

# DEVELOPING A TASTE FOR COFFEE: SPECIALTY COFFEE SHOPS IN ISTANBUL

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

BY

BÜŞRA ESER

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN  
SOCIOLOGY

AUGUST 2019

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology

Examining Committee Members:

	DECISION	SIGNATURE
Assoc. Prof. Alim Arlı (Thesis Advisor)	<u>Accepted</u>	
Assoc. Prof. Eda Ünlü Yücesoy	<u>Accepted</u>	
Assoc. Prof. Burak Özçetin	<u>ACCEPTED</u>	

This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences of İstanbul Şehir University.

Date  
16.07.2019



I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and standards of ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and standards, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

First Name, Last Name: B şra Eser

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of stylized, overlapping letters that appear to be 'BE' followed by a long horizontal stroke.

## ABSTRACT

### DEVELOPING A TASTE FOR COFFEE: SPECIALTY COFFEE SHOPS IN ISTANBUL

Eser, Büşra.

MA in Sociology

Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Alim Arlı

August 2019, 160 Pages

The intensification of demands of consuming and talking about coffee is a global phenomenon in the 21st-century world. The proliferation of the sense of specialty coffee and third-wave coffee movement are part and parcel of this growing interest. This study aims to view the contemporary coffee scene in Turkey, with a specific focus on third wave/specialty coffee movement. Therefore third wave/specialty coffee shops, their geographic distributions, gentrification that observed on nearby areas, and people in the coffee business, baristas, roasters and coffee connoisseurs will be analyzed within the scope of this research.

Keywords: specialty coffee, taste, habitus, ethnography, space and place

ÖZ

KAHVE BEĞENİSİ GELİŞTİRMEK:  
İSTANBUL'DAKİ NİTELİKLİ KAHVECİLER

Eser, Büşra

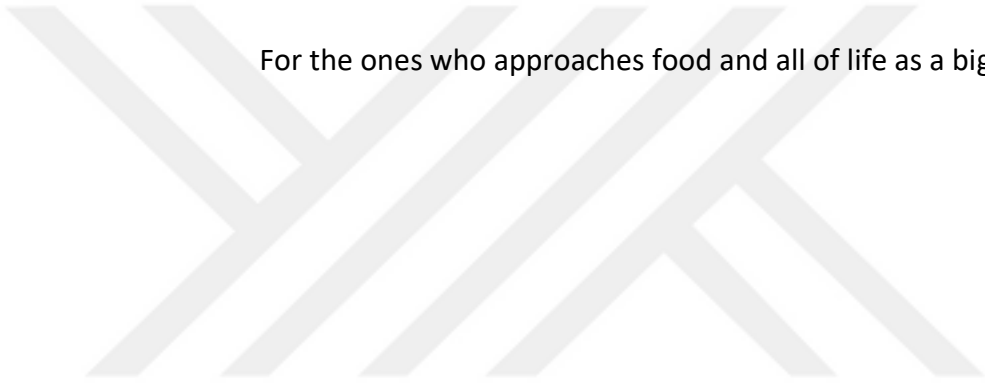
Sosyoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç.Dr. Alim Arlı

Ağustos 2019, 160 Sayfa

Kahve içme ve kahve hakkında konuşma isteğinin yoğunlaşması 21. Yüzyıl dünyasında global bir fenomendir. Nitelikli kahve anlayışının yayılması ve üçüncü nesil kahve hareketi ise bu artan isteğin kaçınılmaz parçalarıdır. Bu çalışma İstanbul'daki çağdaş kahve sahnesini, üçüncü nesil/nitelikli kahve dükkanlarına odaklanarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Böylece, üçüncü nesil/nitelikli kahveciler, onların coğrafi dağılımları, çevre bölgelerde gözlenen mutenalaştırma, kahve piyasasındaki insanlar, baristalar, kavurmacılar, ve kahve müdavimleri bu çalışmada analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: nitelikli kahve, beğeni, habitus, etnografi, alan ve mekân



For the ones who approaches food and all of life as a big adventure

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In many ways this dissertation reflects my own travels in life and the people that I have along the way. Discussion and curious conversation among friends and colleagues, tasting lots of coffee, reading anything related to coffee contributed to its endings.

This dissertation had also an extended fieldwork and writing period. In doing the fieldwork for this research and in writing it, I incurred many debts of gratitude. In the first place, I would like to express my special gratitude to my advisor, Assoc. Prof. Alim Arlı for his guidance, criticism, and suggestions throughout the study. Without his support and wise guidance, I would not have completed this study. I also would like to thank the examining committee members of the thesis, Assoc. Prof. Eda Ünlü Yücesoy and Assoc. Prof. Burak Özçetin, for their valuable contributions. I owe a huge debt to İstanbul Şehir University Sociology Department for their dedicated support and guidance during my master education.

Another very positive experience during the writing process was participating in *Konukevi [Residency]* Project. The project which is organized in Mutlukoy Province by Defne Koryürek and Vasif Kortun aims to enhance collaboration among scholars in the field of food, gastronomy and ecology. The period that I spent in residency house gave me a chance to delve into my subject and to finish writing my chapters. I appreciate them for sharing their memories related to coffee and also for their hospitality and generosity. I also learned a lot from their experiences and re-considered my perspectives on food, ecology, and climate change.

I am lucky to have friends from İstanbul Şehir University, friends from Recel Blog and friends from the Community Centre whom I can share my happiness and excitement during my master education. Thanks to my barista friend, Reha, I tasted delicious Finnish coffees and had lots of fun conversation about the sense of specialty coffee. I also appreciate Havvanur who has always been listened my ideas since the beginning of this research for her encouragement and support. Last, but

not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my parents, Humeyra Duru Eser and Mithat Eser. They support me in any phase of my career, even though I do not follow their path. Their existence in my life makes it easier for me to write this dissertation.





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
Öz .....	v
Dedication .....	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Table of Contents .....	ix
List of Figures .....	xii
List of Abbreviations .....	xiii
CHAPTERS	
1. Introduction .....	1
1.1. Why coffee to study?.....	1
1.2. The objective of the study .....	2
1.3. Methodology .....	4
1.4. Fieldwork in specialty coffee shops.....	6
1.5. Outline of the Study.....	12
2. The Formation of Istanbul’s Gastronomic Foodscape .....	13
2.1. The Components of Gastronomic Foodscape: Restaurants and Food Literature.....	14
2.2. The Restaurants: How did eating-out begin in Turkey?.....	16
2.2.1. Tanzimat [Reorganization] Period .....	19
2.2.2. Impacts of Russian Immigrants in 1917.....	21
2.2.3. Emergence of eclectic tastes: Diversification in Istanbul’s cuisine in 1950s.....	21
2.2.4. Change of cultural climate in 1980s .....	22
2.3. Food literature in Turkey: cookbooks, restaurant reviews, and gastronomic publications .....	24
2.3.1. Cookbooks .....	24
2.3.2. Restaurant Reviews .....	26
2.4. Concluding Remarks .....	28
3. The Spread of the Sense of Specialty Coffee .....	31
3.1. Naming practices of specialty coffee and the waves .....	31

3.2. Historical development of the sense of specialty coffee .....	34
3.3. The Spread of the Third Wave Coffee Movement .....	38
3.4. Differing Globalization Patterns: How/Why Specialty Coffee Has Succeeded When Wine Could Not?.....	40
3.5. The Turkish Case: Local Meanings in Relation to Global Trends.....	43
3.5.1. The Specialty Coffee Network in Istanbul .....	66
4. Coffee Places .....	69
4.1. Istanbul’s chaotic drinking-out scene.....	70
4.2. Spatializing “Coffee” Culture.....	72
4.2.1. Traditional Coffeehouses- Kahvehanes-Kahves .....	74
4.2.2. Café – Global Coffeehouse – Coffeehouse Chains .....	76
4.2.3. Third Wave- Specialty Coffee Shops.....	78
4.3. Sociability in third wave/specialty coffee shops:.....	82
4.3.1 Case of jobless men .....	84
4.3.2. Case of the barista friend .....	84
4.4. Specialty Coffee Shops in Istanbul: Are the "components" of third place really there or merely not? .....	85
4.5. Concluding Remarks .....	92
5. Coffee People .....	94
5.1. Specialty Coffee Consumption .....	94
5.1.1. Class .....	96
5.1.2. Habitus and Capital.....	98
5.2. Participants of the game: coffee shop owners/investors, baristas, and hobbyist drinkers.....	100
5.2.1. Coffee shop owners/investors: Authority Position in Coffee Space ....	104
5.2.1.1. How to produce specialty coffee? .....	112
5.2.2. Baristas and Employees: A craftsmanship for the sake of feeling the game .....	116
5.2.3. Educating Turkish Palate: Pedagogic tendencies, interaction with customers, and mythical language.....	123
5.2.4. Hobbyist Drinkers: Aesthetic Tasters, Enthusiastic Participants and Mimic Men.....	128

5.2.4.1 Regulating Habits, Regulating Feelings.....	133
5.3. Concluding Remarks .....	141
6. Conclusion .....	142
References.....	147



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Laptops Only In the Back Sat-Sun No Laptops Danke, Five Elephant Coffee Roastery Berlin, Germany .....	7
Figure 1.2. About The Barn Philosophy Berlin, Germany .....	8
Figure 2.1. Abdullah Efendi Lokantası.....	18
Figure 3.1. Milliyet, 3 June 1957 .....	45
Figure 3.2. CHP's brochure in 1957.....	46
Figure 3.3. The interior space of Baylan Patisserie.....	47
Figure 3.4. Milliyet, 4 December 1974.....	49
Figure 3.5. Milliyet, 2 February 1984.....	50
Figure 3.6. Milliyet, 6 February 1984.....	51
Figure 3.7. Milliyet, 6 February 1984.....	52
Figure 3.8. Nescafe 1984 .....	53
Figure 3.9. Milliyet, 21 May 1984 .....	54
Figure 3.10. Milliyet, 8 February 1984.....	55
Figure 3.11. Milliyet, 5 October 1983 .....	56
Figure 3.12. Milliyet, 5 April 1984.....	57
Figure 3.13. Milliyet, 14 December 1997 .....	59
Figure 3.14. Milliyet, 7 December 1997.....	59
Figure 3.15. Milliyet, 21 December 1997.....	60
Figure 3.16. Milliyet, 30 November 1997 .....	61
Figure 3.17. Milliyet, 20 September 1997.....	61
Figure 3.18. Milliyet, 16 February 1989.....	62
Figure 3.19. Milliyet, 2 November 1990 .....	63
Figure 3.20. Sabah, 6 July 2009.....	66
Figure 5.1. Theoretical Space of Cultural Items.....	100

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SCA: Specialty Coffee Association

SCAE: Specialty Coffee Association of Europe

SCAA: Specialty Association of America



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Why coffee to study?

This study aims to describe the proliferation of specialty coffee shops in Istanbul, Turkey. More specifically, this study focuses on people in specialty coffee business and the patrons of specialty coffee shops to understand the process of producing specialty coffee, acquiring coffee taste, gourmet consumption and more generally the social identities and class practices of these “coffee people” (Shaker&Rath, 2017) in Istanbul.

Therefore these coffee shops, their geographic distributions, gentrification that observed on nearby areas, people in the coffee business who produce specialty coffee both materially and discursively, coffee connoisseurs will be analyzed within the scope of this research. From this perspective, this study aims to analyze an ordinary part of daily life, an act of coffee drinking, to understand contemporary urban changes through the practice which is shaped by and shape its contemporary social actors.

