

Picking the Juice to the Fruit: Case Studies in Istanbul

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Given that there has been a recent increase in the number of fruit juice bars in Istanbul, our current research explores the links between the emergence of fresh fruit juice bars and late capitalist consumer culture. In order to gain an insight into the fruit juice consumption patterns of Istanbul citizens, we collected data from various büfes and fruit juice bars in different neighbourhoods mostly in the European side of Istanbul, making use of both informal discussions and in-depth interviews. Our exploratory research revealed that there is a growing trend towards consuming health-promoting natural beverages. Emphasis on body and an extensive reference to a health discourse are among the most important themes which are used by the producers of fresh fruit juices.

Introduction

Fruit juice bars in Istanbul have recently emerged, addressing new consumer and customer segments as a healthy alternative to the consumption of mass-produced packaged fruit juices containing additives and/or preservatives. There are various venues for drinking fresh squeezed fruit juices and fruit mixes, which display their own peculiarities in terms of (re)presenting, marketing and selling these products. Without doubt, the first and earliest examples of localities offering various fresh juices are popular fast-food *biifesi* which originally serve fruit juice varieties to accompany the dishes. What is a quite recent trend, however, is that unique fruit juice bars have emerged which specialize in serving only the fruit juice by itself, such as *Meyvemix* in Galatasaray. At first glance, this raises certain questions as to why people prefer specific venues to consume the fresh squeezed fruit juice. These new forms of fruit juices are prepared in front of the consumer in general, usually with plastic gloves for hygiene. Moreover, in spatial and visual terms, whole fruits abound everywhere in locations where the juice is offered, possibly to remind consumers that they can purchase the equivalent nutrients and vitamins of these fruits in easy-to-prepare liquid form, taking it away amidst their daily routines.

The present paper on fresh fruit juice consumption is an exploratory research based on participant observation and qualitative data, which will be employed to gain an insight into the recent fruit juice consumption patterns in Istanbul. Rather than probing into the practical functions of fruit juices as nutritional panacea as anyone would come across in the media, we are concerned specifically with the consumption dimension of these beverages within their stylized and ritualized forms to explore the links between the emergence of fresh fruit juice bars and late capitalist consumer culture.

Methodology

For this research, we have compiled data from various *büfes* and fruit juice bars in different neighbourhoods mostly in the European side of Istanbul. Our first destination was *Bambi* in Taksim, followed by *Meyvemix* in Galatasaray, *Cuppa* in Cihangir and *Galata Café* in Kuledibi. Some study subjects interviewed in *Şifahane* in Beşiktaş directed our attention to one of the oldest *büfes* in Sirkeci, *Neslihan Büfe*. Furthermore, in Sirkeci we came across other fruit juices bars such as *Dalından: Vitamin & Fast Food* and *Vitamin Bar*. The only locality that has been included from the Anatolian side is the original *Şifahane* in Kadıköy, as opposed to the one in Beşiktaş.

For the purposes of our research we have compared and contrasted these venues according to several criteria. Visual characteristics and spatial layout were the first criteria since these were helpful in categorizing the localities at first glance. We looked for carefully hidden or implicit messages directed at potential customers, and whether this was achieved through visual or verbal means, i.e. dangling fruits outside the shop or informative or pseudoscientific charts for quick reference, etc. A second criterion was the profile of the patrons in terms of age groups, people from the neighbourhood, tourists, and so forth, to the extent of our data. As a critical aspect of our research, the third criterion deals with the marketing notions associated with the consumption of fruit juices, such as health, youth, freshness, distinctive lifestyles, etc. Finally, we probed into the names and descriptions of the beverages, in which ways they contributed to the marketing notions involved and what kind of associations were being asserted. As we have noted above, we made use of both informal discussions and in-depth interviews while conducting this research, and personal narratives of the consumers will be included when necessary.

