it has even come to define the demarcations of what constitutes “the Mediterranean” more so than that of 'particular cultural values that...[posit] to unite the region' (Meneley 2007:679). In her article, *'Like an Extra Virgin'*, she establishes first the mythological significance that the olive tree has in Greece; where Athena and Poseidon competed for the naming right of Athens by bestowing gifts upon the Athenians. With Poseidon offering a salty spring, Athena emerged

the victor through the gift of the versatile olive tree, which may be used for wood, olives, and olive oil, the “liquid gold” (Meneley 2007:678). She goes on to state that the ancient appreciations the Greeks held upon olive oil still hold today, with much of the health benefits they attributed to it being scientifically validated. Indeed, I have rather distinct memories of my own Greek Cypriot grandparents taking the greatest joy in producing and processing olives and olive oil from their own olive trees. Following any compliments at the dinner table, they would always reiterate how they made it themselves, and on occasion would then unveil their colossal store of olives and olive oil that would make you wonder how they could ever need so many. I further witnessed Stephanos administering olive oil to his food on another occasion when we dined at ‘De Griek Taverna’, where each table was provided with small bottles of olive oil and balsamic vinegar with spray caps, precipitating the liquids to be more evenly, and perhaps more indiscriminately discharged onto the plates. Stephanos, upon the arrival of our grilled chicken meat and vegetables, grabbed one and immediately began showering his food in sprays of olive oil. His gusto for doing this every time we eat a Greek dish, for his habit seemed to be generally limited to Greek cuisine, and the tendency of my grandparents to produce a considerable excess of olive oil to be inevitable employed in nearly every dish, appear to reflect the collective appetites of those ethnically Greek, uniting them by these gustatory choices. With the history and culture that is imbued in olives and olive oil, in this consumption it may be argued that they are acting to reinforce their own national identities, in the recognition of an ‘imagined community’ that Benedict Andersons explains in his works. Through this consumption, they partake in something that not only their contemporary ethnic members have done, but what their own ancestors have done since at least antiquity. This topic is discussed in more depth in Chapter 3, however I shall briefly note here that this connection between the Greek ethnic identity and olive oil exemplifies how food can become culturally bounded and intimately linked with ethnicity. Allison James discusses this in her article on ‘*How British is British Food?*’ whereby she asserts that food serves as a ‘symbolic medium for making statements about identity. Through the invocation of sets of inflexible cultural stereotypes, particular foodstuffs are linked to particular localised as well as nationalised or, indeed, globalised identities’ (James 1997:74).

Returning to the Grekas Deli, when one of the customers, following a meal of Greek aubergines, pastitsio – which is a baked pasta dish, also called ‘makaronia to fornou’ (μακαρόνια του φούρνου) which literally translates as ‘pasta of the oven’ – and moussaka, stated that this type of food can only be found in a “yiayia’s (grandma’s) home...where we always go after communion at church service on a Sunday”. This customer claimed to be part Greek and therefore had grown up with Greek cuisine and culture. Thus embedded in that meal, and the synaesthetic meal experience, the customer was able to recall a very particular scenario that extends all the way back to Greece and ethnic origin. The reference to a Greek grandmother’s house on a Sunday following the communion is a very specific scenario which is a clear illustration of the impact of food on the memory. For this customer, the homely qualities of the restaurant evoke a highly particular scenario, where grandma’s cooking forms the standard by which all other Greek food must compete. The reference to church on a Sunday afternoon induces a strong sense of tradition and religious reverence towards this particular memory, and a relaxed, informal sense perhaps produced by the informal atmosphere of the restaurant. It could also be indicative of religious ritual by following church with food, as though it were part of, or an extension of the religious proceedings within the church. Indeed within the Greek Orthodox Church the consumption of leavened bread, the Holy Communion, is a symbolic ritual performed in ‘remembrance of [Christ]’ through its consumption (Sutton 2001:35). Sutton highlights the arguments of Walker-Bynum, who contends that such remembrance is an act of actual reliving of the past through imitation. The consumption of food after church could, therefore, play a similar role in the minds of this customer, and then relived through consumption in this restaurant. Moreover, using the ethnographic example of the eating practices of the villagers of Ambeli, Sutton further reinforces the notion of how food may be regarded as a sacred means to connect to ‘family members [and] ancestors’ (2001:35). Such a homely aesthetic did not go unnoticed by other customers in the Grekas Deli, with one explaining that “It is only possible to get this authentic Greek food from Greece...or in a Greeks home” whilst tucking into a pork gyro accompanied by ‘yemista lahanika’ (γემιστά λαχανικά), (bell peppers, courgettes and aubergines stuffed with mincemeat and rice). This comment is almost suggestive of an exclusivity of authenticity, a true authority on which may only be bestowed upon those that are already members. Thus the only way in which one may achieve true culinary authenticity is to be “from Greece...or within a Greeks home” as an exclusive member.

Therefore to orient the design of the restaurant to be in close proximity to those features of authenticity such as having a Greek homely aesthetic, would be considered as an appealing draw for customers and generally regarded in a positive light. However, this creates a slight quandary; in as far as a restaurant can only ever appear homely, but never actually become the home. This Greek deli, for example, was really rather small, which may emulate that of a homely, busy Greek kitchen, a feature that Sutton alludes to in observing that the Kalymnian kitchens 'tend to be quite small...[with] a sense in such kitchens that every bit of space is used up' (Sutton 2001:130). It is these features that invoke an atmosphere that reminisces of the home, but that is as close as it may be to being that which it strives to appear. On the other hand, to be an actual home would then negate the possibility of partaking in the consumption of food, unless you are formally invited and thus well acquainted with the homeowner. To be, therefore, a representation of home, in this case the ethnically Greek home, is to provide a means for customers to experience a simulated representation of authenticity that they would not otherwise be afforded. This discussion draws back to Chapter 3, where I have performed a much deeper inquiry into the subject of authenticity within restaurants.

Of course, it would be difficult to create a perfect representation of any culture or ethnic group due to the infinite variety and diversity held within such broad boundaries, as well as ways in which such boundaries are fluid, blurred and subject to continual social (re)construction. For example, the six years I spent living in Cyprus had led me to understand that a meze was a seemingly endless series of small dishes brought to the table in succession over the course of a few hours. However, when I ordered the meze in 'De Athene', I came to realise that it was regarded in Crete, and I am told also in Greece, as simply an entrée of bread and dips brought before the meal, often accompanied by the Greek spirit 'Ouzo'. Similar disjunctures were experienced by other diners. One customer felt that the lack of a lamb option was rather unusual for their gyro, but thought that the potato salad (πατατοσαλάτα) was so delicious that the only comparison was their mother's own cooking. This connection between food and family is one worth noting, as it may be argued that home cooking is the most formative for the multisensory relationship that we have with food and in the development of a sense of taste. Thus the memory of those meals

when one leaves home and eats a meal thereafter becomes a nostalgic trigger that harkens back to those seminal experiences.

Indeed, there have been a significant number of studies that have explored the influence of home and family upon the eating habits of adolescents and how those eating habits continue to adulthood that demonstrate a positive correlation between the time spent engaging in family meals, and the adolescents adopting family eating habits (Neumark-Sztainer, *et al.*, 2003; Videon, *et al.*, 2003, Neumark-Sztainer, *et al.*, 2004; Burgess-Champoux, *et al.*, 2009). One study concluded that ‘family meals may contribute to the development of “regular” eating patterns and the positive psychological development of youths’ (Neumark-Sztainer, *et al.*, 2003:321), and another stating that ‘[t]he most significant parental influence was the family meal’ due to the fact that they provide ‘an opportunity for parents to provide healthful choices and be an example of healthy eating’ (Videon, *et al.*, 2003:370). This further entrenches the notion that these familial and homely qualities recreated in restaurants could be a significant source of appeal for clientele.