Pierre Bourdieu condemns the hierarchy of legitimate objects of study and believes that “any cultural asset from cookery to dodecaphonic music by way of the Western movie, can be an object for apprehension ranging from the simple, actual sensation to scholarly appreciation” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 220). Even so, I am sitting in front of my computer, asking what I am doing with coffee. Why do I have such a passion for coffee drinking, a practice which has close ties with the upper class, Westernism, and being modern? Even before I delved into the archive and explored coffee’s strong connotations with Western lifestyles, I realized that consuming coffee is more than just the physical act of drinking. During my childhood, I observed that people who moved to Europe for work brought back instant coffee as a gift for their relatives here in Turkey in the belief that instant coffee was still not available in Turkey, even in the early 2000s. In my high school and university years, I observed that drinking coffee can have particular symbolic meanings in people’s mind. It is

perceived as something “cool,” and I want to find out why. While preparing my fieldwork, I assumed that the group I intended to study would be different from my social and familial background. As a headscarved woman and the daughter of a middle-class family, I was sure I would be a stranger amid the elite of the coffee-drinking world.

Another question that I always asked myself is what makes specialty coffee worth studying. Is it really different from Starbucks-type coffees or local dishes in authentic restaurants that customers want to learn more about? True, coffee had experienced gentrification, but in Turkey, many other products have experienced a similar gentrification process, as well. For example, *simit*, a kind of bagel, was gentrified from street vendors to expensive simit stores at the beginning of the 2000s. Recently, *lokma*, a traditional Anatolian dessert made of fried dough, was also gentrified and reshaped by adding chocolate or caramel fillings and various toppings. I even saw one store that sells *çiğköfte*, steak tartar a la Turca, with smoked meat or cheddar cheese in the form of sushi rolls. Is specialty coffee just a part of the madness of stylization of ordinary foods/drinks in the hope of selling them at extravagant prices? Second, can we assume that specialty coffee’s popularity will fade away one day as has happened with simit stores? I do not think so. I believe that coffee is different with all its global networks, its historical development from the first wave to the third wave, and its offering of the stylization of not only its consumption but also its production. Also, specialty/third wave coffee’s “educational mission,” which is taken globally, puts it in a different category than other gentrified products; it provides with us a broad range of study.

## **1.2. The objective of the study**

At the beginning, I had intended to analyze process that people gain refined taste on coffee and factors that influence preferring high-brow coffee. I had believed that understanding dynamics of people’s consumption habits on coffee would reveal more on social differentiation, cultural politics of belonging, and status seeking. Nevertheless, in the process of observing the specialty coffee scene in Istanbul, I realized that interviewing people in the specialty coffee business might provide me

with an extensive understanding of the structure of the specialty coffee scene. Thus, I re-formulated my research problems as spending time in the fieldwork, making observations, reading fieldwork notes, and discovering the related literature with my findings. For example, while I was reading the gastronomic literature, I realize that it is impossible to neglect the history and meaning of gourmet and gourmand in Istanbul, so that I re-investigated gastronomic discourse which include both drink and food consumption to contribute my research problems. That is the process allow me to improve a holistic approach toward my subject, As Hesse-Biber and Leavy offer that “the practice of qualitative research is reflexive and process driven ultimately producing culturally situated and theory-enmeshed knowledge through an ongoing interplay between theory and methods, researcher and researched” (2006, p. 3-5).

I situated specialty coffee shops as socio-emotional, affective consumption places. I used relational sociological theories and benefited from different theorists like Pierre Bourdieu, Ray Oldenburg, Sara Ahmed, Guy Bellavance to understand different dimensions of this consumption such as seeking of pleasure and refined taste, leisure time, accumulating cultural capital, regulating consumption habits and affects. Also, to better conceptualize different actors and different practices, I used Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, game analogy to understand who has a feel for the game and who develop the feel by time and experience. So that, I believe that my perspective is broader than perspectives that focus primarily on globalization or consumer culture, though I do not disregard their significance.

My aim is to describe, trace and analyze practices of contemporary actors of specialty coffee, those of the ones both in the production and consumption in third wave/ specialty coffee market. Coffee taste acquisition and how people’s coffee drinking practices are predisposed by family or social environment, opening of specialty coffee shop in Istanbul, working in specialty coffee sector as barista or roaster are involved the scope of the research.



The main aim of this study is to understand specialty coffee consumption and production. Even though I have Bourdiesian framework and think that habitus produces a choice of lifestyle, taste, and consumer preferences, my research is limited to investigate the symbolic space of specialty coffee in Istanbul. I do not analyze specialty coffee consumers' other tastes and cultural consumption choices structured by their habitus.

### **1.3. Methodology**

I conducted an ethnographic fieldwork in eight specialty coffee shops in Istanbul between February 2017 and January 2018. I benefited from various types of qualitative data as ethnography is defined “the product of a cocktail of methodologies that share the assumption that personal engagement with the subject is the key to understanding a particular culture or social setting (Hobbs, 2006, p. 101). Therefore, I try to live with coffee people, strike up conversation with them, I observe how people talk and communicate with each other in coffee shops and coffee events. As Hobbs (ibid. 101) offered “participant observation is the most common component of this cocktail, but interviews, conversational and discourse analysis, documentary analysis, film and photography, life histories all have their place in the ethnographer’s repertoire.” Therefore, interviews with baristas and coffee shop owners, stories that other employees and hobbyist drinkers tell are the parts of my fieldwork as Andrew Abbott defines ethnography “gathering data by personal interaction” (Abbott, 2004, p. 14). I benefited from life stories, advertisements by respecting their anonymity. I also did not use pseudonyms; I used numbers for specifying coffee shops, owners, baristas, and drinkers.

My “ethnographic interviews” (Fielding, 2006, p. 99) are semi-structured in depth format with people from specialty coffee culture, people who share particular coffee drinking experiences. In addition to informal conversations, I conducted 32 in-depth interviews with people from specialty coffee shops. Among my interviewees are specialty coffee shop owners, baristas, owners, coffee shop managers, roasters, and drinkers, some of whom are coffee bloggers. Reaching coffee shops owners and baristas was a challenge sometimes, especially the ones who are known in the

sector as coffee expert. Nevertheless, meeting with some of these owners and baristas paved the way for reaching other coffee shops. From these perspectives, some baristas operate as “gatekeepers”, they helped me to access other baristas and coffee shops.

To reach coffee drinkers and observation, I visited specialty more coffee shops and participated in many events like the Istanbul Coffee Festival, the World Coffee Day Events, Zapatista Coffee Meeting, Sirha Istanbul, and some coffee-food pairing events, cupping ceremonies, coffee brewing workshops and barista championships. I observed and viewed various specialty coffee shops located in same neighborhood with the one that I conducted on my fieldwork. I visited these coffee shops 10 to 14 times at different days and different times. To enrich my fieldwork notes, I observed and spent time in coffee shops both in morning and afternoon, both weekday and weekend. In addition to coffee shop’s main braches, I visited other branches located in different regions to analyze customer profile and differences among them in terms of production and decoration style. While choosing specialty coffee shops for my research, my criteria were: 1) coffee shops that are pioneer in Istanbul, that is to say, I tried to choose the first coffee shops of their type opened in the city 2) coffee shops that roast their own coffee, that is to say, they buy green coffee and roast it themselves at their own site 3) and shops in different geographic locations, that is, I tried not to choose specialty coffee shops located in the same neighborhood.

My observations recorded through field notes. Also, I have a voice recorder; I used it as an “audio diary” which I used after participant observation and interviews. All the intreviews and fieldwork notes was transcribed to be coded in Microsoft Excel according to the individual’s profession in the specialty coffee market. Similarly, all the fieldwork notes were categorized and coded in Microsoft Excel. I analyzed my data “by an individual’s reflection and synthesis by the method of “direct interpretation” (Abbott, 2004, p. 14).

#### **1.4. Fieldwork in specialty coffee shops**

During the fieldwork, I faced some of difficulties that might be a struggle for any social scientific researchers when studying affluent consumer culture. Two of these mutually reinforcing difficulties are time and money, which quickly becomes a barrier upon carrying out the research.

Spending time or living among people under my investigation requires possessing various forms of social, economic and cultural capital and learning the rules of the game. Turning back to the question at the beginning; I thought I would probably feel like a stranger in the world of specialty coffee, and I did. Drinking specialty coffee was not part of my life until my MA years. I had never gone to one of the global chain stores until my last years as an undergraduate. During the process of my fieldwork, I remembered several memories from my childhood and teenager years when I had attempted to go for a coffee. For instance, I remembered the first time I tried to order a coffee for my parents and how nervous I felt when I did not understand the words that barista used. On the other hand, the desire to drink coffee when they go out relates to their perception of coffee: What they want is to re-create an image that we always saw in Hollywood movies related to having a good time and positive feelings.

Though at times I felt a stranger, I believe that I am both an insider and an outsider of the culture; I am an insider on a certain level thanks to my interest in traveling, gastronomy, and culinary arts. I began to be that I was interested in culinary culture and world cuisine as a teenager. Later, I even wished to be a chef, but I could not, so instead, I tried to explore food and drink blogs. My interest in traveling paved the way for this study. I was visiting a friend in Berlin. I was not as interested in coffee as I am today, but my friend knew that I liked drinking it. So she researched famous coffee shops in Berlin, and we visited them together. For me, it was interesting to see how much there was to know about coffee. At the time, there were a variety of coffee-related products available in Berlin that were not yet available in Turkey. There were really interesting coffee shops in Berlin. Some of them did not let

customers use laptops at the cafe, so as to motivate people to come there only to appreciate their product and to promote people socialize each other.



Figure 1.3. Laptops Only In the Back Sat-Sun No Laptops Danke, Five Elephant Coffee Roastery Berlin, Germany. Photo Credit: Büşra Eser

There are others which never served filter coffees with milk. The rules about how to consume coffee seemed pretty strict in Berlin. Also, their understanding of craft was profound.