Analysis of Case Studies

A prototypical example of the trendy fruit juice bar *par excellence* is *Meyvemix* in Galatasaray which was opened in 2007. It is a benchmark example among newly emerging trendy juice bars in Istanbul, attracting local people and tourists alike with its neat and white space designed such that one can either sit on high bar chairs to enjoy the juice or simply take it away. A brief spatial analysis points to an atmosphere of transparency, hygiene and cleanness, and neon green and orange colors pervade the interior space. The staff hygienically prepare the juices by wearing plastic gloves. In contrast to net bags of fruits hanging over the entrances of traditional *büfes*, *Meyvemix* displays its seasonal fruits in huge decorative glass jars in a modern mode of display. An informative chart can be seen across the service counter for quick reference, adjacent to the ambitious and assertive slogan of the brand on a poster: “Sağlık için bardak bardak, doğal doğal, taze taze suyunu çıkardık!” (“We squeezed the juice glass by glass, as natural and as fresh as possible for health!”) The opening of this venue as a pioneering trendy fruit juice bar received coverage in *Turkish Daily News*, and Mina Erçel reported on how the juices could be prepared alone or in a combination and noted the affordability of the beverages:

MeyveMix does not offer the more trendy combinations like celery, ginger, and coconut, and it does not have immune system-boosting powders, but instead it sticks to the basics offered at decent, affordable prices. Depending on the choice of juice and mixture, prices ranges from YTL 1 for carrot juices up to YTL 10 for the tropical and organic juices.



Figure 1. Entrance to Meyvemix in Galatasaray.

In Cihangir, on the other hand, a café/restaurant called *Cuppa*, assumes to market lifestyles at another end of the consumer spectrum through its great variety of fruit and even vegetable juices which have been given unique labels. The name *Cuppa* allegedly comes from a slang word *cuppadak* in Turkish, which means “birden bire gelişen, aniden olan hadise” (“an event that develops and takes place suddenly”). The decoration of the interior consists of huge letters written on a wall: “Her türlü meyve ve sebze itina ile sıkılır.” (“Any fruit and vegetable is squeezed with great care.”) and “Neden meyve ve sebze suyu?” (Why fruit and vegetable juice?”) with ten reasons readily provided for consumers so that they will not bother to guess it themselves. This probably contributes to raising an awareness in people about what they consume and how they can rationalize and justify these consumption behaviours.

The place was opened in 2007 February and our interviewee Erkan Bey, who has been working at *Cuppa* since that time as headwaiter, informed us about the time-consuming research and development period of two years involved in the conception of these singular beverages:

Meyve suyu çeşitlerimiz iki yıllık bir Ar-Ge çalışmasının sonucu. Tabi ki yurtdışından da feyiz alındı. Armut, elma, havucu karıştırmak çok kolay; biz sizin vücudunuza iyi gelecek olan neyse önceden hazırlayıp sunuyoruz. Bizim Ar-Ge'miz bu çalışmayı önceden yürüttüğü için neyin neye sağlıklı geleceğini biliyoruz.

The variety of our fruit juices are the result of a two-year long R&D work. Of course, we were inspired from abroad. It's nothing but easy to mix pear, apple and carrot; however, we prepare and present what will benefit your body beforehand. Since our R&D has already carried out this work, we know which [fruit] will benefit which [disease].

All of these beverages have been categorized under six different headings which are namely “Wake up Juices!”, “Power Juices!”, “Vitality Juices!”, “Aphrodisiac Juices!”, “Healing Juices!”, and “Cleansing Juices!”. No doubt, a certain familiarity and expertise is required of

consumers/customers so that they get accustomed to picking the most appropriate drink for themselves. The headwaiter is also present to assist them in choosing what is most suitable for them. More often than not, such a service is provided for patrons by the headwaiter Erkan Bey in this place, and since he knows most of the regular patrons he has no difficulty in helping them with “what they exactly need”. It is noteworthy that the headwaiter assumed an expert/professional role in this context:

İlk açıldığımızda altmış içecek vardı, daha sonra eleyerek iki yılda otuza indirdik. Tat ve içim rahatlığı açısından elendiler tabi. İnsanlar kendi tercihlerini de yaratabilirler, bunun zararı olmaz ama bizim karışımlarımızda hangi meyvenin ve sebzenin neye iyi geleceği bellidir. Biz doktor edasıyla çalışıyoruz, mesela “Bugün kendinizi nasıl hissediyorsunuz?” diye soruyoruz. Müdavimlerimizin ne istediğini bildiğimiz için bazen içeceklerini hiç sormadan hazırladığımız bile oluyor. Örneğin, meyve suyunun içine zencefil ilave etme olayı da apayrı. Mesela ben çok iyi hatırlıyorum ölü gibi gelen bir müşterimiz kapıdan dinç şekilde çıkmıştı.