Waves Greek Restaurant n’ Café

‘Waves Greek Restaurant n’ Café’, being in a much busier area, attracted a much larger number of tourists and local Dutch than Panayiotis’s restaurant ‘Grekas Deli’. One customer, a tourist, thought it was a “very modern Greek restaurant... [and thought the food to be] ...tasty and authentic Greek cuisine”. The fact that he referred to the food as authentic suggests that the customer already had an image as to what constitutes “real” Greek cuisine. This could also suggest that the restaurant succeeded in creating an authentic space in the constructivist sense, in that it is authentic insofar as the customer believes it to be. Indeed, a number of customers within this restaurant that I encountered explained to me that they had been to Greece or one of the Grecian islands, and thus wanted to have a repeated experience. To quote one such customer “We love Greek food and the culture; we believe that it is healthy. We go there every year and we missed it and came here...the music...the food...reminds us of a Greek island”. As non-Greeks, their impression of Greek culture would inevitably come from the perspective of an outsider, looking in. Yet it is through their positive memories of Greek culture that drew them to the cultural cues of food and music that are positively reinforced by past experiences. Their statement is also

reflective of the general perception that the Mediterranean diet is healthy, something both shared by the Greeks, and marketed as such in the exportation of Greek culture to the broader society.

When I brought Stephanos to this restaurant he was surprised by the contrast it held with the smaller Grekas Deli. One of the essential differences was perhaps that the larger size lent itself to the impression of sterility and lack of the familial warmth that was so perceptible in the Grekas Deli. Decoratively, he felt that it was as though whoever had designed the restaurant had placed their confidence in the large image of Santorini on the wall, and neglected the rest of the of the restaurant; “It’s like they just put the big picture there and thought that’s it, we don’t need any more”. The music being played also surprised him, as it was the type of music typical of a “bouzoukia night”. When I asked why he thought this was the case, he replied that such music is typically played at evening bouzouki events that usually involve drinking alcohol into the early hours of the morning. He thought it was a little unusual for a café restaurant to play such music in the early afternoon, likening it to a Starbucks playing club music. To my less attuned ear, the music sounds rather generically Greek, which I suspect to be a similar reaction to the vast majority of customers. Being situated in an area that attracts a large number of tourists, it is perhaps unsurprising that certain elements of the restaurant would not feel authentically Greek to someone of Greek ethnicity, but would be unnoticeable to the locals and tourists that make up the vast majority of the clientele. Indeed, Rishie, the owner of this particular restaurant did state that he had to change the recipes of some dishes to make them creamier as he explained this was preferred in his Dutch clientele. It also represents a disjuncture between the atmosphere that Rishie, the owner, attempted to create and that which was perceived by Stephanos.

After a quick browse of the menu, we ordered some baklava and Greek coffees. When they arrived, the very first thing Stephanos said was “this is not baklava, and this is not Greek coffee”, which led to a rather extensive conversation about what constitutes both; the amount of froth on the top of coffee, how much the beans have to be roasted, how the baklava must be served with pistachios and what we were served was, in fact, a Lebanese sweet. Quite often when Stephanos explained to me these details that define the parameters as to what may be regarded as an authentically Greek dish, he would illustrate

his point with a particular account in which a detail was of particular import; “My nana would always make sure the coffee beans are well cooked, always with foam on the top”. Regardless of whether the food is considered ethnically accurate, it is noteworthy that it becomes a stimulus for recollection.

In light of this, I draw once more upon David Sutton, who argues for a gustemological approach to living and interacting that recognises that a synaesthetic experience to food is closely tied with memory, to the extent that memory may even be described as a sense in of itself (Sutton 2011). I draw upon Halbwachs and collective memory to support this notion, in that Halbwachs argues that memories are always collective in the sense that when we remember – even the most “solitary” memory – our memory is in fact stimulated and shaped by the social milieus and the people, objects and institutions that make them up.’ (Korsmeyer & Sutton 2011:471). Therefore, it may be argued that the synaesthesia of the sense includes memory; such that memories are never conceived in a vacuum, but are contextual, social and multisensory in nature. Food acts as a medium through which all the senses including memory may be triggered. Thus, when Stephanos received the coffee, he saw it, smelt it, tasted it, and also *remembered* it as part of the synaesthetic experience.

Zorba de Griek

On one occasion at Zorba de Griek I engaged in conversation with a woman sitting close to my table and I asked her how she felt about the restaurant. She replied that she felt that despite not trying the food yet, the place had a “plausible Greek ambience”. When I asked what she meant by that, she explained that the furniture, music and general décor all “felt” authentic. She then explained that she had never been to any part of Greece, but rather that she enjoys Greek food and has it occasionally back home in the United States. Her sense of determining the ethnic plausibility of the restaurant was based upon standards set by other restaurants, and not by first-hand contact with the culture of origin. Through the accumulation of experiences and information, she seemed to have cultivated an idea as to what constitutes the character of a particular ethnic group, from which she may draw an assessment. This process of developing a mental image of the traits of ethnicity is explored in Richard Handler’s article on authenticity, where he argues the case that we, as members of the contemporary, ‘modern’, world, have a tendency to regard cultures as ‘the

individuated entities of the world society' (Handler 1986:2). This suggests that this process by which we develop these cultural images is performed in much the same manner as the way in which we mentally form the identity of other individuals. It may be the case then, that the atmosphere created by this restaurant feeds into this customer's own image of Greek culture, reinforcing and therefore perpetuating it for any further ethnic encounter. Moreover, the fact that she complimented the ambience of the restaurant, suggests that her 'perceived atmosphere' was in coherence with the 'intended atmosphere' generated by the owner.

This differed from the opinion an elderly Dutch couple I spoke to, who felt that "the food...it's not really so Greek...but it is nice...yes it is quite tasty". They explained that they felt they knew Greek food as they go to Thessaloniki in Greece every year on holiday. I asked whether they could specify what made the food "not really so Greek" to them, to which they replied that the choices of spices were slightly different, and that it was presented differently from the food they were used to receiving in Thessaloniki. It may be the case that the food on offer differed from what could they regarded as 'real' Greek food, due to the fact that their holiday experiences of Greek food did not encompass those foods that they were served at this restaurant. Indeed, it may have even been the case that the disjuncture between the 'intended atmosphere' and 'perceived atmosphere' was borne out of simply not having enough experience with Greek culture or cuisine to the extent that the food they had seemed unfamiliar to them. Or that, due to a lack of experience, they were not fully aware of the variety of ways in which Greek food may be prepared region to region, and home to home among the Greek people. As I was unable to pursue conversation with the couple any further, I could not determine if this was indeed the case.