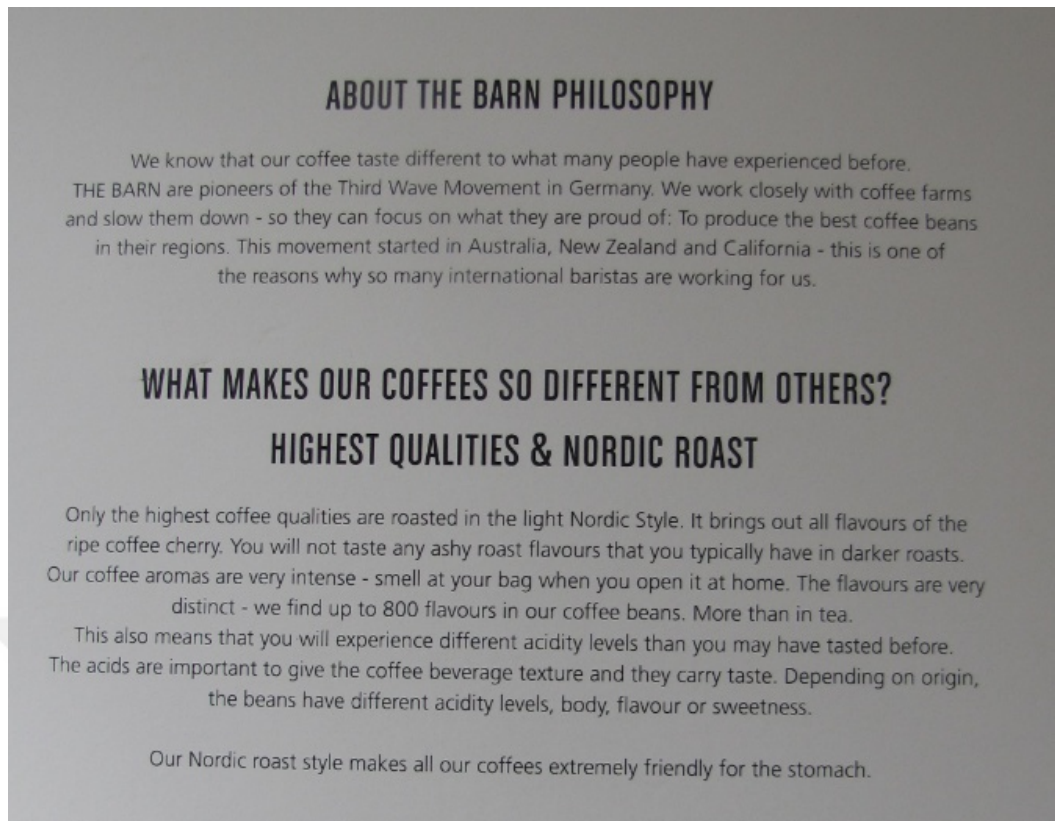


Figure 1.4. About The Barn Philosophy Berlin, Germany. Photo Credit: Büşra Eser

Among all of these coffee shops, one of them in particular drew my interest. The coffee shop was named Ben Rahim. The Tunisian owner of the coffee shop combined specialty coffee drinks with some Anatolian desserts like baklava and basbousa (*revani*) and also sold specialty Turkish coffee. When he found out that we were from Turkey, the owner of the store showed us a silver plate *cezve* designed for specialty Turkish coffee. That was the moment I noticed that appreciation for localness is an important aspect of the specialty coffee trend.

A few months later, when I started to be interested in specialty coffee culture, I attended the Istanbul Coffee Festival to observe the general scene. At that time, I had just realized that some coffee shops in certain neighborhoods, like the ones in Moda or Karakoy were quite similar to the ones I had seen in Berlin in terms of their style and purchase products. Some of the vendors at the coffee festival even used the Barn Berlin's coffee bag as a decorative object in their stalls. At the festival, I met with one of the world *cezve/ibrik* champions from Turkey, Turgay Yıldızlı, the founder of SCT [Specialty Turkish Coffee]. He stated that he sold *cezve* to Ben

Rahim. It was at that moment that I understand how global this trend is and how powerful these global networks are.

Later on in the fieldwork, I experienced and observed different aspects of the culture that I investigated. As I stated before, I was not intended to analyze their cultural capital or other cultural practices in relation to drinking specialty coffee. Nevertheless, the majority of the informants tended to talk about cultural activities that they participated in and experiences in travelling abroad, and how much they are interested in coffee culture and history. Some were planning to write a book about coffee, some were social media celebrities describing themselves teaching Turkish people how to drink coffee. Also, they generally were enthusiastic of talking about coffee. Some perceived the interview is an excellent opportunity for me to become more knowledgeable about coffee, thanks to them. For example, some of the people with whom I conducted interviews tried to teach me something or compare our knowledge or felt that they are superior to me. I often faced questions or reactions like the following: "You cannot learn this culture by asking a few questions. You should read more." or "You should visit places whose coffee you like unless there is no way to research them." or "...At that time, I would like to learn how to make latte art. Umm, do you know what latte art is?" or "I suggest you not go to places that make coffee in a way you do not like."

Some of my informants' statements seem nonsensical or irrelevant to my research. I know that these kinds of statements are part of the fieldwork. Their attitude is one the one hand implies a desire to create distinction through coffee knowledge, their attempts of building an image, a coffee expert, and demand of spreading specialty coffee culture are essential parts of being a member of this culture. As an ethnographer and researcher, I know that I should stay neutral, instead of arguing with them in the abovementioned situations. Staying neutral provides me with the space to make more in-depth observations. The baristas thought that I was just a young, enthusiastic woman who wanted to learn about coffee. When they offered to let me to watch them while they were brewing coffee or offered to teach me coffee terms, I accepted. Sometimes they seemed to respect me more when they

saw I know the difference between cold drip and cold brew, which reassured them I was a good player after all. I also maintained my patience when they started to discredit others drinking coffee by using statements like “what they drink is not coffee; it is mud.”

I tried to maintain my neutrality, but they sometimes became arrogant or snobbish when they found my questions too strange. I believe that staying neutral, especially during interviews, and encouraging informants to talk by providing them with a relaxed environment so they can talk more and give details are both strategies that I derive from my psychology background. However, I tried other strategies too. I do not have the neutrality psychologists must have in their therapy sessions. I used particular face in Goffmanian sense, which is an “image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes.” The term “face” is defined “as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (Goffman, 2005, p.5). For example, a face coffee snob, a face of coffee enthusiast are some of the images that I use to make a good showing for my profession.

Sometimes I acted along agreeing with them or laughing at what they said to encourage them to act naturally. I mimicked coffee specialists’ behaviours when I taste coffee in a coffee shop: first smell, than taste. To gain their trust or appreciation, I tried adopting the culture that I researched. I stopped ordering Americano after one barista discredited it. I ordered Kenya coffee after one owner said that it is the most exciting product of the coffee shop. When they said things like “We collaborate with Probat... but you may already have heard of Probat,” I agreed even though I had not. From this perspective, I can accuse myself of “going native” (Hobbs, 2006, p. 102); I became one of them that I research. I believe that my habitus changed as a result of this fieldwork: I acquired embodied cultural capital. I was even offered a job by one Turkish company to write coffee related content for their website.

Moreover, even I tried to balance my attachment into the fieldwork, my daily life became my fieldwork. Wherever I visited whether in the country or abroad, I checked and observed coffee shops. In Turkey, I realized that cafes in touristic Anatolian cities sell espresso, when some Istanbul cafes do not. Writing this thesis was a long process, so I had the opportunity to visit and observe coffee shops in different countries, like Germany, France, Poland, Iran and Pakistan. It was striking to see that how appearing of specialty coffee shops in one country may be associated with industrialization level, standard of living, and infrastructure. Also, I kept following coffee scene in Istanbul, mostly main coffee events and newly opened coffee shops. Surprisingly, I discovered a Yemeni coffee shop named “Mocha Arabica” where the highest quality specialty coffee beans can be found in Istanbul. The owners of coffee shop are two brothers from Yemen and also coffee producers. One of them is geologist and Q-Grader (coffee sommelier).

As an ethnographer, I also would like talk about how I influenced by the fieldwork and by what goes around me. First of all, there were physiological effects of drinking too much coffee like rising anxiety or caffeine addiction. My anxiety not only came from caffeine’s stimulant effect, but also being in fieldwork itself made me anxious. I was anxious when I felt as stranger, when I worried about how they look me, when I thought that interviews were not successful. Sometimes it was hard to get information about from owners or baristas. Moreover, some of the people whom I want to arrange an interview were too attached the image of barista or coffee expert and did not want to be part of this study. Some were too busy of dealing with customers; I worried that they could not find a chance to give me their time to answer my questions. Another effect of caffeine is the addiction which is hard to get rid of. I even went on coffee detox to break the addiction.

Today, I wonder that how can someone who is unfamiliar to popular food culture organize this fieldwork. Would someone who just tells that she/he is interested in food or eating, in era when everyone is keen on food, become successful to get deep information? Is it really necessary to adopt rules and code of the culture, acquire taste and embodied cultural capital, and pretend in certain ways? Of



course, I believe that there are lots of ways to carry out this fieldwork in relation to perspective of the researcher. In my perspective, I believe that I achieved success in certain level; majority of informants who works in coffee market shared their life stories honestly. They spent too much time to answer my questions. Some hobbyist drinkers said that they never thought about coffee that much deep, before I interviewed them. I was also become acquainted with insider information. One coffee shop owners mentioned a coffee platform whose members around the world exchange presents of specialty coffee in Christmas within each other. This was such insider information, which makes me think about global coffee communities and value attributed to specialty coffee.

### **1.5. Outline of the Study**

My study is the intersection of sociology of food, urban studies, cultural consumption, and social stratification literature. I interpreted fieldwork data using knowledge of relevant theory with an eclectic approach. In the first chapter, I aim to show the critical juncture of Turkey's eating and drinking out culture to understand the contemporary scene in a more detailed manner. In the second chapter, I document the naming practices and developments of specialty coffee and third wave coffee both in the world and in Turkey. The third and fourth chapters will analyze my fieldwork through particular theoretical standpoints like a public place, public life, habitus, and taste. While the third chapter offers an "ethnography of the coffee place," the fourth chapter does the same with "ethnography of coffee people." I will examine how producers, that is, coffee shop owners and baristas, apply the rules of specialty coffee to Turkey, a country with a traditional taste for dark roasted coffee. I also examine how consumers and producers enter this consumption space and how their class positions and disposition influence the process of the adoption of the specialty coffee trend.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE FORMATION OF ISTANBUL'S GASTRONOMIC FOODSCAPE

“48% of the older millennial [who drink specialty coffee] categorize themselves as foodies and also 26% of them also consider themselves as coffee experts. And another thing that is really important to know about them is that they really expect the quality is coming in, they think they know about food and coffee.”

Tracy Ging, *New Generation of Coffee Drinkers*,  
SCAA 2014 Symposium, Seattle, Washington DC<sup>1</sup>

Tracy Ging made the statement above in “Specialty Coffee Association of America Symposium” in 2014. She works as the director of Specialty Coffee Association, Vice Chair of World Coffee Research, and is a partner of “The Coffee Woman Quarterly.” With its qualification, coffee has boomed in the world of foodies beginning from the 2000s. Foodie practices do relate to “the food television, the obsession with celebrity chefs, the glossy food-porn, and the general obsession with celebrity culinary pursuits” (Josee Johnston & Baumann, 2009, p.2). Therefore, practices formed around seeking refined coffee could be analyzed within a broader gastronomic literature. Studying the world of foodies may help us discover not only about eating but also “cultural politics of belonging, exclusion, and status seeking” (ibid. 2). Building on an extensive background for foodie world, I would employ the term “foodscape” which I borrow from Josee Johnston and Shyon Bauman, who coined the term, to describe cultural spaces of the gourmet food. They draw the term from geographic and sociological literature on the landscape (e.g. Mitchell, 2002; Zukin, 1991), and understand it as a dynamic social construction that relates food to a specific place, people, and meaning. The concept of foodscape not only alludes the cultural spaces and practices of food but also “material realities that underpin and also create food culture” (Johnston & Goodman, 2015, p. 2).

Grounding on the above mentioned, I will work through the historical construction of the gourmet foodscape in Istanbul composed of varied actors: restaurants, food

---

<sup>1</sup> Ging, T. (15 July 2014). *Tracy Ging: New Generation of Coffee Drinkers* (video file). Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c9ioWhRoe3Y>

media (gastronomic food writing), chefs and cooks, educational institutions (universities and culinary schools) in this chapter. To my opinion, this chapter is of importance in two ways: Firstly, this historical section analyzing origins of gastronomic culture reveals critical points leading to current state of the gastronomic consumption in Turkey. Secondly, it gives a chance to uncover discourses surrounding Turkey's gastronomic field since its establishment.