There were sixty juices when we first opened. Later on, that number was cut to thirty by selection in two years. These were, of course, eliminated according to taste and ease in drinking. People can also create their own preferences, it won't do any harm; however, it's certain which fruit and vegetable will benefit what in our mixes. We work with the air of a doctor, for example, we ask “How are you feeling today?”. As we know what a patron would like, we sometimes prepare their beverages even without asking. For instance, adding ginger to a fruit juice is a different matter altogether. I recall a customer who came like as if he were dead but went out the door hale and hearty.

Erkan Bey first called attention to the relaxing atmosphere of the place saying: “Siz de ilk geldiğinizde fark etmişsinizdir, çok rahat bir ortam var burada. İzlenecek, okunacak çok şey var. Müşteriler sabahtan akşama kadar kalabiliyor, hatta çoğu buranın müdavimi.” (“You might have noticed when you first came in, there's a comfortable environment in here. There are many things to look at and read. Customers can stay from dawn to dusk and most of them are regular patrons.”) As in the *Meyvemix* case, a soft lounge or chillout music is heard in the background to create and sustain this atmosphere. In this regard, Erkan Bey made clear that *Cuppa* was a place where you could enjoy your drink without having to take it away hastily as is the case in *Meyvemix*. He referred to the prevailing “healthy” eating and living trends that

have developed in the recent years: “Biz sanırım biraz da bundan faydalandık. İstanbul’da meyve suyuyla ilgili bu konsepti tutturmuş ilk yeriz.” (“I think we took advantage of this, too. We are the first venue to have kept up the idea of fruit juices here in Istanbul.”) He maintained that any fruit could be procured in and out of season and reminded the favourable conditions in Turkey (which makes it all the more attractive for tourists, he added). However, due to high costs of fruits out of season, they prefer to store their own strawberry and grapes whereas other varieties of fruits are supposedly supplied on a daily basis. Erkan Bey claimed that their specialty was the “Wheat Grass Shot” which actually made the reputation of *Cuppa* in the first place. He admitted that they cultivated their own wheat grass at the back of their office, and the grass needed nothing more than sun and water to grow. An example of a beverage consumed only in the mornings was the so-called “Hangover Juice”. The place is mostly frequented by tourists and intellectual circles from the Cihangir neighbourhood.

We have seen reasonable prices in different venues although juice mixes with exotic fruits are more expensive than others as a rule. Prices in *Cuppa*, however, are astoundingly astronomical and require a closer investigation. Richard Sennett (2006) conceptualizes the so-called consuming passion as an issue of services: “How can a 10 percent difference in content be inflated into a 100 percent difference in price? The problem can be equally framed in terms of services.” (Sennett 2006: 145). Although the prices were more or less similar and affordable in most of the places we visited, *Cuppa* endeavours to create and sustain a uniqueness in terms of its special and professional services, for instance, by providing a comfortable café atmosphere (see Figures 2 and 3 below) where one can pass hours without end. For example, a simple orange juice can be purchased for a lot more than it is worth under the label “Minty Juice” which has only mint added to a simple glass of orange juice.



Figure 2. Cuppa from outside.



Figure 3. Open kitchen and the interior design.

Since its unique fruit and vegetable juice beverages constantly underline alternative and healthy lifestyle themes and concepts of health, power, vitality, healing, cleansing, and so on, the case of *Cuppa* proves to be a distinct case showing in what various formats simple juice mixes can be served to customers, and marketed with certain associations. Here, not only the healthful functions but also the connotations of fresh fruit juices in terms of lifestyle are highlighted. Nevertheless, in contrast to other localities as we shall see below, the number and diversity of consumers frequenting *Cuppa* seem to be limited to an élite circle considering the price range.

Another different venue is *Galata Café* in Kuledibi mostly frequented by tourists again since it is in the vicinity of the Galata Tower. Here, customers usually take their juice away although there are stools for sitting. The place opened five years ago and similar places have mushroomed in the same spot according to an in-depth interview we have made with the owner of the café. He explains the current trends about fresh fruit juices in the neighbourhood as follows, and his fruit juice concept is radically different from that of a stylized case such as

Cuppa:

Otuz yıldır burada yaşıyorum. Önceden kafe-restoran işletiyordum. Beş sene önce açtım burayı, diğerleri son bir iki yılda açtılar. Sadece Galata'da var bu tip ananas gibi dilim meyve satılan hem de meyve suyu satan yerler. Benimle birlikte toplam yedi tane oldu. ... Turistler hep var, onlar çok meraklı buraya. Eğer on kişi geliyorsa en az altısı turist. Burayı biliyor turistler. Ben meyvelerimi kendim alıyorum. Gece on iki bir gibi Bayrampaşa'daki hale gidiyorum, sabah dörde beşe kadar, kendi ellerimle seçiyorum her bir meyveyi. Sıklık ayrı, yemelik ayrı. En çok havuç, portakal suyu içiliyor. Ama turistler

en çok nar suyu içiyor. Nar yokmuş onlarda. Bir de 'Portakallarınız çok tatlı!' diyorlar. Kendi ülkelerinde içiyorlarmış ama hiç tadı yokmuş.

I've been living here for thirty years. I used to manage a café-restaurant first. I opened this place five years ago; the others were opened in the last one or two years. Such places which sell fruit slices like those of pineapple and also the fruit juice are only found in Galata. Counting me, there are seven in total. ... There have always been tourists, they are curious about this place [i.e. the shop]. Six out of ten who come here are tourists. They know this place. I buy my fruits myself. I go to the wholesale market hall in Bayrampasa, I select each and every fruit with my own hands until four or five in the morning. Those to juice and to eat are different. Carrot and orange juice are the most popular. Tourists, however, drink pomegranate juice most of all. They say they don't have pomegranates. They also say 'Your oranges taste so sweet!'. They say they drink it in their countries but it has no taste whatsoever.



Figure 4. Şifahane in Beşiktaş.

Şifahane in Beşiktaş is situated on a side street where people need to drink their juices standing or take them away since the shop is too small to sit and spend time (see Figure 4). Şifahane, like its counterpart in Kadıköy, appeals to a wider circle of consumers from nearly all age groups and also lower income groups, in particular. Our interviewees were members of middle- and old-age groups who were again regulars of the small shop. Nebahat Hanım put an emphasis on the practical aspects of consuming fruit juices outside home:

Evde sıkınca çok çöp çıkıyor. Havuç alıyorum mesela ama evde sıkınca kirleniyor her yer. Eskiden sadece karışık alıyordum, şimdi yalnız elma içiyorum. Beşiktaş'ta oturuyorum. Buradan her geçtiğimde alıyorum taze meyve suyu. Meyvenin suyunu içmek daha kolay.

It makes a mess when you make it at home. Say, I buy carrots but everywhere it gets messy when I juice it at home. I used to buy only mixes before, but now

I drink apple [juice]. I live in Besiktas. I buy the fresh fruit juice whenever I pass by this place. It's easier to drink the juice of the fruit.

Osman Bey and Mehmet Bey, two longtime senior frequenters, also referred to the health benefits of the fresh fruit juice:

Hanımlar artık istifa etti yapmıyorlar. Biz de gelip burada içiyoruz. Eskiden Sirkeci'de Büyük Postane'nin karşısında vardı ellili altmışlı yıllarda, siz daha yoktunuz o zamanlar. Ben o zamanlar çok seviyordum orayı, o yüzden burada açılınca çok sevindim. Her gün geliyoruz. En sağlıklısı bu. Gözlere iyi geliyor, güçlendiriyor, enerji veriyor, bizi gençleştiriyor. İkimiz de Beşiktaş'ta oturuyoruz. Kutu meyve sularını tercih etmiyorum, bilmiyorum onları zaten. İçine kimyasal filan koyuyorlar, içmiyorum kutudakileri.

Our wives have resigned from doing it. That's why we come and drink here. Back in the 50s and 60s there was this place across the Post Office in Sirkeci, you weren't even born during that time. I loved the place so much back then, so I was happy to see they opened here. We come every day. This is the healthiest. It's good for the eyes, it gives stamina and energy, it rejuvenates us. Both of us live in Besiktas. I don't prefer fruit juice boxes, I don't even know them. They put chemicals in them, I don't drink those in the boxes.

Taking this cue from our interviewees, we headed for *Neslihan Büfe* in Sirkeci which was opened in 1967, and serves as both a traditional *büfe* and a fruit juice bar (see Figure 5). Like the *Şifahane* case, people from all walks of life—tourists and local people alike—can be encountered in this venue. Similar to other instances where owners maintained that they prepared their juices from fruits available in all seasons, a keen headwaiter informed us that if any fruit was out of season, fruits from *buzhanes* (i.e. cold storage rooms) could also be used. The prices, moreover, are far more affordable than *Meyvemix* in comparison.