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, the owner of the restaurant had related to me how he had inherited the restaurant from his parents, who had, in turn, acquired it from Greek owners. Due to the general success of the restaurant, he explained that he had not made any dramatic alterations to it, electing rather to maintain the status quo. This decision essentially meant that much of the overall effect of the restaurant on the customers was largely based on the stylistic choices of these previous owners. As such, when Stephanos asserted to me that "the atmosphere looks like Greece", he was praising the decorative decisions of the previous owners. Indeed, from where we were seated in the restaurant, we

were afforded an excellent position from which to view what appeared to be an accurate reconstruction of a Greek environment. From Greek columns carved into the walls, to the Greek images and paraphernalia covered every surface, to the series of archways that are superimposed over the windows, the overall effect was of one being in an old Greek tavern. This sentiment was shared by Stephanos after a few minutes of reflection, he remarked that "...this could be somewhere in Greece". After a quick browse through the menu, we eventually settled on a plate of 'dolmadakia' (rice and meat cooked in vine leaves) and ordered them with some Greek coffee. When they arrived, Stephanos' instinctive expression was one of aversion, when I asked what he thought of them he said that they "don't look very fresh", and began moving them about on his plate, conducting a kind of quality inspection with his fork. Before taking a bite, he smelt it, inspecting the piece once more until he felt satisfied in his judgments. He said the taste was 'OK' but he reiterated that he did not think they were freshly made. His rather tactile and multisensory approach to eating would certainly be in exemplary to Sutton's work on the synaesthetic connection between food and memory. While we ate, he described to me all the aspects of dolmades that make them what they are, that they must have tomatoes and onions, and spearmint. He then proceeded with an account of when he last ate dolmades, and the different forms they may come in:

Last time I was in Cyprus my yia yia made me these. My nana makes Lahano-dolmades...she puts them in soup. There are two difference types of dolmades right? There are dolmades (wrapped in vine leaves), and lahano-dolmades. Lahano is the...boiled cabbage...see?

Stephanos then used his phone to bring up a picture to illustrate this difference.

De Athene

In my description of the décor of De Athene restaurant in Chapter 3, I highlighted how Emilios, the owner, had redesigned the interior from being what he described as being something like a conglomeration of Greek paraphernalia rather than a recreation of somewhere Greek. When I spoke to customers and tried to draw out their general impressions of the place in its present state of appearance, the response was largely very positive. One customer stated that the restaurant was "very well decorated", with a "nice

atmosphere”, while another commented on their meal, stating that it was “authentic” with “large portions”. Another customer explained that she had spent half a year in Greece and now had a love for Greek food. Thus she felt that she could recognise “real Greek food”: “After spending half a year in Thessaloniki, I think I can tell what real Greek food looks like...and this place is great, it has a lovely atmosphere and the food is really Greek”. She went on to state that the food reminded her of her time spent in Greece, in particular the smell of the ingredients, helped her remember her time in Greece. In coming to this restaurant and consuming what she felt to be authentic Greek cuisine, she could arguably be described as entering into a part of Greece through her memory. The environment and the food, to her, is the summation of all her past Greek experiences, brought together through the nostalgia-triggering synaesthetic experience of the restaurant.

A Dutch customer told me how he felt that the atmosphere of the restaurant was “cosy”, due to “relaxed” atmosphere created by the owner. Indeed, whilst explaining this to me, the owner of the restaurant, Emilios, began singing loudly along to the Greek music playing in the background. This playful and entertaining manner in which the owner ran the restaurant was exemplified by the “fun Greek nights” that occurred within the restaurant with “lots of Greek drinks...ouzo...beer...wine”, that the customer explained to me. To the customers I spoke to, a number of them seemed to be charmed by the charismatic Emilios, rather than the environment, based on the atmosphere he created through his character. He would use the restaurant as a stage for Greek entertainment, where food and drink are just one element of the full experience. One of the most frequent comments for the restaurant from customers was typically something like “the food is delicious and the staff are super friendly”.

The moment Stephanos and I walked into the restaurant he almost involuntarily exclaimed how it looked “better than the one with the poster” (Waves Greek Restaurant and Café). As we sat down at a table, closest to the window, so that we had a clear view of the columns and the statue, he remarked that the music was “bouzoukia...no its skiladika (Σκυλάδικο)” which was, as he explained, a type of music that is typically used in Greek nightclubs, with lots of loud bouzouki and electric guitars. He then explained that the atmosphere was nice but that;

...it's not what you're going to see in Greece, but it is what you're expecting to see in a Greek restaurant outside of Greece. It feels like a normal restaurant that tries as hard as it can to look Greek...yes if you go to Greece, you won't see a restaurant like that, but the Dutch people won't know.

This explanation suggests that he was almost seeing through the façade of atmospherics created by the owner, and yet still thought it to be a pleasant place to dine. He followed this with a statement of appreciation for certain features within the restaurant, with the chairs and tables, and with the chequered blue and white tablecloth on top being characteristic features of a Greek taverna.

One feature he noted was that the lighting of the restaurant “stops it being a taverna...the lights make it more modern”. We ordered our meals, with Stephanos choosing the Greek salad, after spotting one being delivered to the table next to us and remarking that it “look[ed] Greek”, and the psaromezedes (Ψαρομεζεδες) which is a fish meze. When the fish arrived he thought it looked authentic, remarking that he had eaten this recently in Cyprus. He added that

“the lemon and the oil is something they always serve in Greece...the grilled fish...they always serve lemon and olive oil. When I was with my dad and nana we went to a fish taverna and we paid so much. Around 40 euros per person! But it was worth it, eating fish and seafood is a very Greek thing, kalamari...soupkia (σουπιά-cuttlefish)”.

His account of having a family meal of fish, after ordering a fish dish in a Greek restaurant, followed by a statement of the significance of fish and seafood in Greek culture, both reinforces Sutton's argument of the evocative power of food in triggering memory, and underscored how memory may be regarded as a sense and is, therefore, an interconnected part of the synaesthetic response.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the connection between food and memory of the customers within each of the four Greek restaurants, building on a number of themes and academics.

These accounts demonstrate a clear connection between the consumption of food and memory. In light of the discussions displayed here, it seems evident that a large number of customers demonstrated a recognition and awareness for the synaesthetic atmospheric choices of the restaurant owners. One of the most frequented comments was a reference to the pleasant ambience, followed by a mention of how authentic it is.

Through more detailed conversations with Stephanos, I was able to explore David Sutton's ideas of the synaesthetic relationship between food and memory by pursuing lines of conversation that facilitated remembrance where the ethnic space created by the restaurant served to trigger the recollection of past experiences and past foods consumed. For Dutch customers it tended to prompt memories of holiday experiences had within Greece or a Greek island. For those customers that were ethnically Greek, visiting ethnically Greek restaurants where the space was designed to represent Greekness, they often tended to see through the ethnic spaces created, but tended to be more affected by the synaesthetic remembrances brought by the food, if prepared in a way that they remembered. In particular, the use of olive oil seemed to be conducive to nostalgic recollection. One notable difference in responses was the fact that the local Dutch customers tended to respond more acutely with the ethnic environment of the restaurant, whereas the ethnically Greek customers were far more concerned with the food itself.

One clear deficiency in this analysis was a distinct lack of observation in regards to olfactory stimuli. Considering the emphasis placed on this sense by a number of academics highlighted at the start of the chapter, the fact that I perceived little to no comments from research participants in regards to smell seemed particularly unusual. The most obvious explanation would be a fault in my note taking, in that I failed to draw out in my research participants their response in relation to smell.

Chapter 5: Taste and Social Identities: How Commoditised Consumption Influences Social Boundaries

This chapter analyses the social dynamics that underlie a personal sense of taste and how it influences, and is borne out by being enmeshed within particular social groupings or one's 'social identity'. In Chapter 3 I discussed how space is employed by the owners of each restaurant in creating a particular atmosphere that appears to represent an essentialised rendition of Greek ethnicity, and how the customers respond to it according to their own view of authenticity. Following this, in Chapter 4, I looked at the experiential effect of these designs on the customers, and discussed how it acted as a trigger for nostalgic remembrances for those of shared ethnic memory or of similar past experiences. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to analyse how taste, which emerged through time spent within social groups, has facilitated change within the restaurants to better reflect that of their social setting, and become embedded within it, in as much as the restaurants facilitated change within their social setting. In doing so, I explore the fluidity and adaptability of culture as it reconstitutes itself to constant change. In addition, I explore how it is the interaction between the ethnic restaurant and their customers' tastes that drive such change through market dynamics, which facilitates a mixing of tastes that are manifested through their association and affiliation with the social groups that form their respective identities.