### **2.1. The Components of Gastronomic Foodscape: Restaurants and Food Literature**

The term gastronomy first appeared in the years of 1800 under the title of Joseph de Berchoux's poetry. The noun "gastronome" and the adjective "gastronomic" emerged in 1803 and 1807, respectively. "Gastronomy" was introduced into *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, the formal dictionary of the French language, in 1835 (Drouard, 2007, p. 265). Some think that gastronomy indicates the outlook and aesthetic (Freedman, 2007, p. 17). And it means "the art or science of good eating" according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2019). After all, the term gourmet means "connoisseur of food and drink" (Merriam Webster, 2019).

The introduction of the gastronomy into Turkey and the start of the gourmet culture are still open to question. We can assume that the title of "gastronomic" could signify both an approach and a style. Also, it can be attributed to literature, cuisine, and dishes. Debates on the meaning of gastronomic can best be seen in discussions about gastronomic writings in 1980s. For example, Zafer Yenil and Meltem Ahıska (2006, p.387) suppose that there was a "new upsurge in the number of food experts, gastronomes, gourmets and other food lovers who now freely dish out culinary advice in the newspapers and magazine food sections in the 1980s. Similarly, Burak Onaran (2016) argues that "gastronomic writing" emerged as a work of literature and gained intellectual characteristics in the 1980s. Interestingly, even in 2017, some publications such as *İncili Gastronomi Rehberi* appeared with the claim of being the first gastronomic guide in Turkey (*Milliyet*, 19 Dec. 2018). To the best of my belief, being "gastronomic" is not only about producing meals and the literature hereon but also about creating discourses. On the other hand, the development of gastronomy has been tied to the relationship

between restaurants, chefs, and gourmands, and so the development of all these requires specific economic and social circumstances. From this point of view, gastronomic culture is one of the spheres by which economic, political and cultural history can be traced and analyzed.

Throughout the development of gastronomy, French cuisine was the institution, which set the standard for cooking rules and styles, rather than being just a national cuisine (Freedman, 2007, p. 19). Also, after French haute cuisine became the professional cuisine, it spread to other parts of Europe in the 19th century (Samanci, 2016, p.135). Alain Drouard (Drouard, 2007, p. 263-300) put forward that since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, French cuisine has been functioning as a system of relationship between three interrelated groups: “the cooks both at home and in the restaurant, the gourmet, and the consumers.” These are the very fundamentals that allow gastronomy to rise firstly in France then in other Western countries.

The influences of French culinary style became visible in Ottoman-Istanbul’s royal court and hall kitchens since the reign of Mahmut the Second (1785-1839). Mahmut the Second (1785-1839) made certain modifications in the Ottoman court including the style of cuisine and eating patterns (Samanci, 2006, p.185). In this period, banquets for European high dignitaries were served in European style with tables, chairs, knives and forks, according to travelers’ account, some foreign travelers’ notes and the information gathered from the registers of the palace in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mahmud the Second was also keen on the Western style cuisines and culinary techniques; and owing to that fact, he sent a Turkish cook named *Huseyin* to Wien to be trained in culinary techniques (Samanci, 2006, p. 186). In the same period, some cookbooks started to be published whose basic argument was the necessity of adoption of Western culinary techniques. Besides, some eating-out venues, specifically those in Pera, reflect European influence in their names and decorative styles (Akin, 1998, p. 246). All these developments seem compliant with the phenomenon of “super-Westernization” by Serif Mardin (Mardin, 1974).

From this perspective, it is possible to argue that the development of gastronomy in Turkey can be examined in two different levels. On one level, Turkey's gastronomic process bears some similarities with those of its European counterparts. The fundamental elements giving rise to gastronomy in France were also applicable to Ottoman-Istanbul scene. As an example of this, we can mention high-cuisine customs, cookbooks and cafés prominently influenced by French culinary style.

On the other level; it may be said that another sort of pattern, a unique one in some ways, could be observed since gastronomy's introduction was tied to a specific progress with spreading restaurants, emerging professional chefs, and appearing gourmards and food critics (Ahiska & Yenal, 2006; Onaran, 2016) as a consequence of Westernization and Turkey's full integration into market economy. Depending on this perspective, we can set forth that while Ottoman cuisine was influenced by French gastronomic style at the very beginning, the construction of gastronomy and its components were an essentially neoliberal process occurred after 1980s.

Therefore, analyzing both previous and current states of the gastronomic field in Turkey brings questions as such: How was gastronomic discourse built in Turkey? What kind of motivations and feelings are central in gastronomic consumption of foodies/culinary elites'? To answer these questions, I will elaborate on development lines of two fundamental and interdependent components of gourmet foodscape: restaurants and food literature.

## **2.2. The Restaurants: How did eating-out begin in Turkey?**

In this part, I will describe the historical development of eating-out in Istanbul, which is an under-researched area where only hobbyist books and a few academic studies belonging to business administration exist. My principal aim throughout this section is to unearth the critical junctures of eating-out. Most of the existing studies that touch on eating-out venues in Istanbul were largely written for the purpose of describing the history of particular neighbourhoods such as Beyoğlu, Nişantaşı or Moda.

Looking from another angle, eating out was a familiar practice in Ottoman Istanbul. By the way, street vendors used to work in Ottoman Istanbul and allow people to eat out; however the concept of restaurant is completely new. Whereas restaurant is a place not only for eating but also enjoying the ride and appreciating dishes and individual tastes, street vendors and food banks generally used to function for offering particular kinds of foods determined by the guild to single workers or refugees (Gursoy, 2004, p. 156-7; Samanci, 2010, p. 19).

Esra Dil is one of the scholars who search for the oldest business entrepreneurships in Turkey. As a result of analyzing data from boards of trade, municipalities and newspapers, she found that majority of long-lasting businesses were located within food industries. Dil chronologically listed long-lasting food businesses from 1777 to 1928 including various forms of stores and sellers. Nevertheless, forms of establishments were not clearly examined; be they street vendors or simply a store in the bazaar. With all that, the restaurant, as a place, is a destination in itself to eat rather than a place of local gathering or traveller's refuge offering food (Shore, 2007, p. 301). The first restaurant opened in Istanbul was *Abdullah Efendi*.

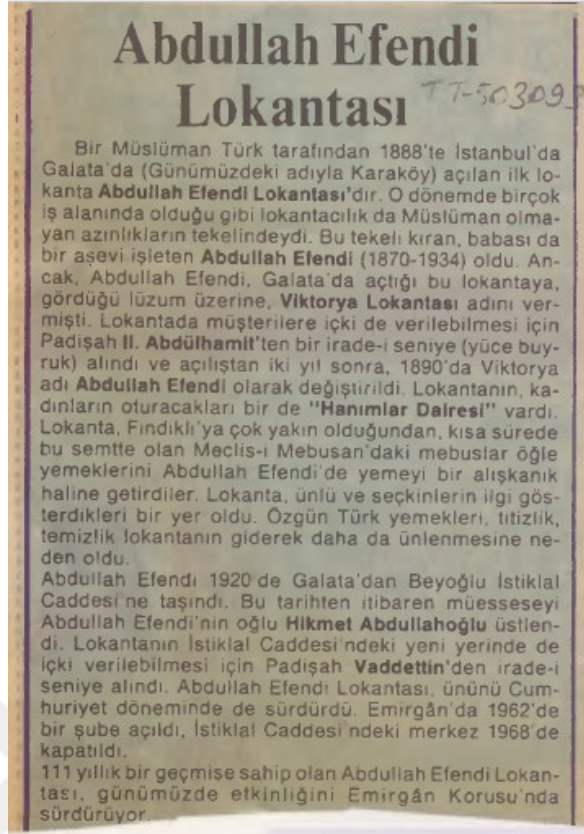


Figure 2.2. Abdullah Efendi Lokantası, Tokmakçioğlu, E. (n.d.) Taha Toros Archive. [Caption: *Abdullah Efendi* Restaurant was the first restaurant opened by a Muslim-Turk in 1888 in Galata, Istanbul. Like many other entrepreneurships, restaurants were also dominated by ethnic minorities in Turkey, either. Abdullah Efendi (1870-1934), whose father was also an owner of food bank, departed from this norm. Having believed that it would be necessary, Abdullah Efendi named the restaurant located in Galata as Viktorya. A supreme order [*irade-i seniye*] was obtained from Abdulhamid the Second to be able to sell alcoholic drinks and after two years the restaurant opened, in 1890, the name Viktorya was replaced with Abdullah Efendi. There were also rooms in the restaurant separated for women named *Hanımlar Dairesi* [*The Circle of Women*] (...)The restaurant became a venue where took attractions from both celebrities and elites. Authentic Turkish food, diligence, and cleanliness made restaurant even more popularized. Abdullah Efendi moved the store from Galata to Istiklal Street in 1920.

Under the light of the above mentioned, I will probe on the emergence of restaurants in Istanbul and the spread of eating-out practices in line with the social

transformations mirroring all these practices throughout the next sections. As a result of literature review on culinary writing (Belge, 2001; Gursoy, 2004, 2007, 2013) I have found four different periods to have long-lasting effect on Istanbul's restaurant scene: *Tanzimat [Reorganization]* Period, Russian Immigration in 1917, domestic migration in 1950s and 1960s and changing cultural climate in 1980s.

### **2.2.1. Tanzimat [Reorganization] Period**

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ottoman's Istanbul struggled with certain difficult circumstances and thus culinary history followed a parallel course to the city's complicated political and economic history. To address the problems Ottoman Empire faced such as low hygienic standards or poor quality of city's infrastructure, a group of young Ottoman bureaucrats familiar with European politics and culture indicated that the adoption of Western norms were the only solution to rescue the empire from its decline. Reforms were made in various administrative governmental fields such as educational and justice system, provincial administration, taxation system (Gul, 2017, p. 10-2). Following these attempts, the idea of Westernization spread over the other dimensions of social and cultural life of Ottoman society (Gul, 2017, p.11), one of which was culinary culture. First of all, brand-new ingredients, alien cooking methods, new eating customs, imported dinner sets were parts of this transformation (Samanci, 2006, p. 184-5). Secondly, between 1840 and 1864, restaurants, cafes and casinos in downtown Istanbul increased in number, which was related to the development of public transport like "steam ferries crisscrossing the Bosphorus and horse-drawn trams connecting major hubs of the city" (Ergin, 1995, cited in Gul, 2017, p.10). Additionally, underground railway tunnel between Karakoy and Galata commenced service in 1875. During this period, emerging Ottoman bourgeoisie raised by Ottoman Empire's integration into world capitalist economy demanded more modern public buildings, hotels and entertainment venues (Gul, 2017, p. 13). Beyoglu across the Golden Horn was the venue where Western style of public life and activities could be experienced. This kind of attractive venues varied from "European-style hotels to restaurants and cafés," from "Italian circus to French theatre and opera house" (Gul: 2009, p. 42;



Rosenthal, 1980, p. 11-6). A theatre opened in 1831 while the first cinema was opened in 1896 in the same district (Gul, 2009, p. 36).

During this period, Grande Rue de Péra became the wealthiest “hub of Western style entertainments” as a consequence of increasing contact between Ottomans and Europeans throughout *Tanzimat* Era. The merchants and bankers working in Pera at that era increased their financial power and imported European goods to this quarter. These new goods and flavours do “not only attracted European and Levantine inhabitants of the city but also Muslim bureaucrats and high-ranking officials” (Gul, 2009, p. 42). There were lots of new-Western style cafés, shops and patisseries appeared along the Grande Rue de Péra mostly opened by European merchant in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Akin, 1998, p. 246-267). At that period, even the styles and names of these new places functioned as the markers of the Westernization. Some cafés were given European names such as Cafe Riche, Café Tortoni, and Café Valuary where regulars of Beyoğlu gathered together. For instance, Café Flamm was the coffeehouse frequently visited by such literary figures as Sinasi and Namik Kemal (Gürsoy, 2013, p. 131-4; Ozdemir, 1998, p. 199). Moreover, Europeans could also access foods and beverages fit their taste while sitting in these places.