Figure 5. Neslihan Büfe in Sirkeci.

Dalından is another venue sharing a hybrid concept of *büfe* and a separate fruit juice bar. It is interesting to perceive a stark contrast between Turkish consumers who prefer to eat Turkish style fast-food in one part of the shop whereas tourists mostly enjoy their fresh fruit juices which they take away in the other part (see Figure 6 and 7 below). It is also situated on a very lively street in Sirkeci and addresses consumers from all walks of life.



Figure 6. The juice bar part of *Dalından*.



Figure 7. *Büfe* part of *Dalından*.

The waiter who juiced the fruits in *Dalından* informed us about the variety of juices served and the most common preferences of customers, after adding that a hundred crates of oranges arrived each week since it ranks first among all other juices:

Üç yıllık bir yer burası. Daha çok turistler geliyor. Genelde tek meyvedense karışımlar tercih ediliyor. Mango, avakado, ananas var mesela. Ananas biliyorsunuz kumsalda, okyanus suyuyla yetişiyor. Biz meyveleri mevsiminde kullanıyoruz. Mesela şimdi nar mevsimi değil ama kırmızı renk versin diye karadut koyuyoruz içine.

This place has been here for three years. Mostly, tourists come here. In general, mixes are preferred to single fruits. We have mango, avocado and pineapple, too. The pineapple, you know, grows on the beach with ocean water. We use the fruits in their season. For example, now is not the season of pomegranates so we add black mulberry to give it a red hue.

Coming to the Anatolian side of Istanbul, *Şifahane* in Kadıköy markets its own fruit juice mix called “Şifa” as a specialty, and a significant slogan of the owners, also covered in the mass media was: “Halkımızın ilaç ihtiyacını karşıladığımız için doktorlarımızdan özür diliyoruz.”

(“We apologize from our doctors for meeting the medicinal needs of our people.”) Moreover, various certifications are displayed just outside the stand in order to inform the customers.



Figure 8. Şifahane in Kadıköy.

All of these places share the common function of serving fruit juices, however, as has been shown above, they seem to be segmented among each other to address different groups of people. Some of the venues serve their special juices mixes under a variety of names and descriptions although the original fruit ingredients themselves are not so different at all. Nevertheless, the localities we have discussed so far show how fruit juices can be served and marketed by employing varying notions and associations.

A Theoretical Framework

A single phenomenon of fresh fruit juice consumption cannot be understood comprehensively without taking the late capitalist consumer culture into consideration. Within this framework, consumption practices are fragmented along with consumption patterns, and they require to be shaped to address specific subgroups (socioeconomic, cultural, age, etc.). We have observed a similar segmentation of the market in fruit juice consumption. Throughout our observations, we have remarked that each locality has more or less distinguished itself among others to address customers sharing different tastes and lifestyles.

An emphasis on body is one key aspect in healthy and fresh fruit juice consumption, including ameliorating bodily functions and adopting healthy lifestyles. George Ritzer (1998), in his introduction to Jean Baudrillard's *The Consumer Society: Myths & Structures*, contends that "the body, like labour power in Marxian theory, must first be liberated (at least as a factor in consumption) so that it can then be exploited" (Ritzer 1998: 14). Thus, in Marxian terms people "have come to *fetishize* their bodies". In similar vein, expectations from consuming fresh fruit juices, as in the example of *Cuppa*, seem to touch upon a similar point even if fruit juices make only a small portion of the perfect healthy lifestyle to be adopted by self-aware and responsible consumers of our day to care for and improve their bodies.

Furthermore, the *Cuppa* case is significant in that it openly appeals to various discourses by marketing distinctive fruit and vegetable juices with peculiar names, labeling and descriptions emphasizing a pseudoscientific knowledge required to promote one's health through countless combinations of fruit and vegetable juices. As Mike Featherstone (1996) suggests, it is certainly not uncommon in the late capitalist consumer culture to refer to "[c]ertain themes, infinitely revisable, infinitely combinable, [recurring] within advertising and consumer culture imagery: Youth, beauty, energy, fitness, movement, freedom, romance, exotica, luxury, enjoyment, fun." (Featherstone 1996: 174). Various notions and associations marketed through fresh fruit juices as such can be seen in the following examples of fruit juice titles from *Cuppa*: Jedi Juice, Energizer Juice, Clean-Up Juice, Detox Juice, Hangover Juice, Stomach Buddy. We have seen that beyond an extensive reference to a health-specific discourse, we are presented with notions, themes and significations that address the lifestyles of audiences. These messages need to be analyzed by knowledgeable consumers with distinct lifestyles in the framework of a different narrative and/or discourse. This seems to be a noticeable marketing strategy aiming to market the names and their associations, sometimes more than the contents of the juice itself.