Bourdieu, Taste and Class

In this pursuit I draw heavily from Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, where he defines 'social class' as being defined not by one's possessions, but by the relations between all those possessions that make them desirable to the owner (1984:106). Through Bourdieu's characterisation, 'taste' is a socially produced preference, where the objects of desire are granted their value by the relations that stem from one's social class. Thus, 'social class' is a product of social relations and, as such, would also characterise any social body that shares relations that produce a collective sense of

'taste', for example, social class, ethnicity, age, gender, or nationality. Bourdieu attributes the perpetuation of these groups through what he refers to as the '*habitus*', which may be described as the '[unconscious] understanding and enacting [of] the unspoken boundaries and rules of acceptable consumption' (Backett-Milburn, *et al.* 2010:1317). Bourdieu argues that the terms that define the boundaries of acceptable consumption are expressed through different types of capital; these being 'economic', 'social' and 'cultural'. Economic capital describes one's economic means to fulfil their 'taste' through the acquisition of certain assets or products. Social capital is understood as being one's social resources that help form and shape such tastes; which are the summation of all the connections and social networks one makes as part of their membership of a particular social group (Bourdieu 1984:110). Cultural capital is defined as knowledge that may be compartmentalised into three categories; 'incorporated dispositions (embodied or reflective), objectivised (books, tools, kitchen supply, etc.) and institutionalised (education degrees)' (Skuland 2015:218). Bourdieu argues that class groups emerge due to the interconnected relationship of these three forms of capital. Being in possession of economic capital provides the means to gain a better education, which in turn grants social capital. Or indeed if one acquires a better education, they may be better placed to get a higher paying job, such that they may perpetuate the acquisition of capital to the next generation.

These boundaries of acceptable consumption formed by the *habitus* are particularly well expressed within restaurant spaces for a number of reasons, not least that the simple but necessary act of consumption is congenial to the display of certain eating habits. Emma-Jayne Abbotts (2014) demonstrates this notion that 'food is a marker of social differentiation' (2014:1) with her discussion of the interplays of eating habits and social class amongst the inhabitant of the Ecuadorian Andes, where the middle class attempted to distance themselves from the foods they associated with the migrant-peasant class, whereas the migrant-peasant class avoided admitting the negative association of such foods 'by refusing to acknowledge the category' (2014:8). These class distinctions intersected with other social identities, such as the degree to which one was perceived to be indigenous, or descended from Spanish colonialism, even though there was 'no authentic local core' (2014:2). Through their eating habits, they continually produced the boundaries of locality, which shaped the boundaries of their social class.

Therefore some restaurants will cater more specifically to those tastes and habits, in a way that will make dining there more agreeable to their desired clientele, or their 'target market' (Gregg, 2001). This will influence every aspect of design within the restaurant, from the range of flavours and spices used to season the dishes, to the style in cooking employed, to the aestheticism of the foods, décor, menu, names, lighting, music and even the dress of the staff (Warde, 1997:9). In my following analysis of taste within Greek restaurants, therefore, I endeavour to distinguish how the restaurant has adapted itself to fit their target consumer over time in regards to their sense of taste formed within the habitus, and how that corresponds to the tastes of the owner, and also see if the restaurant has changed in ways that the owner does not necessarily support.

Social Identity and Boundaries

I recognise that in applying this system of classification to notions of taste and class, I may appear to be indicating that people 'belong' within certain groups as a result of their sense of taste. It is not my intention, however, to imply that these categories are rigid and static, although I am suggesting that peoples' tastes are homologous enough that they adhere to and coalesce around particular groups. While I contend that there are boundaries of taste set in accordance with the social groups one grew up in, I also argue that these boundaries do not constitute uniform strata across society, and that the tastes of individuals are not bound to one single group but are instead the consummation of all those groups that have played influential roles in the development of taste. Thus, while Bourdieu generally focuses his discussion on the relationship of taste and social class, I have elected to expand those ideas such that any group that has a shared sense of taste may be discussed, whether it be age, gender, ethnicity, culture, religion, social class, or even political. Warde (1997) presents a similar distinction, in arguing that while the habitus of class structures may have once been homogeneous in following 'stereotypical routines, pastimes and taste' during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, they have since become less bounded and far more diffuse (1997:9). He attributes this to an increase in the development of a 'self-identity'; encouraging individualist approaches to taste in a postmodern consumer driven society (1997:10). Following the trends of 'individualisation' and 'informalisation', identities form along nonlinear lines, liberating the habitus from being defined by only social class

structures, allowing the pursuit of other identities such as regional, national, ethnic, cultural, and so on (1997:13). This also engages Bourdieu's, and Warde's ideas with those of Benedict Anderson's (1983) on *'Imagined Communities'*, in which he describes the process through which the interaction of all groups where members situate themselves within an imagined collective, within the habitus of societal class structure. In so doing so, I work towards a far more nuanced analysis of the intersections between the social groups of ethnic identity through taste in restaurant spaces.

To that end, the restaurant space is ideally suited to observe the interaction between ideologically and socially coalescent groups through their sense of taste particularly but not exclusively through the consumption of food, which as I have already discussed in Chapter 4, is the most amenable in eliciting recollection. For these groups, which naturally play a significant role in ethnic restaurants in particular, Shalom Staub's publication, *'Yemenis of New York: The Folklore of Ethnicity'* introduces the concept of 'esoteric' and 'exoteric' interaction. 'Esoteric' interaction, he defines as being the interaction between those of a shared identity, and 'exoteric' to indicate that aspect of social interaction and boundary maintenance across differentiated social categories' or the interaction between those of different social groups (Staub, 1989:163). The fact that an ethnic restaurant is such a transitory space makes it inherently favourable to accommodate a study in exoteric and esoteric interaction, as the customer and the restaurant will be of similar or different ethnic identities. This interaction is even more explicit within ethnic restaurants, where the environment and food are designed such that simply being within the restaurant is an exoteric experience.

Such esoteric and exoteric interactions are examples of the mechanisms that facilitate the boundaries between ethnic groups becoming more diffuse and percolated, which may, in turn, create a form of integration. Traditionally, ideas of integration tended to be oriented around the notion that new ethnic groups must become assimilated into the static and homogeneous cultural majority of the host nation, thereby 'eradicating minority cultures' (Alba, *et al.* 1997:827). However, as this study has aforementioned, culture is a constantly evolving process, and never bound to a single state. Thus having an understanding of assimilation and integration that accounts for such evolution is a necessity when approaching the subject. As such, Alba and Nee's (2003) 'neo-assimilation' theory, which

posits that 'integration' is a two way process, takes into account the idea that people do not simply relinquish one cultural identity and adopt another, but rather steadily reconstitute their identity within the localised social space of the host culture through a process of interaction (Alba, *et al.* 2003). What eventually emerges is a new cultural body in place of the previous ones. This does not necessarily mean that there are no longer any forms of boundaries in place, but rather that old boundaries change over time as a result of the interaction itself, becoming enmeshed within the broader cultural group. For ethnic restaurants then, where exoteric and esoteric interaction occurs naturally, the fact that they are subject to the dynamics of market forces where they must adapt to suit their target market, this process of neo-assimilation becomes even more explicit, as demonstrated by Girardelli's (2004) study of Italian cuisine in America. In this particular case, the commoditisation of Italian cuisine in the United States drove the restaurant to adapt an Italian restaurant chain to better suit the palette and expectation of their clientele. While it may be the case that certain groups do not seem to integrate into the host society, or are resistant to these commercialising dynamics, such as Harbottle's (1997a) study of Iranian restaurants, that does not necessarily mean that their place within the broader cultural body is held in a vacuum and isolated from the inevitable trajectory of cultural change. Rather, their identity is formed within the paradigm of majority, minority interaction of the host culture.