Between 1890 and 1920, hotel dining rooms such as Park Otel in Ayaspaşa, Tokatlıyan and Sümer Palas in Pera, Hotel de la France, and Hotel D’Angleterre was the forerunners of European style dishes. During the same period, Degustasyon in Pera, Cardas in Tepebasi, Fischer in Galatasaray and Tunnel were the examples of German or Hungarian cuisine as the alternatives to French one. On the other hand, *Konya Lezzet Restaurant* was opened in 1879 as the first example of those restaurants serving Ottoman home-cooking meals in a European atmosphere. Similarly, *Abdullah Efendi Lokantası* was opened in 1888 by the order of the sultan (Gursoy, 2013, p. 131).

### **2.2.2. Impacts of Russian Immigrants in 1917**

During the Armistice Period, especially in the years following 1917, immigration from Russia left a significant mark on Istanbul's eating-out scene. After the February Revolution in Russia (1917) many of White Russians moved to Turkey, most particularly to Istanbul. Russian immigrants, who were seeking asylum in Turkey, settled and worked in Pera, and brought a new culture of entertainment to Istanbul. White Russians entrepreneurs introduced their cuisine culture to Pera and offered their local flavors such as borsch, chicken Kiev, pirozhki, beef Stroganoff. Throughout this period, Beyoglu streets, which began resembling Moscow streets, were full of Russian style restaurants, pharmacies, workshops, bookstores, bars, cabaret and circus (Bakar, 2012, p. 177). Rejans, Ayaspasa Russian Restaurant, Karpic in Tepebasi, Big Moscow Club in Tunnel, and Kievsky Ugolok in Galatasaray were the examples of restaurants that kept serving for many years. One point to be added is that in restaurants, Turkish people became acquainted for the first time with waitresses (Belge, 2001, p. 178; Gursoy, 2004, p.160, 2007, p.143).

Apart from Russian settlements, an upsurge in the number of patisseries could be observed in between 1923 and 1950s in Istanbul. Patisseries like Baylan in 1923 (Baylan Pastaneleri, 2019), Markiz in 1937 (Akinci, 2018, p. 188), Savoy in 1950 (Savoy Pastanesi, 2019), Bahar in 1951 (Bahar Pastanesi, 2019) were opened one after another in Cihangir, Kadikoy and Beyoglu. On the other hand, after the February Revelation in Russia, Turks who lived in Russia returned their homeland. Having spent long years in Russia, people who settled Turkey started working and opened patisseries in Ankara and Izmir since they were trained as cooks and pastry chefs (e.g. Biryol, 2016).

### **2.2.3. Emergence of eclectic tastes: Diversification in Istanbul's cuisine in 1950s**

The period of 1950s was a brand-new era in the history of Istanbul. In the first half of 1950s, Istanbul's population dramatically increased (Gul, 2009, p. 124). Following industrial explosion in 1960s, restaurant culture also boomed (Gursoy, 2004). It was the same period when discussions about *arabesk* came into agenda in Turkey as a "condescending title" for a certain style of music and practices around becoming a

person of Istanbul (Tanyeli, Derviş, & Tanju, 2008, p. 29) which could also be observed through changing style of *gazin*os as significant parts of public culture in urban space. *Gazin*os used to be venues where people enjoyed Western style music, dance shows and concerts. After 1950s, characteristics of *gazin*os changed and their high-status patrons left their places to lower classes. Thus, *gazin*os became the venues of *arabesk* in 1960s (Meric, 2017, p. 987). In my opinion, appearance of *kebab* restaurants was another outcome of the migration from rural areas. Until 1960s, meat and *kebab* restaurants and *ocakbaşı* [grill restaurants] were very few in Istanbul. At the end of 1960s, as a result of mass migration from rural areas to Istanbul, eclectic food tastes emerged, which began with carrying the tastes of Turkey's southern and eastern parts to Istanbul's restaurants. For example, meat restaurants and *baklava* dessert were popularized during this period. Also, the first *ocakbaşı*, in the contemporary sense, named *Pala* was opened in Beyoğlu. In the following years, these kinds of restaurants spread to Eminönü and Laleli (Gursoy, 2013, p. 151-4). Throughout the period, kebab restaurants were opened in upscale neighborhoods in Nisantasisuch as Tatbak (1960) or Kahramanmaras Lahmacun (1963). Also, Beyti Restaurant was opened as a diner in 1945 and transformed into a more high-end restaurant after 1950s. Today, *Beyti* represents fine dining end of *kebab* restaurants (Beyti, n.d.; *Milliyet*, 22 Dec. 2012).

Upon my above mentioned statements, I argue that the domestic immigration brought about diversification in Istanbul cuisine. Nevertheless, in further years, a particular tendency was observed among some culinary writers and restaurant critics to regard these *kebab* restaurants as destroyers of traditional and authentic Istanbul cuisine. To my mind, this was more likely to be an elitist point of view based on class arrogance.

#### **2.2.4. Change of cultural climate in 1980s**

The period of 1980s was a crucial one for not only culinary field in Turkey but also cultural field as well. Years around 1980s can be characterized with the explosion of demands to consume and talk (Gurbilek, 2014). As stated previously, restaurant critics and reviews were increased in number during 1980s.

Food service industry diversified during 1980s as a result of neoliberal political and economic changes. So to say, 1980s and subsequent years were when a wide variety of local, regional and national cuisines were spread. Emergence of global brands, international supermarket chains and shopping malls in Turkish market contributed to increase in imported food demands. During this period, foreign food like Chinese food emerged in metropolitan cities of Turkey. Shopping mall culture started after *Galleria* was opened in 1987, by which Turkey was introduced with the first Western style mall in Istanbul. The concept of the “food-court” and international cuisines was introduced to Turkish elites in *Galleria* (Gul, 2017, p.174). During this period, low-priced brands of Western fast-food industry became popular; for instance Turkey’s first McDonald’s restaurant was opened in Taksim in 1986 (McDonald’s Türkiye, 2019), and first Pizza Hut in *Galleria* in 1989 (Gul, 2017, p. 174). These brands appealed mostly upper-middle classes and young generation as they represented high-status and allowed young people to participate in a global lifestyle. Coffee houses and international cafés were other developments of these years especially after the rise of shopping malls.

Zafer Yenil and Meltem Ahıska (2006) consider eating-out practices during 1980s as new developments in Turkey. While eating outside of the home, for example in a restaurant, was not habitual even for middle classes 20 or 30 years ago, dining-out became an activity and interest of wider social strata in 1980s. Before 1980s, apart from kebab stores or street-food sellers (ibid. 382-7), most of eating-out venues were luxury, high-priced and exclusive. With this transformation in the concept of dining-out, eating outside assumed a democratical character owing to rising demands from white-collar workers in 1980s. On the other hand, going out as a whole family just for eating did not become common until 1980s. Economic diversification in restaurants allowed women to have a presence outside, which led to cultural diversification (ibid. 384-5).

During this period, eating “well” became an issue of expertise, knowledge, and culture. The diversification in the restaurants allowed people to distinguish themselves from the rest. From now on, people had many more choices while

deciding where to eat and they could make their decisions depending on the style of the restaurant. During this period, any choice of consumption involving eating-out became a sign of status, distinction, or prestige and produced “cultural and culinary hierarchies” (ibid. 385).

In summary, the concept of restaurant is essential for development of gastronomy. Restaurants are venues where food and drinks are served and where chefs exhibit their profession. Another component that gives rise to gastronomy is food literature and media including recipes, reviews, and advertisements of restaurants.

### **2.3. Food literature in Turkey: cookbooks, restaurant reviews, and gastronomic publications**

In this section, I will elaborate on the appearance of food writings in Turkey from cookbooks in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century to restaurant critics in 1980s. Writing this section, I mostly used secondary sources analyzing cookbooks, food columns in magazines, and restaurant reviews. I will begin by the narratives of cookbooks regarded as earlier examples of cooking literature written in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and I will continue with those written in Republican Period. Then, I will move on with restaurant reviews written in 1980s. I argue that these different types of culinary literature teach how to eat or what is worthy to eat and thus they may function to reveal cultural ideals of the society in which they are produced.

#### **2.3.1. Cookbooks**

Cookbooks and domestic manuals are considered the earliest examples of food writing. They “constitute the representations of not only social and cultural meaning of food but also (real or imagined) practices in the society that produced them” (Claflin, 2013, p. 109). Antonin Careme (1783-1833), the writer of *Le Pâtissier royal parisien (1815)* and *Le Maître d'hôtel français, Le Cuisinier parisien (1828)* thinks that being “the work of the chef and the province of gourmets and those who write well by which meant doctor, lawyers, novelist, poets, journalist, and song writers” (Drouard, 2007, p. 164), gastronomic literature is different than culinary literature in terms of author’s profession. Moreover, he stated that when gastronomy

appeared in France, its main target was to train the bourgeoisie that “included many of the ‘nouveaux riches’ who were ignorant of etiquette and table manners” in terms of “gastronomic courtesy and propriety” (Drouard, 2007, p. 264). Secondly, Alexander-Balthazar-Laurent Grimod de La Reyniere (1758-1838), well-known as the author of *Almanach des gourmands*, thinks that gastronomy is “a means of legitimizing the new social hierarchy emerged from the French Revolution” (ibid. 264). Writing about food and cooking is a way of helping the new ruling class acquire the customs and table manners in tradition to the opinion of *Grimod de La Reyniere*. He even believes that gastronomy used to function as a tool for uniting the old ruling class -aristocracy- with the new ruling class -bourgeois- (ibid. 265) and allowing them to meet around the same table.

Arjun Appadurai thinks that the spread of print media and the cultural rise of middle class penetrated into the new Indian cookbooks in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, akin to the case of England or France (1988, p. 5). The earliest examples of Ottoman cookbooks in the *Tanzimat* Period were written mostly by doctors or soldiers. During this period, other than cookbooks, Istanbul experienced various cultural, technological innovations like the appearance of first newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi (Calendar of Events)* in 1831. Although there were some anonymous cookbooks in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Mehmet Kamil’s *Melceü’t-Tabbahin* [Shelter of Cooks] was considered to be the first Turkish cookbook published in 1844. In the preface of the book, it was declared that the existing Turkish food and culinary culture were no longer sufficient and some of the changes in the living conditions should be applied to the kitchen and cuisine. *Melceü’t-Tabbahin* set a model for the subsequent books written in the rest of the 19th century. *Yeni Yemek Kitabı [The New Cookbook]* published in 1880-1881, *“Ev Kadını [The House Wife]”* published in 1882-1883, and *“Aşçıbaşı [The Head Chef]”* published in 1900 bear certain similarities with *Melceü’t-Tabbahin*. For example; all three books regarded the adoption of Western style in culinary culture as a must or agreed on the necessity of ending to offer other kinds of culinary styles to the public (Samanci, 2014, p.22).