We would like to suggest again how significations can be generated out of a health discourse related to various potential benefits of fresh fruit juices. Not only the presence of fruits themselves, but also the company logos are highly associative of nature and health (see Figures 9 and 10 below). In this regard, most of the venues are laden with “ideas-in-form” as Roland Barthes (1984) explicates in his semiological system (Barthes 1984: 112). Therefore, it could be maintained that individuals find themselves in a multi-faceted symbolic system in today’s world of consumption where they are bombarded with messages from everywhere. Perhaps the passion for organic and natural fruits and vegetables in our day finds yet another reflection in the consumption of fresh fruit juices in easy and affordable ways, and whether their benefits are real or illusory does not matter as long as these beverages are saleable.



Figure 9. The company logo of Cuppa (in verdant green).



Figure 10. The company logo of Meyvemix (in orange and dark green).

The customers are presented with a variety of choices and personalized mixes, and this preference particularly contrasts with packaged juices which have begun to fall out of favour for some. In the *Meyvemix* case, for instance, by referring to the informative chart found at the entrance customers could easily create a juice that would promote their health most by fighting against a certain disease or condition. Here, both the preferences of the consumer and the relation to one’s body are underlined since s/he is the one who has a consciousness of her/his body and its needs in a custom-tailored manner. Alan Warde (1997) contends that “[i]ndividualization is the key social tendency of the current epoch. Self-identity becomes consciously chosen by the individual and expressed through consumption.” (Warde 1997: 181). Therefore, consumers enter the market in order to create, shape and enrich their assumed identities. Furthermore, Warde underlines how personal choices and personal tastes

have become key elements in an ideology of consumer individualism, and such consumption patterns are no exception in the fruit juice bars case.

Baudrillard (1998) also draws attention to the representation of the body as “capital” and as “fetish” (or consumer object): “In both cases, it is important that, far from the body being denied or left out of account, there is deliberate *investment in it.*” (Baudrillard 1998: 129). In this context, however, the consumer’s lifestyle choices might not be restricted only to consuming fresh and healthy fruit juices, but the juice might be complementing a lifestyle based on the prevailing norms of a health discourse.

Of course, we cannot overlook those who try these fruit juices simply for fun and out of curiosity on no regular basis; the point we would like to make, however, is that there are certain consumers who have cultivated such an awareness about their bodies with the help of a daily intake of fresh fruit juice, and even the social space where they perform this basic need for health, beauty and youth is full of underlying messages to create the right atmosphere.

Conclusion

While everything is ever-changing in our world, mass media also contributes to the formation of new trendy fruits and their juices. Flocking consumers add to the demand for healthful fruits in certain periods. However, questions arise as to whether the panacea of fruit juices can be valid for everyone. Zygmunt Bauman clarifies a similar point as follows: “[T]he meaning of a ‘healthy regime of life’ does not stand still. The concepts ‘healthy diet’ change more quickly than it takes for any of the successively or simultaneously recommended diets to run its course.” (Bauman 2000: 79). The public is incessantly informed about what to consume, which in turn leads to certain fads such as the consumption of pomegranate and the case of popular pineapple slices in Galata.

All in all, our explorative research on the consumption patterns of fresh fruit juices in Istanbul revealed that there is a growing trend towards consuming health-promoting natural beverages; however, not everyone may accommodate herself/himself to venues where only squeezed fruit juices are served. If this trend continues in the future, we might come across trendy fruit juice bars such as *Meyvemix* or more modest establishments such as *Şifahane* in Beşiktaş in more and more places. Moreover, since the emphasis on more healthy lifestyles and search for organic products is also a growing trend among Istanbulite consumers, it is likely that people will turn to natural and fresh fruit juices to benefit their specific health problems as an affordable or lifestyle promoting panacea.

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