Grekas Griekse Traiterie (Grekas Deli)

As part of my day-to-day activities, whenever the chance arose that I was not pressed for time and was within the vicinity of one of the restaurants, I would often wander in to see whether I could bear witness to any potentially new piece of data or chance upon a conversation with another customer or the owner. Such was the informality of the Grekas Deli that I would feel relaxed enough in this pursuit. On one particular occasion, I found myself sitting at the only freely available seat, which happened to be on the end of an already occupied table at the farthest point from the entrance. As a result, I came to converse with a group of students that had made their way down from the university to partake in a group meal. The group, as students so often are, consisted of those of ethnically and socially diverse backgrounds. It so happened that one member of the group was from

Greece and wanted to treat his fellows to some of the cuisine to which he was so accustomed and enjoyed. He guided his friends through the menu, recommending particular dishes, and offering his own opinion as to what they may like by comparing certain dishes to those that they may be familiar with. For example, he referred to 'kolokithokeftedes' or fried courgette fritters as "a kind of vegetarian meatball", and compared the gyro to a kebab. Once the dishes were agreed he spoke to the owner, Panayiotis, in Greek, making the orders on behalf of his companions.

The Greek student, whom I shall refer to as Yanis (although he granted me permission to recount this interaction in this study he wanted to remain anonymous), I judged to have had a very clearly defined sense of what each of the dishes were based on his ability to translate the dishes to others through references to similar foods. This sort of knowledge, that comes so naturally, is a reflection of the 'cultural capital' of being a member of the Greek cultural collective, shaping his sense of taste. His awareness of the dishes, moreover, is suggestive of an extensive experience interacting with others of a different social group, or at least those with a different sense of taste, conveying his 'social capital'. My conversation with him and the others at the table confirmed this assumption, as I found out that he was in his third year in Amsterdam, and had therefore spent at least the last few years outside of Greece, the country that defined his sense of taste. I queried Yanis as to why he chose this specific Greek restaurant over the others. He replied:

I think the food is the best here, it feels more original with the flavours and spices used, and the oil is pure and imported from Greece... ..it is fresh and it is nostalgic of Greece. It is very characteristic in Greece to use a lot of olive oil. Apart from that, the food is how the Greeks made it, it doesn't look like it looks like it...it is very original.

His assessment here fortifies his position as a member of the Greek cultural community. By making an evaluation of the 'original[ity]' of the cuisine and the correct use of spices, he demonstrated a position of ethnic authority over what constitutes real authentic cuisine. Indeed, he cited that the fact the olive oil is from Greece, it is therefore a sign of quality and approval. He then added that it is 'characteristic', in Greece to use it, making it a defining quality of being Greek. He thus sets the boundaries of Greek ethnicity through the consumption of olive oil, reaffirming what was established in Chapter 4, that it is of cultural and historical significance. It also happened to be a particular feature of the restaurant in

which Panayiotis and his sister Stella seemed to draw immense pride, making sure to emphasise that their olive oil was imported from Stella's husband in Greece. Indeed, as I mentioned in Chapter 3, their restaurant had been completely redesigned with a clear olive theme. This natural preference for culinary familiarity is also observed by Turmo (1997), in her contribution to *'Food Preference and Taste'*, where she notes that, based upon a study of food preferences among the inhabitants of Seville, Cadiz, and Huelva, found that the people tended to prefer foods that were 'part of their own environment' or 'culinary traditions' (1997:119). These observations seemed to corroborate with my own observations and discussions I had with Panayiotis. Panayiotis explained that his restaurant attracted a large number of Greek students from the local universities, Greek expatriates and Greek tourists. Indeed I noticed a proportionally larger number of Greek people entering this restaurant than the others. They tended to introduce themselves in Greek to the staff, before ordering and engaging in conversation in Greek. At one stage I overheard an Australian-Greek talk with another waiter (Panayiotis' nephew in law), that he missed Greek food and saw that this place was by far the most authentic he had found.

This ethnic bias for Panayiotis' restaurant among Greeks could suggest that their effort to change the restaurant around an olive theme was effective in appealing to the tastes of Greek customers. This could arguably be a reflection of the desire among the clientele to experience part of the culinary traditions of their own culture perhaps due to a perceived sense of authenticity and homely qualities (see Chapter 3), and the nostalgia it induces (see Chapter 4). It may be argued that Panayiotis's purposeful redesign of the restaurant to these new qualities were done with the intention of better suiting the ethnic tastes of the local Greek community, becoming a frequent place to eat for them, and also those non-Greek customers looking for an experience that seemed more authentic to them.

Panayiotis also alluded to a tendency among his Greek customers in choosing dishes that were not so commonly eaten by his Dutch clientele. They would choose dishes such as gigantes (giant white beans), and stamna (στάμνα-stewed veal with vegetables), as well as the typical gyros, kebab and moussaka that was so often chosen by the Dutch. Thus by making sure that his restaurant had such foods available, he was catering for both groups, ensuring that he maintained repeated business from both the Greek community, and the local Dutch.

Waves Greek Restaurant n' Café

While working as a waiter, I was able to approach customers more directly, and was thus afforded the time to engage in longer interactions with customers and develop more meaningful conversations in relation to the main themes of this study. The conclusions I came to are based on the sum total of all the information gathered and retrospectively reflected upon, so as to avoid misjudgements where possible. It must be noted, however, that these conclusions are subjective in as far as the information I accumulated is entirely subject to my own sense of taste, which is the result of the social knowledge I have drawn from my habitus, directed by the themes and aims of this study. As Bourdieu (1984) concludes, the cues I deem to be suggestive of a social group entirely depend on my ability to 'mark differences by a process of distinction' (1984:466). Thus, by recognition of the differences between myself and those around me, I am able to ascertain clues that allow me to situate others within a social group.

Through the provision of two different menus at Waves Greek Restaurant and Café, the owner had taken care to cater for a variety of customers' preferences, whether it was a hot drink, quick meal or a fine dining experience. As a result, the clientele consisted of an assortment of different customers that represented a range of social backgrounds. Being in the position of serving as a waiter for a short time I was able to interact with a broad cross-section of these customers, granting me a more hands-on feel for the social demographics that tended to dine at the restaurant. In one such case I served a family of five; after I had greeted and shown them to their seats, the father told me they "just wanted a quick snack like a sandwich or something". As the restaurant did not provide the typical sandwich, I could offer them the nearest Greek equivalent; tzatziki, tomatoes, cucumber and feta cheese, served inside a toasted pitta bread. This automatic adaption of a food that is not characteristically associated with Greek cuisine, the humble sandwich, into something that is distinctly Greek is an example of how exoteric interaction can lead to culinary adaptations of foods. The dish they received was still essentially a sandwich in principle, but all the thoroughly Greek ingredients transformed what was otherwise ethnically ambiguous, into something ethnically explicit. Moreover, this kind of sandwich was a rather common snack or breakfast in the Greek island Cyprus, where I had lived for 6 and a half years and I understand it is the same in Greece. This calls into question, to a degree, what may be

defined as a sandwich. By applying Mary Douglas' (1972) structuralist approach, where 'food is a code', then it may be possible to decipher such codes within the 'patterns of social relations being expressed' (1972:61). Douglas argues that the meaning of the meal is found in its relation to other meals, the recognition of which lies in the 'structure common to them all' (1972:69). So long as the meal is recognisable as the meal, then it may be classed as such. In this case, while it may be argued that, while the contents of the sandwich had changed; the bread becoming pitta, and the ingredients changing, it still retains the structure of the sandwich, and is therefore acceptably classed as such. The fact also, that he asked for a "quick snack", thus clarifying the general classification of the sandwich in the wider context of the social 'scale of importance and grandeur', allows for the easy transfer to an ethnically Greek version, without having to break the social categorisation of the dish (1972:67).