Later on, in the Republican Period, an upheaval was observed in the cookbooks parallel to the political agenda that dictates “achieving the level of contemporary civilization.” Reforms in the Republican Period differed from previous ones since they used to cover several aspects of everyday life and reorganize them according to the norms of Western culture. The main endeavour was to create a brand-new Turkish identity through transforming traditional-Islamic Ottoman society into a modern and secular one just like the Western society (Gul, 2009, p. 80). In 1928, after the Alphabet Reform, *Alaturka ve Alafranga Mükemmel Yemek Kitabı [Excellent Eastern and Western Cookbook]* written by Fahriye Nedim and *Alaturka ve Alafranga Yemek Kitabı [The Eastern and The Western Cookbook]* written by Ekrem Muhittin Yeğen were notable books written by using Latin alphabet. These cookbooks were designed to be a significant part of women’s world and create a model for Republican women grounded on kitchen etiquettes and Western cuisine culture. Also, Ekrem Muhittin Yeğen wrote about Western meals, some brand-new desserts, cooking techniques with hybrid names in the cookbooks (Samanci, 2014, p. 22-27).

### **2.3.2. Restaurant Reviews**

Since the “invention of the restaurant” in Paris of 18th century (Spang, 2000) eating-out has been associated with cultural participation and considered as depicting someone with good taste and social distinction (Julier, 2013; Warde & Martens, 2000). Literature on the restaurants defines this invention in a similar way: “revealing cultural politics of belonging, status and explosion” (Johnston & Baumann, 2009, p.2).

In Turkey, restaurant critics and gourmet writing appeared in 1980s. Before that, there were articles focusing not only food and restaurants but also Istanbul’s restaurants, economic situation (Onaran, 2016, p. 55-6). Comparing Turkey to “other countries”, one of the first examples of these articles was written by Burhan Felek in *Milliyet* newspaper in 1975:

I guess they make some cooking in Sunday's TV shows, some of which I have possibly come across. These similar recipes and food instructions exist in other countries, too and some famous cooks and artists are busy with this kind of stuff since there is a science there called "gastronomie", which we can translate into Ottoman as the science of stomach. And there are also gourmands there, which we can translate into Ottoman as "stomach-lover" that means the artist of eating. Now, we have such people, either and I have learnt some of them by pure chance. For example; once there used to be a Sadrettin Bey working as a General Director of Maritime Lines. (...) He was an artist who loves eating and cooks good food or has other people cook for himself. (...) Apart from Sadrettin Bey, deceased Necmettin Molla, for instance, was one of our famous gourmands, who always advised something to the cooks working with him. (...) One of these gourmetmen was the famous deceased antiquarian Selahattin Refik Bey. And another person with a good taste was deceased Hikmet Bey, owner of Abdullah Efendi Restaurant. He used to go to Europe and visit famous restaurants each year. Just like Medovich, owner of old Tokatlıyan Restaurant, Hikmet Bey used to grow his own vegetables. (...) Another food expert was deceased Ekrem Muhittin Yeğen Bey (...).

Even there were certain gourmands and restaurant owners, no specific literature on restaurant reviews used to exist (Onaran, 2016, p. 56). In the later years, Atilla Dorsay reviewed restaurants in his column titled *Ağız Tadıyla in Cumhuriyet* and frequently touched upon the backwardness of gastronomic culture in Turkey:

Be it far from me to consider myself as a food and taste expert or as the French would say a "gastronome". Obviously, our country cannot hope to compete with for example France, where the degustation of food and wine, down to the most minute detail, is a part of everyday life, and books –being every one of them a best seller- provide recipes of local, regional and national cuisines or offer a comprehensive classification of the country's countless restaurants (cited in, Ahıska & Yenal, 2016, p.387).

However, Dorsay examines neither culinary techniques nor dishes in restaurants he visits in detail. In the following years, articles in *Erkekçe* [Manly] in 1981 presented detailed reviews on restaurants. In the first volume, an article titled "A restaurant which makes eating-out a status symbol" was published in *Erkekçe*. This was an explicit expression of seeking status based on what is consumed. *Erkekçe* used to serve the function of having a lifestyle based on what was eaten and drunk. Nevertheless, since the column was at first named as *Erkekçe Restoranlar* [Manly Restaurants], the seeking of stylization associated status seeking with hegemonic



masculinity<sup>2</sup>. In the later years, Ceylan Orhun started writing the column of The Art of Eating (shown in English part of a Turkish magazine) within *Milliyet*. She had graduated from Le Cordon Bleu School of Cookery (London) and that made her the first professional culinary writer in Turkey (Onaran, 2016, p. 62). She observed restaurants and dishes on purpose and her reviews were far more refined than any other previous examples.

As a summary, food literature including both cookbooks and restaurant critics with their titles and discourses represented orientation toward the West. Arjun Appadurai (1988, p.22) considers cookbooks functioning as “revealing artefacts of culture in the making.” Jack Goody (2008) argues that written “recipes are socially normative while cookbooks function as aspirational texts”(Clafin, 2013). Also he claims that with the help of these cookbooks, readers learn behaviour, tastes, and domestic secrets that give them a chance to assimilate into new social categories (ibid. 119). In Turkish context, cookbook written both in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the Republican Period similarly served representation of cultural ideals, imagined practices and aimed to teach appropriate behaviours to their audiences. Another genre of culinary literature, restaurant reviews, similarly exhibits the Western myth; functions to make people knowledgeable about consumption. As aspirational texts, they all represent imagined cultural ideals so that consumers can become more cultured and have global vision by means of their knowledge in culinary arts.

#### **2.4. Concluding Remarks**

The seeds of gastronomy in Turkey were spread in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Around these years, restaurants were opened and gourmet food/restaurant writings began to be written. The political, cultural and economic climate of this period constantly influenced the development of its products. All these are related to Serif Mardin’s definition of “Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century” (1974). Political agendas adopted by the state like "the adoption of the Western

---

<sup>2</sup> e.g.: Arımaz, F. (2006). *The Reconstruction of "hegemonic masculinity": An analysis through Erkekçe, 1981-1990*, Thesis and Dissertations, Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey.

styles" or "saving the empire from decline" or "achieving the levels of contemporary civilizations" contribute to the emergence and spread of culinary culture, restaurants and gastronomic writings.

Some authors (Julier, 2013) think that public chefs and food writers led to the democratization of gastronomic foodscape. For example, Julia Child specified her aim as "breaking down the snob appeal" (Levenstein, 1994) while teaching middle class how to cook like French chefs at home. Craig Claiborne was also a key figure in culinary education for ordinary American audiences (Johnston & Baumann, 2009, p. 9). Besides, Turkish gastronomic consumption addressed, created, and defined a specific group of people. Turkish consumers perceive luxury goods from Western countries as essential for producing and showing an appropriate "modern," "global," and "prestigious" social identity. For example, not only fast food chains but also international coffee brands appeal upper classes in Turkey, while the very same brand are object of middle class consumption in USA or Europe (Ahiska & Yenil, 2006). Therefore, the very first examples of culinary literature seemed bringing about privilege for upper-class people (Johnston & Goodman, 2015, p. 8) since they created distinction within the society rather than bringing democratization (Johnston and Baumann, 2009, p. xv).

To mention recent times, we can argue that gastronomic foodscape in Turkey has rapidly changed both quantitatively and qualitatively beginning from 1980s. First, there are now numerous culinary writers, food bloggers and influencers writing about food and restaurants, while this was quite limited in 1980s. Today, due to the emergence and growth of private culinary schools, ever-growing number of fairs and food festivals, and the popularized works of chefs in the world of restaurants, a more diverse and festive foodscape can be observed in Turkey. As Yenil and Kubiena indicated, the shift in hamburger industry from global chains to boutique burger shops is "the part and parcel of larger and sweeping transformations in the food industry, eating-out scene and food consumption practices in Turkey" (2016, p. 63).

Second, discourses surrounding gastronomic field were transformed. Today, there is a tendency for choosing “boutique,” “local and “authentic” products, which is the redefinition of the “modern,” (Yenal & Kubiena, 2016, p. 73-5) as a part of commodification and commercialization processes through the politics of authenticity. So to say, it has become possible to observe a growing culinary trend focusing on “geographical, seasonal and historical sense of place” in gourmet foodscape all around the world (Scarpato and Daniele, 2003). Recently, Turkey’s contemporary gastronomic market has been highlighted by such initiatives and projects like the New-Anatolian Kitchen, Chef’s Table Musa Dagdeviren, and the Roca Brother’s documentary ‘Cooking up a Tribute: The Turkish Way,’ all of which shed the light on localism trend of this period. Some of these initiatives include the renovation of Turkish coffee in parallel to specialty coffee trends.

Local coffees, natural coffee processing methods, older coffee brewing techniques have paired with new technologies to gain better coffee aromas in the world of specialty coffee. From this perspective, the upsurge of specialty coffee can be included in a wider framework of political economy of authenticity. To my opinion, there is a strong tendency to define the best based on “stylized and generic modernity” that carries the trace of Western style in Turkey’s specialty coffee market (Yenal&Kubiena, 2016, p.64), which reminds us the beginning of restaurant culture. Thus, one of the aims of this study is to uncover those discourses that surround the production and consumption of drinking specialty coffee in Turkey: Does the development line of specialty coffee bear similarities with cuisine trends from Westernism to localism? I believe that the actors of specialty coffee recreate the dichotomy between established culture and the Western culture grounding on the various processes of producing and consuming specialty coffee, all of which will be examined in detail throughout the next chapters.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE SPREAD OF THE SENSE OF SPECIALTY COFFEE

In this part, I will present a detailed overview of the expansion of the sense of specialty coffee. Coffee specialists break down the development of the specialty coffee market into three movements or waves, which will be investigated through this chapter in detail. To explore the historical development of these “waves”, I employed online sources such as the newsletters Specialty Coffee Association, *Sprudge*, *Perfect Daily Grind*, *Tea and Coffee Trade Journal*, *Imbibe Magazine*, and *European Coffee Trip*. These periodicals are part of the specialty coffee network sponsored by brands which constitute at the front of the third wave coffee experience, launching brewing equipment, and organizing events. They are rich sources to trace the evolution of specialty coffee; they provide information on the terms to describe coffee quality and include interviews with baristas living in various parts of the world. I also investigate academic literature and hobbyist books on specialty coffee. Through the use of secondary literature as well as primary data, the historical section identifies the critical junctures that led to the current state of the field of coffee. In this endeavor, first, I will start by defining the term “specialty coffee” and the waves of coffee movements. Second, I will outline the history of their development. Third, I will elaborate on the global expansion of the third wave coffee movement with special emphasis on the Turkish case and Turkey’s experience of drinking coffee.

#### **3.1. Naming practices of specialty coffee and the waves**

Trish Rothgeb, from Wrecking Coffee Roastery, coined the term “third wave” in 2003 in the *FlameKeeper*, the newsletter of the Roaster Guild. She also classified the contemporary coffee market into three chronological waves: first, second and third wave. She stated there seemed to be “three movements influencing what Erna Knutsen, a Norwegian immigrant to America, termed Specialty Coffee. Although, each wave has its own set of priorities and philosophies, and they do not overlap” (Rothgeb, 2003). Therefore, the third wave coffee movement is considered to be a continuation of the past trends, the latest point of the movements.

Later on, Rothgeb's approach gained acceptance amongst coffee specialists, the third wave coffee movement became a universal trend. Previous studies focusing on third wave or specialty coffee (Manzo 2010, 2014, 2015; Rath 2017) employed the definition that Pulitzer Prize winner and food writer Jonathon Gold offered in *LA Weekly* (Gold, 2008):

The first wave of American coffee culture was probably the 19th-century surge that put Folgers, a brand of instant coffee, on every table, and the second was the proliferation, starting in the 1960s at Peet's and moving smartly through the Starbucks grande decaf latte, or espresso drinks and regionally labeled coffee. We are now in the third wave of coffee connoisseurship, where beans are sourced from farms instead of countries, roasting is about bringing out rather than incinerating the unique characteristics of each bean, and the flavor is clean and hard and pure.

Mark Pendergrast (2010, p. 357) summarized this history by saying that the first wave made bad coffee, the second wave pioneered specialty coffee, and the third waves are people who are younger and obsessed with specialty criteria.

On the other hand, the term "specialty" is an older appellation that started to be used in the 1970s for determining the quality of coffee and developed gradually around the factors that should be included in the specialty process. The sense of the "wave" was development after the 2000s, nearly 30 years later than that of specialty coffee. Therefore, the sense of specialty coffee involves various waves of coffee. After instant coffees came to dominate the coffee market, there were some attempts to improve the quality of coffee around the 1970s; these attempts can be described as the origins of specialty coffee. At that time, there were brands like Peet's, Starbucks, and Gloria Jeans' trying to increase coffee quality. After the opening of these coffee shops around the 1970s and their domination in the 1980s (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 283) the search for quality in coffee resulted in the birth of the third-wave coffee movement, which treats coffee as an artisanal product. Nowadays it is possible to hear "specialty coffee" and "third wave coffee" being used interchangeably (Guevara, 2017).

Previous studies did not approach these two concepts separately. However the differences between them reveal the developmental line of the coffee market and display how the current state of the field has been shaped. Yang Liu (2016, p. 9) distinguished these two terms and stated that craftsmen in the specialty coffee business are against the idea that they are just parts of some movements. They were considering themselves and their work as highlighting coffee quality as the core value of the specialty coffee market. Later on, *Perfect Daily Grind* published an article titled “What is Third Wave Coffee, How Is It Different to Specialty?” (Guevara, 2017) that claims that the specialty style had given rise to the third wave coffee movement. If third wave coffee is an “experience, specialty coffee is what is served in the experience.” The third wave highlights the importance of all the actors/processes “in the supply chain including producer, importer, roaster, barista, and consumer, to achieve greatest flavour” (Guevara, 2017). On the other hand, the term “specialty coffee” is an appellation used by the Specialty Coffee Association (SCA) to set the criteria on how all these processes should be managed. According to the characteristics that specialty beans possess as a result of their treatment during these processes, only those coffee beans which score 80+ points on the SCA’s 100-point scale, can achieve the title of specialty coffee. The process of grading coffee beans is maintained by Q-graders, people who are certified by the Coffee Quality Institute (CQI) for identifying “Arabica beans through smell and taste.” Q-graders taste coffee beans during cupping sessions organized in specialty coffee cooperatives, and they score beans based on several attributes, such as aroma and sweetness (*Perfect Daily Grind*, 2017). The flavour of coffee beans vary according to a number of factors such as climate conditions, altitude, growing region, harvesting, and processing methods (Rhinehart, 2017; *Perfect Daily Grind*, 2017)

In summary, the sense of specialty coffee works as an institution that sets the standards for coffee quality. On the other hand, this is the third wave, which is a movement that employs specialty coffee beans to provide people with the unique coffee experience it promises. In the coffee market, there are already mentions of fourth wave or even fifth wave of coffee, though these waves will likely not have

the remarkable effect on the coffee market that third wave did. This suggests that even there will likely further movements in the market of coffee which will make third wave fade; specialty coffee maintains its status and will probably be permanent.

The benefits of clarifying the differences between “specialty coffee” and “third wave coffee” are several-fold. First, doing so reveals the process of how the title of specialty coffee evolved from when it first appeared to present. Second, it may correct misconceptions about the usage of the term “wave,” since the categorization of the term is insufficient in the sociological background. John Manzo(Manzo, 2014) has stated that “the history of coffee might be revisionist, imprecise, North-American-focused, and generally unsatisfactory as a review of actual historical precedents to modern independent artisanal coffeehouses.” Lastly, seeing this bifurcation points to how the sense of specialty coffee, which intended to be a gourmet approach, transformed into popular trend under the names “third wave coffee.” Therefore, from my perspective, using the term “specialty coffee” seems to be more appropriate in the context of academic literature.

### **3.2. Historical development of the sense of specialty coffee**

Although the sense of specialty coffee rose in the 1970s, there are contradictory data about how this term first appeared. Firstly, Ric Rhinehart (2009) questioned what specialty coffee is in his article in the June issue of the Specialty Coffee Association of America’s newsletter. He revised the article in 2017 (Rhinehart, 2017) for the newsletter of the Specialty Coffee Association,<sup>3</sup> because he believed that people in the coffee business should be focused on two significant issues to better maintain specialty coffee: the circumstances of coffee delivery and coffee sustainability. In the first article, Rhinehart referred to Don Holly’s definition in the *Specialty Coffee Chronicle* in 1998. According to Rhinehart, Holly had claimed that Erna Knutsen, of Knutsen Coffee Ltd., coined the term in her speech to the delegates of an international coffee conference in Montreuil, France in 1978. Thus,

---

<sup>3</sup>In July 2017, Specialty Coffee Association Europe and America decided to unite and worked under one name as Specialty Coffee Association.

Knutsen conceptualized “specialty coffee as coffee cherries produced in special geographic climates with unique flavour profiles”. The term also promise that specialty coffee beans would always be well prepared, freshly roasted, and properly brewed (Rhinehart, 2009). Secondly, according to *Coffee Magazine*, Erna Knutsen had used the term specialty coffee for the first time in 1974 for an interview in the November issue of *Tea & Coffee Trade Journal* (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 282). According to him, Knutsen employed this term to describe beans of the best flavor that are produced in special microclimates such as Celebes Kalossi, Ethiopian Yirgacheffe, and Yemen Mocha all of which were sold by her company. She asserted that this notion of specialty coffee and this emerging group of people who appreciate good coffee would be pioneers of some sort of “nascent gourmet coffee movement” which would grow the business (ibid. 282). Afterward, she linked the connoisseur of coffee and that wine as both seeking “those modest luxuries that most can still afford.” Thirdly, Mark Pendergrast referred to some magazines which had mentioned specialty coffee in the early 1970s. For example, in 1972 *Sunset* had offered a simple explanation of specialty coffee which includes the factors of acidity, body, roasting, and blend. The article continued with following statement: “Specialty coffee stores are worth searching out. One big reason is that there you can talk to someone whose business is coffee.” Pendergrast even claimed that “*Tea & Coffee Trade Journal* had ignored this nascent specialty coffee movement claiming it is a craze for consuming unusual product (ibid. 282).

Nevertheless, the term quickly received approvals within the coffee business in further years. For instance, the establishment of Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA) in 1982, and that of Europe (SCAE) in 1998 pushed the concept of specialty coffee into a new phase. Finally, the SCAA as an authority declared that Erna Knutsen’s definition would be the basis for what they understand from specialty coffee. They define specialty coffee by focusing on supply chain, preservation, processing, transformation, roasting, grinding, and brewing methods (SCAA, 2009). Although specialty coffee’s innovations were not easily accepted, it achieved massive success which has transformed the coffee market.



The appearing of the term specialty coffee around the 1970s intersects with the establishment of some coffee companies which are totally categorized as the secondwave. For example, Peet's opened on April 1, 1966, on the corner of Vine and Walnut Streets in Berkeley (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 266). The first Starbucks was opened at Pike Place Market in Seattle in 1971 (*Starbucks Company, 2019*). Pendergrast (2010, p. 283) specifies those coffeehouses opened at that time as follows:

In Juneau, Alaska, Grady Saunders opened Quaffs, later changing the name to Heritage Coffee Company. Paul and Kathy Leighton commenced business as the Coffee Corner in Eugene, Oregon, while Bob Sinclair served coffee in Pannikin Coffee & Tea in San Diego. Bill Boyer started Boyer Coffee Company in Denver, and Marty Elkin ran Superior Coffee (later renamed Elkin's) in New Hampshire. In Canada, there was Murchie's in Vancouver.

The primary aims and motivations of those coffee shops are explained by Trish Rothgeb (2003), who coined the term third wave:

Our entrance was artisan driven. Someone turned us on to coffee origins and roasting styles. We looked to the wine industry for inspiration in defining goals and strategies. We started destination shops with small roasting operations and fine tea selections. Pretty soon we were serving espresso and taking trips to Italy and producing countries.

What these coffee roasters aimed at considered the predecessor of the sense of specialty coffee. Among all these coffee shops, Starbucks Company displayed uniquely rapid expansion, becoming the largest roaster and one of the biggest wholesalers in Washington's coffee market. Starbucks started to sell its coffee "beans to restaurants, other retailers and supermarkets, as well as espresso machines, grinders, and brewers" (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 333). In the beginning, Starbucks was a local enterprise before it was discovered by Howard Schultz, the former CEO, who led Starbucks Company's transformation to a national phenomenon. He guided Starbucks to sell "not only beans but also coffee drinks by the cup" in community gathering places to "recreate the romance of the Italian espresso bar" (Ritzer, 2008, p. 216). Starbucks Company exceeded its objectives "by

far and has set the pace for the Second Wave,” becoming synonymous with fine coffee, and upscale image (Rothgeb, 2003). Starbucks Company introduced the words “latte,” “French Roast,” and “cappuccino” into the vernacular language. Starbucks also created its own jargon, such as “tall-grande latte” which makes them prominent within the world of Specialty Coffee (Rothgeb, 2003). Its prominence, however also made the company a target other local companies tried to compete against, casting it as emblematic of “those who want to automate and homogenize specialty coffee” (Rothgeb, 2003). Reacting against this trend, they took coffee in the opposite direction for example, roasting coffee site, or using semi-automatic espresso machines instead of automatic ones. Their efforts constituted the birth of the third wave coffee movement.

It is striking that when coffee specialists started talking about the automatization and homogenization of specialty coffee and the massive influences of Starbucks Company intersects with George Ritzer termed the “Starbucksization of Society” in his book *McDonaldization of Society*. Ritzer first used the term “McDonaldization” to describe how the principles of fast food restaurants, such as “efficiency, calculability, predictability, control, and irrationality,” dominate American society (Ritzer, [1993] 2008, p. 224-5). In later years, he stated that Starbucks Company represents the McDonaldization of the coffee business writing that “Starbucks clearly fits and operates in accordance with, the principles of McDonaldization,” (ibid. p. 224) and that other businesses attempt to copy Starbucks style to achieve success. For instance, “the CEO of the nearly 500-store Caribou Coffee chain, ‘I got into the business because of what they [Starbucks] created.’ In China, a small chain, Real Brewed Tea, aims to be “the Starbucks of tea”(Ritzer, 2013). Starbucks replaced the McDonalds model in a way customers know what to expect and how to order at Starbucks, and even though there are some local differences from country to country, the brand has made high coffee culture a “way of life globally”(Wong, 2015).

### 3.3. The Spread of the Third Wave Coffee Movement

Trish Rothgeb had used the term “third wave” in 2003 to describe coffee shops that she observed in Norway that seemed to be different and more authentic than coffeehouse chains in their style of making coffee (Bass, 2016). When Trish Rothgeb was asked “What kinds of practices she saw as signals for a new wave”, she answered by referring to her experiences in Norway and also her readings on third wave feminism. She thought that third wave feminism’s main argument that “women could be whatever they want to be,” is what they aim for in specialty coffee. The coffee shops that she observed in Oslo served espresso was in accordance with this concept. These shops were making exquisite espressos and cappuccinos without caring how the older, more established cafés making them it even if they were “authentically Italian” or had a large and loyal patrons.