One encounter I had involved that of a middle-aged couple out for an evening meal. As I helped them to their seats and handed them their menus, I enquired as to whether they were living locally or came from abroad, (I had already gathered that they were Dutch by this point as I had heard them communicate to one another, but I sought to pave the way for further communication). They explained that they lived in Leiden, a city located in between Amsterdam and the Hague, and had come to Amsterdam to enjoy an evening meal before going to the theatre. I should mention that this seemed to be a common occurrence during my time within the restaurant as it was situated just a minute's stroll from the palatial, neo-renaissance 'Stadsschouwburg' Theatre, and so would appear to be a common food stop for hungry theatre-goers. They were also dressed for the theatre in the formal wear and regalia that one would associate with those that are of highbrow tastes and, therefore, class. Indeed, Koen van Eijck's work on social differentiation through music supports this statement in suggesting that going to the theatre is to be an activity that, alongside 'classical concerts, and museums', is commonly participated by those of 'higher educational levels and higher occupational status' (van Eijck, 2010:1164; Bourdieu, 1984; Coulangeon, 2015). Rishie, the owner, had expressed in earlier conversations that he wanted to cater for a wide variety of customers, such that there would be something for everybody, including those looking for a fine dining experience. I came to realise certain features of this effort when I served these particular customers. They had ordered a bottle

of Greek wine, and so I brought one to the table and proceeded to begin opening it with a corkscrew. Just as I was about to pop open the bottle, I was then rather embarrassingly told to take the wine back from the table so that it could be placed in a wine bucket cooler, before being intricately wrapped in white cloth and returned to the table in a rather more impressive fashion.

Once they had placed their orders, which consisted of a melange of entrées, and a main course of grilled fish and meat platter, I asked them both how often they had eaten Greek food, to which they explained that “we love Greek food...we now go to Greek restaurants a lot”. I then asked how they came to enjoy Greek food and culture for the first time. After some thought, they divulged to me that they used to enjoy eating at an Italian restaurant, but after it closed down they said that they “...wanted to try something new....[and that they] like Mediterranean food”, and went to their local Greek restaurant. They concluded that they now have it every week if they can. Thus their taste for Greek food in fact came from curiosity, and a favourable image of Mediterranean cuisine that began with Italian food. This perception of good quality and healthy cuisine in the Mediterranean acted as an access point for acquiring new tastes. It also highlights the effect of consumer culture on the consumption of foreign cuisine. This trend has been well documented by a number of studies (Veeck, *et al.* 2003; Jacobs, (ed), *et al.* 2003), including, by Otterloo’s (2009) contribution to *‘Ethnic Amsterdam’*, that demonstrates how the increase in consumption of foreign foods happened concurrently with the ‘democratisation of eating out’, and an increase in the provision of foreign foods through migration (2009:54). She shows how entrepreneurial migrants, who tended to ‘keep their own eating habits’ began setting up their own shops and restaurants to cater for their own culinary needs, but wanted to expand their appeal to the locals (2009:52). Warde’s (1997) suggestion of a ‘generational’ taste also supports this idea, that there is a ‘shared collective basis for a food culture’ that is dependent on the time in which age groups matured, and the array of foods that are available (1997:70). He argues that those young adults in the 1980s would have been the first generation to experience mass consumer culture, and thus be ‘socialised’ to manage and exploit it, than earlier generations (1997:71). With the added provision of more disposable incomes and more options, these generations would be better equipped to navigate a consumer-based world. This middle aged couple whom I served could thus be

characterised by such terms, that the time in which they grew up in makes them more inclined to try new things due to their ease with which they can follow an evolving food industry. This also reinforces Warde's (1997) earlier argument that taste became less uniform and more interspersed among different social groups, while adding that food tastes may indeed be traceable to the changes and innovations of the food industry.

Zorba de Griek

In order to observe more directly the dynamics of esoteric and exoteric interactions, I also brought some companions of mine into the restaurants, such that I could observe how their own tastes, which had not been exposed to Greek cuisine within Amsterdam, would respond to my four research sites. In doing so, I hoped to be able to contrast their own views and understandings of Greek culture, with how the restaurant may have adapted to the tastes of their regular.

I brought my Greek Cypriot partner Egli, and one of my old friends from Cyprus, Dima, -a half Russian and half Greek (from Greece) gentleman- to Zorba de Grieken so that I could gauge their impression and interactions with the restaurant. I was keen to observe how their sense of taste, garnered over the years spent growing up in Cyprus, would respond to the food and environment of this restaurant, as well as query them on what they regarded as the defining influences in its formation. Both of them were rather decisive about what they wanted, with Egli ordering pastitsio (παστίτσιο)/macaronia to forno and Dima wanting a gyro, with Egli explaining that she was curious as to whether they prepared it "...in the exact same way" as they do in Cyprus. Dima, on the other hand, said he wanted something that was "the least likely to be messed up". In this case, both of them were thoroughly familiar with Greek cuisine and so their approach to ordering was somewhat interrogative to see how the dishes compared to what they knew to be the case. As we waited for the dishes to arrive, I asked them what they felt to be the strongest influences in their sense of taste. Dima replied:

Well...in terms of food definitely not my dad, he's very closed-minded about food, he associates all mushrooms with poison *laughs*, I suppose it was my mother that I got my sense of taste from, she's really opened minded, like she introduced me to sushi, and I like a lot of Russian food, so yeah my mum....and I suppose it is also the

places I visited, I travelled a lot as a kid, so I got to see lots of different foods. I went to Thailand, so mum and travel, trying weird and exotic food.

For Dima then, one of the central components of his habitus that defined his sense of taste, was the influences of his mother who would introduce him to new foods, and the fact that he travelled to other countries growing up, and was thus afforded the opportunity to explore foreign foods. The significance of parentage on the development of taste has been well developed by academics and is an area I have aforementioned in Chapter 4 (See Neumark-Sztainer, *et al.*, 2003; Videon, *et al.*, 2003; Burgess-Champoux, *et al.*, 2009). A number of studies (Burgess-Champoux, 2009; Larson, 2007), posited that there is a strong correlation between regular family mealtimes and children developing healthier eating habits. Similarly, in other cases, studies have shown that poor diets of the parents can lead to their children adopting similar habits (Neumark-Sztainer, *et al.*, 2004). The fact that Dima also rejected any influence from his father however due to his aversion to mushrooms implies a rejection of his limited pallet, which would seem to indicate that there is a generational difference in taste also. This also follows Warde's (1997) argument that the individuals' tastes are the contextual product of the social time-period in which they emerged, creating generational taste differences. He posits that there is a tendency for youths to 'register protest about the foodways imposed on them by their parents', such that they would be more open to explore new cuisines and flavours (1997:71). His multi-ethnic upbringing, with both Russian and Greek influences, whilst also being raised in Cyprus, seems to have given him a cosmopolitan outlook to foods, citing a variety of ethnic cuisines to me that were his favourites.

When I queried Egli on what the main influences were for her growing up, she replied that:

I only had Greek food cooked for me at home until I went for studies. Only nana was cooking and she only knows Greek food. I would love the food from my nana lulu; the food was just amazing. Really spicy, really mostly oven baked. The salad would always be vinegar, tomato cucumber, onion and olive oil. We would have it always at lunch.

Egli cited her main influence as being her grandmother, who shared with her the traditional Greek-Cypriot cuisines. The definitive structure of the Greek salad, for example, "would

always be” the same every time, and “always” as a lunchtime dish. Mary Douglas’ (1972) writings aptly account for these structural and classificatory parameters Egli uses in her description of a salad. By listing the ingredients, Egli is determining, within the social paradigm of her habitus, the features that constitute a salad. As Douglas (1972) argues, it is the social relationship the meal has with other meals that grants it meaning. In this case, the fact that Egli referred to the salad as something to be had *at* lunch rather than *for* suggests that the salad is not only something to be consumed at lunch time, but also as an accompaniment to the main dish. Thus the salad is a permanent, yet peripheral accompaniment to the main dish at lunch. In similarity to the observations made in Sutton’s (2014) research on Kalymnian Greeks, Egli’s comment demonstrates the influence of familial connections on the development of taste. The fact that only her grandmother cooked at home could have reinforced this influence and provided a much more ethnically bounded and localised tastes, as opposed to Dima’s more cosmopolitan upbringing. This further demonstrates the importance of habitus in the formative years of development on how tastes form.

As the food was served, and we began eating, Egli was simultaneously deconstructing her dish of pastitsio, noting as she did so, the features of the dish, or lack thereof that differed from how the Greeks and Cypriots would eat it:

The makaronia to fournou (μακαρόνια του φούρνου)... [using the Cypriot name for the dish] ...is made with really thick pastas, with holes. Because that type of pasta is made in Greece, sometimes you don’t get that type of pasta elsewhere. We also use a cheese type called kefalotyri (κεφαλοτύρι) made from goats and sheep’s milk, which is only made in Greece and so they don’t get it here.

Her culinary dissection seemed to ensconce her tastes within the Greek ethnic identity, particularly with the collective reference of ‘we’, positioning her within the Greek community, communicating on their behalf. Moreover, this disconnect between Egli’s criteria for what constitutes an authentic version of that particular dish, and the one she received, could also exemplify how ethnic restaurants must not only adapt to the tastes of their clientele, but also adapt to the ingredients they can acquire locally. This highlights the significance of economic factors in running a business taking priority over the perceived authenticity of certain ingredients. The fact that no other customer that I encountered

made such comments could also suggest how the food has adapted to be acceptable to them, and thus become more embedded within the host environment.

On another occasion, I ended up in conversation with a group of English tourists that happened to find the restaurant during their travels. They were rather young and explained that they had spent the day shopping and had visited the 'Body Works' on the Damrak. As it was almost evening, they looked to have a proper meal before exploring some of the nearby coffee shops. The group, which consisted of two females and a male, explained that they were not that well acquainted with Greek cuisine but they "wanted something quick and filling...we are really hungry and this place seemed alright...we don't normally get Greek food, but we like a nice kebab". I sort of coaxed them at this point into trying something new, recommending 'dolmades' and 'keftedakia', in the hope that I could draw some interesting reactions from them in relation to their sense of taste. They eventually acquiesced and ordered some entrées that would not have been part of their usual order, including some 'dolmades'. In Chapter 4 I discussed how I ordered this dish with my friend Stephanos, where the waiter confessed that they were not made fresh, but defrosted to order. Stephanos had explained how he could tell that they were not fresh, and found them to be a little greasy and watery in the middle. I was curious to observe whether that this would be noticed by the English trio that had never tried them before. When they arrived and were eaten, two of the customers made positive remarks: 'Normally I don't like Greek food but the food here was really nice. The fact that they did not make any observations in regards to the preparation or quality of the dish reflects their lack of cultural capital. Giradelli's (2004) study on the commodification of Italian culture through restaurants, elaborates on this notion, arguing that a European or American customer in an ethnic restaurant may feel immersed within an exotic environment due to the fact that they have 'no frame of reference for interpreting cultural messages encoded in such places' (2004:320). By such reasoning, the fact that these English tourists did not in any way question the food they were eating in the same way as Stephanos is due to the fact that they could not decode the cultural messages, rendering the cultural image pure. This could also potentially link back to Chapter 3 in explaining why, within Cohen's modes of touristic experience, the majority of tourists have a loose criterion for 'authenticity'. It is not just a

lack of critique founded on functional escapism from the stresses of modern life, but also the fact that they do not have any frame reference from which to analyse it.

De Athene

On one occasion I took Egli and Dima to this restaurant. We were all greeted by the owner, dressed in his usual dapper ensemble. He sat us down at a table at the left side of the restaurant, which was lined with cushions and gave us a full view of the central aisle that ran through the middle. He chatted with us as we received our menus before spiriting away back to the entrance. As the evening progressed, and we had each received our orders, with Egli having grilled salmon, Dima choosing 'Paidakia' (παϊδάκια-grilled lambchops), and me ordering 'Stamna', the tables around us had been filling up. For those customers seated on the left wall, that were all facing towards the centre aisle, we were granted 'front row seats', as it were, to the owner exchanging banter from one table to the next. The conversation between me and my two companions turned towards the development and influences of taste, picking up on the conversation we had in Zorba de Grieken. I wanted to discern what factors were the most influential in the formation of his sense of taste, and then to see how that compared to how they engaged with the restaurant.

I was hoping to discover a sense of identity in Dima that placed him within a particular group, or if not then what individual identity he may have formed, and how that interplays with the restaurant environment:

Dima: I like the food and just feel kind of amused being in a surrounding where I happen to know the language, but I'd never get a feeling of hominess from it that I would in a Russian ...restaurant

Me: Ah right so would you say you have a stronger sense of connection in a Russian setting, and eating Russian food?

Dima: Not so much a Russian setting, that can feel alien at times, but definitely from food. Probably since that's what was being made at home. It's not a very strong feeling for me though, just a bit more comforting than other food. Come to think of it, I'd probably get the same feeling from frappe and avgolemoni (αυγολέμονη: egg-lemon soup) and trahana (τραχανάς-a Cypriot soup) since my mum made these at

home, rather than gyros which I like more as food, even though they're from the same culture.

Dima's response suggests that he did not adhere too strongly to one particular group, despite knowing the languages and being familiar with both. It is rather the food that gave him a sense of "hominess", but not out of a sense of ethnic belonging, but rather a closer, familial connection. This would agree with Warde's (1997) argument towards a more individualistic sense of self-identity that is more closely tied to the family rather than one of a broader social group.

Once the food was finished, we each ordered Greek coffees, as it was at this point that the owner had begun dancing within the limited space between the tables and customers with a space-economising rendition of a traditional Greek dance. It was interesting for me to see the reaction of my two companions, who had been subjected to witnessing this particular dance all their lives, making ejaculations of humorous dismay; Dima uttered an "oh God", through a chuckle, while Egli exclaimed "Ela re!" (come on you!) with a smile. I queried them on how they felt about this kind of blatant display of Greekness. Dima thought that he seemed a rather "cool guy" but felt slightly embarrassed, humorously remarking that it was like "a drunk funny uncle at a wedding". Egli confessed after that she actually thought it was a good thing for the customers to see that because it "makes it feel a lot more Greek". Indeed, I had the distinct impression that the other customers were quite entertained by the spectacle, as indicated by the cheering and laughter, and it added to a jovial atmosphere in what would otherwise appear to be a rather formal dining setting. It brought a very central element of Greek culinary traditions, in that it was reminiscent of the singing and dancing events of the 'mezepolio' and 'bouzoukia' whereby people would gather late in the evening to dine and watch as people sang and danced throughout the night. The customers in the Athene then, of whom the majority would be the local Dutch, got to experience a projection of that aspect of Greek culture through his performances.

This stark contrast in reaction between my two companions and the rest of the restaurant's clientele demonstrates a potential disjuncture between the Greek identity being represented, and the Greek identity my two companions have come to know. This could be attributed to a number of factors. In Chapter 3 I argued that Emilios reinvented traditions through the repetition of these overtly Greek practices, and thus creates an emergent

authenticity that is embedded within the social landscape of Amsterdam. By bringing Dima and Egli to the restaurant I could see how their tastes, formed from their own respective experiences with Greek culture, would be able to more easily decode the restaurant for what it was, a performance of Greek culture (Girardelli, 2004:320). As such, they were able to see through the commercialised spectacle that it was. That being said, the fact that Egli thought it was a good thing that the clientele saw such practices, as it “makes it feel more Greek”, confirms the conclusions of Girardelli (2004), in claiming that that fact that the clientele come to eat there and experience such culture, demonstrates a ‘form of acceptance of the other’ (2004:322).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have endeavoured to highlight the effect of the customers’ sense of taste, drawn from their habitus, on the way in which the restaurants have adapted to their clientele. In doing so, I had hoped to uncover the mechanisms that dictate the adaption of ethnicity into a host culture.

The interactions I had with my companions, other customers and the restaurant owners, demonstrated that each of the restaurants had been altered over the course of time, and thus present a version of Greek ethnicity that is neither the same as being practiced in Greece, nor something that was naturally present before in the host country. This is something new to have emerged as a result of the hybridisation of cultures. This embeds the restaurant into the social framework of its socio-geographical position, becoming culturally enmeshed within it as it evolves into something more closely aligned with their localised clientele.

Conclusion

At the most rudimentary level, this study has been essentially one of cultural interaction, which, as stated in the introduction to this study, is naturally bound to occur within restaurant spaces. It endeavoured to draw out the effects of the cultural interaction between Greek restaurants on the one hand, and that of their customers in Amsterdam, on the other. It was through this interaction that the key themes of authenticity, nostalgic remembrance, and taste, were identified, with each theme presenting a lens through which the subject could be observed and analysed.

By presenting a version of Greek culture within the restaurant space, each restaurant was in a position where they could shape the way in which Greek culture was experienced by their Amsterdam clientele. This instinctively called into question the authenticity of the restaurant in how it represented Greek culture. However, as has been demonstrated by a number of academics (Cohen, 1979,1988; Jang, 2010), and hitherto discussed, the notion of authenticity is not something that can be objectively defined in a true or false dichotomy, but rather something far more contextual and subjective. Moreover, the fact that each restaurant used atmospheric manipulation to create a thematically Greek environment for commercial appeal renders all ethnicity a staged and commoditised display (Kotler, 1974). This redirected how each restaurant was to be analysed, from assuming that each restaurant was objectively authentic or not, or within a spectrum of authenticity that was implicit and inherent, to being a quality that was interpreted by the customer in accordance with their own personal criteria. To that end, I employed Cohen's modes of touristic experience. Furthermore, as highlighted by Sutton (2010), food consumption is conducive to nostalgic recollection due to the synaesthetic interaction of the senses, particularly taste and smell. The fact that the restaurant environment is a place where all the senses may be synaesthetically triggered made it the ideal place to study this effect in relation to nostalgic remembrance. I thus proceeded to analyse the clientele of the restaurant in relation to the synaesthetic response, and nostalgic remembrance, in relation to the differing ethnic backgrounds of the clientele. Sutton's work in this area proved invaluable to this discussion.

For the final theme, Bourdieu's argument that taste is formed by the habitus that is the cultural, social and economic capital of someone's background, demonstrated the social

significance of taste and how it forms. This was generally bounded to homologous social class structures, such that one's taste was a simple barometer of social class. However, as Warde suggests, with the growth of consumer culture, came also social pressures to develop a self-identity through consumption, and with it, identities being formed outside social classes, and instead along local, ethnic, national, political lines. Thus it stood to reason that the choices people made in consumption were expressions of their taste that are within those groups. This chapter aimed to explore the effect of such interactions on the restaurant itself, as a guiding principle of market dynamics, and uncover the interplays of ethnic interaction between the ethnic restaurant and the customer.

Retrospectively, the most discernable conclusion that may be drawn, based upon the information and analysis presented in each of these chapters, is one of embeddedness, and cultural change. This is something I first alluded to in Chapter 3, where all of the restaurants except perhaps Zorba de Grieken, had been adapted in varying degrees by the owner in a way that they felt would better represent Greek culture to their clientele, such that they could better cater for their target clientele. For these restaurants then, market forces acted as drivers behind the change in cultural representations. Thus, for the customers that dined in these restaurants, such representations, which were subject to changes to better align with theirs, were accepted as 'authentic' according to their own personal criteria. Notably, the Grekas Deli made considerable efforts to diminish the boundaries between the private and public space, by providing exclusive access to the restaurant for larger groups, and on occasions catering for customers at their private home. From my discussions with the owner, Panayiotis, these aspects were particularly appealing to his clientele, which would indicate that this strategy, in as far as it penetrated the social lives of the host culture, could be an exemplary case of becoming embedded within the social landscape it inhabits.

Another particularly compelling example was that of De Athene's use of reinvention of Greece tradition, through the repetition of Greek practices tradition to his customers. In doing so, he reconstituted Greek culture to better appeal to his customers, which presented perfectly how authenticity is an emergent construct, in as much as culture is, due to being held subject to the constant flux of space and time.

In the case of nostalgia, a case could be made that the synaesthetic remembrances act as another mechanism through which culture can become represented, reconfigured and

embedded. If all the senses operate collectively to encourage remembrance, which then proves to be a positive experience, then the customer is more likely to return. This was certainly the case within this study, where customers at Waves, for example, had experienced Greek culture on holiday and so the restaurant served to remind them of that time. This provides further incentive for the restaurant owner to capitalise on this effect by making the restaurant as synaesthetically nostalgic as possible, to the extent that they manipulate the environment to make it as ethnically explicit as possible.

The notion of embeddedness was, of course, brought to the fore in Chapter 5 on Taste and Social Identities. In its analysis of the effects of taste and social identities of the customer on the social boundaries of the restaurant, the chapter introduced the notion of esoteric and exoteric interaction, which acted as a process for shifting and percolating social boundaries such that the restaurants became more socially embedded in the local social space. This was demonstrated by the Grekas Deli, where he placed explicit emphasis on the rustic authenticity which not only appealed to the local Greek community, but also drew a large number of Dutch customers as well. In Waves, a clear example of this mechanism was seen when a customer asked for a sandwich, which was automatically transformed into something that was structurally the same but distinctly Greek. This contrasted with the provisions Rishie had made within the restaurant to accommodate for a more fine dining experience, demonstrated by the decorative cloth for the wine. In doing so, the restaurant was altering the restaurant to appeal to the clientele, thus transforming how Greek ethnicity is experienced.

In a broader sense, this study has argued for and demonstrated the fluidity of culture, and its ability to evolve and reconstitute itself in light of constant change. With the constant movement of people within an ever globalising planet, such studies become ever more relevant to understanding how culture is experienced and understood. Within this ethnographic microcosm, through the lens of these three core themes of authenticity, nostalgia, and taste, within these four Greek restaurants in the heart of Amsterdam, I hope that this study has contributed to the discussion in a constructive way.

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