As some coffee specialists state (e.g, Hayes, 2018), in 2003, there were “three leading specialty coffee roasters in the U.S.: North Carolina’s Counter Culture, Chicago’s Intelligentsia, and Portland, Oregon’s Stumptown Coffee Roasters”. Since then, the third wave coffee movement has gained massive popularity. According to *Euro Monitor International*(2016), specialist coffee shops were the fastest growing major restaurant category in terms of global sales, increasing 9.1% from 2014-2015. The growth of the specialty coffee market “was consistent across all world regions, including those that are considered emerging market regions as well as those that are highly mature.” In the future growth and investment in the market is expected only to increase. As *Euromonitor International*(Euromonitor International, 2016)states:

Asia Pacific will be home to the largest sales increase in specialist coffee shops, totaling over US\$3.7 billion dollars in new value growth from 2016-2020. This is as compared to North America, at US\$3.3 billion in growth, as well as another US\$1.7 billion from Western Europe over the same period. As much as US\$2.2 billion of this growth will come from China alone, where Starbucks is leading the charge for a rapidly growing, Western-style tradition of drinking premium takeaway coffee and socializing in coffee shops; however, many smaller Asian markets will see impressive growth in the category as well. South Korea will contribute another US\$715 million in new specialist coffee shops growth from 2015-

2020, driven in large part by local chains rather than international brands alone.

In *Perfect Daily Grind* (Guevara, 2017) the key features of the third wave are summarized as “increasing coffee quality, more direct trade, a greater emphasis on sustainability, lighter roast profiles, [and] innovative brew methods”. As coffee has become a matter of expertise the number of coffee publications has dramatically increased both in magazines and on internet media. The third wave has also made some brewing equipment fashionable that once was not well known. Some specific coffee brewing methods have gained popularity such as the pour-over involving the equipment of the Chemex invented in 1941 (Chemex, 2018), and the cold-brew method or Siphon Coffee Maker, which were part of Japanese traditions (*Euromonitor International*, 2018). Some brands advertised new equipment such as the Aero Press, Hario V60, Kalita Wave, and new initiatives emerged, such as nitrogen brew coffee, to offer the consummate coffee experience.

Together with these new methods have come new rules. Analyzing “increasing coffee quality,” “lighter roaster profiles,” “more direct trade,” “innovative brewing methods” helps to understand how the third wave movement conceives of what good coffee and the rules for drinking it. First, roasting preferences, or the concept of “lighter roast profiles,” could be analyzed in this manner. Dark roast has been known traditionally as “French,” “Italian” or “espresso roast.” The focus of the “light roasting” also reveals the influences of Nordic coffee culture on the third wave coffee movement. Light roast is considered a Norwegian roast *CNN International* stated in *Culinary Journeys*. In *Culinary Journeys’* episode “Nordic Coffee Culture,” Tim Wendelboe,<sup>4</sup> 2004 World Barista Champion, and 2005 World Cup Tasting Champion (O’Hare, 2016), stated that light roasting uncovers coffee’s aroma profile better, and that the best way to serve it is a black filter.

---

<sup>4</sup>Tim Wendelboe is a significant actor in the third wave coffee movement. Trish Rothgeb interviewed him for the article where she coined the the “third wave.” Additionally, WendelbFeoe is an owner of the soucing company the “Nordic Approach” which sells the highest quality green coffee beans to roasters.

Yang Liu (2016, p. 52) also analyzes this issue and states that third wavers encourage people to fully experience a cup of coffee without adding milk or sugar to better realize its tasting notes. This rejection of the classic habit of adding milk or sugar to coffee requires consumers to learn new rules for drinking coffee. Moreover, the insistence on black coffee recalls what Paul Freedman (2007, p. 18) called “redefinition of luxury,” which involves obsessiveness on purity and simplicity. He defines simplicity as “is a reaction against what might be called, paradoxically, the limitations of excess, its narrowness amid infinite choice, and its tendency to interfere with the intrinsic quality of the primary product by excessive manipulation and gratuitous flavouring.” For instance, French grand cuisine in the 17th and 18th centuries also rejected the distortions and ostentations of medieval food in favour of purity and intrinsic quality. “Pleasure, delight and true flavours were extolled over what was regarded as an unpleasant legacy of excessive use of spices, childish artifice and lack of respect for primary ingredients” (ibid.18).

In addition to that, the position of third wavers on direct trade is ambiguous as well. Direct trade is a description the way specialty roasters buy their coffee and their relationship with the growers (Hoffman, 2014, p. 43). Third wavers promise that they will appreciate farmers and producers of coffee in a way that of the Slow Food Movement. Their focus on the concept of *terroir* intersects with the notion of a “single origin coffee,” which both similarly refer to “beans procured from sections of estates and plantations called micro-lots, which are harvested and processed in a controlled manner” (Sunderland, 2012, p. 477). These complex networks of trade become more ambiguous when Nestle, as one of the biggest wholesalers of first wave coffee purchased shares of the Blue Bottle Coffee, an iconic, third wave, boutique coffee company in the USA in 2017 (Nestle, 2017).

#### **3.4. Differing Globalization Patterns: How/Why Specialty Coffee Has Succeeded When Wine Could Not?**

In this part, the circumstances that made the third wave’s expansion possible will be analyzed. Specialty coffee’s achievement of massive globalization is noteworthy as other specialty movements like specialty wine never achieved it. George

Ritzer(2014) stated in *Globalization: Basic Text* that the concept of *terroir* as local, restricted territories for the production of high-quality wine constitutes an impediment for producing and selling large amounts of wine. He states, “None of the global players in this market is large enough to gain hegemony in it. On the other hand, since every wine-growing nation can easily produce its own mediocre and low-priced wine, it is difficult for a company like Gallo to be a significant player in the global marketplace.” He argues that such nuances as *terroir* becomes a hindrance in the globalization process of the high-end of the wine industry, because only a small amount of fine wine can be produced in restricted areas. Fundamentally, it means that global high-quality wines will flow around the world in relatively small quantities produced by relatively small producers. “To put this another way, we are not likely to see the production of ‘McWine’ that dominates the global market for high-quality wine” (Veseth, 2005, p. 217).

Yet third wave coffee’s globalization level is more intense than that of fine wine/specialty wine. The trend has the capacity of change urban spaces, high streets, and even transports hubs, as *Spaces of Community*(2015) a project of Coventry University, reported. This raises the question of what let specialty coffee follow different patterns than wine to expand globally. While the production processes are similar in terms of *terroir*, what has allowed specialty coffee to achieve this globalization level?

The intensive consumer demand in relation to the rise of the new middle classes across the world is one of the points that require to be taken into consideration. Caffeine creates addiction and makes concentrating easier for students, academics, and people with white-collar or creative jobs. However, it is not the caffeine which creates the huge demands of specialty coffee, because low-priced, commercial coffees can easily meet caffeine needs. It is that people cannot easily give up from the aromatic taste of specialty coffee when they become used to it. More importantly, the stimulating effects of coffee are allowed for Muslim populations without religious restrictions, as opposed to wine or other alcoholic drinks. Muslim populated countries such as Turkey, Iran, Qatar, and Dubai are significant

consumers of specialty coffee culture by participating in barista championships, organizing coffee festivals. The largest coffee festival attended by some 40,000 people is in Istanbul (*Hürriyet*, 26 Sep. 2017). The specialty coffee market in Turkey shows dynamic performance as Specialty Coffee Association [SCA] reported in 2017 (Ward, 2017). Moreover, Turkey's specialty coffee roasters started to sell coffee beans to coffee shops in Iran, Georgia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina (*Istanbul Kahve Haritası*, n.d.). The SCA has its own strategy to build its global network by branching locally, like SCA Turkey. The SCA has branches in Europe, Canada, Kazakhstan, Singapore, and Russia. The SCA names these branches as "SCA National Chapters, which represent members' needs on a local level through support, networking events, organizing competitions and communications (SCA National Chapters, 2019).

The other significant factor in specialty coffee's global spread is its revolutionary mission: Third wave coffee stores new perspective on coffee which is against previous coffee drinking habits. For instance, most specialty coffee entrepreneurs declare their mission as transforming established coffee culture in their society by introducing new innovative specialty coffee culture. Therefore, specialty coffee appears as being against local/national tastes and put the sense of quality as the core value, encouraging drinking lightly roasted, black coffee. For example, a barista from Portugal told the *Perfect Daily Grind* that even though Portuguese people have a habit of going out every day to drink coffee, they are not:

...accustomed to going out solely to appreciate a nice Aero Press from Kenya and or hear the barista talk about the new natural yellow bourbon from Brazil that just arrived. So I decided to change that. I worked with a third wave coffee shop (Copenhagen Coffee Lab), and I'm really happy with how my new Portuguese customers are responding to specialty drinks. I'm touched that people are coming every day just to try a V60 or a flat white with a cute heart, or to buy bags of whole beans to take home. (...) Brazil, my home country, had a similar transition to third wave. Even now, you'll find bad coffee being served in cafes – and people go crazy for it. But it's a cultural thing. I remember when I started working in a coffee shop in Brazil and customers used to complain about the "short" espresso that I used to extract. "Short" to them, because it was 30ml, give or take. They were so angry paying 2 euros for 30 "miserable" milliliters of coffee rather than a full

cup. It took more than five months of explaining that it's not about quantity but rather quality – but I succeeded. I explained how coffee could be amazing if tasted in another way, giving out coffees for free until that fateful day the same customer started drinking a *doppio ristretto* instead of the usual full-sized cup of drip coffee. (Saebra, 2015)

Even in Italy as a country with a rich and established a coffee culture, there are some third wavers who want change some drinking coffee habits such as quick espresso. They aim to make people explore the modern wave of specialty coffee; and to make the drink into an experience (Vesela, 2016). Their manifest of changing habits has pedagogical tendencies. For example, in Romania, the owners of one third wave coffee shop explain their belief in education as follows:

[We] believe in consumer education. It's a long-term investment, but it's worth it. Free cupping sessions are, for us, an important part of this. These bring coffee enthusiasts, third wave and also second wave, to the café. You can then share the coffee experience with them; satisfying their curiosity and helping them better understand what's in the cup. When we hear someone say, "Oh, this is different!" that is an opportunity for us. A barista should be there to explain why the coffee tastes the way it does, in a friendly and accessible way. This is how we help people to understand that coffee shouldn't be bitter, but that rather it has a wide range of different tastes(Alexandru& Alexandru, 2017).

Other examples could be given from Argentina, Spain, or Hong Kong. Thus revolutionary attitudes allow third wavers both spread globally and recreate the globalization process. As a summary, third wave coffeehouses aim to change people's drinking habits and their engagement with coffee across the world. In the following sections, the historical development of coffee in Turkey, the market entry of these international coffee brands from the first wave to third wave, and clarify the symbolic meanings attached to coffee consumption will be described.

### **3.5. The Turkish Case: Local Meanings in Relation to Global Trends**

I should note that the Turkish case follows a similar line to the aforementioned examples. Third wavers in Turkey appeared with the declaration of being against previous coffee drinking habits and traditional coffee culture as well. One roaster from Turkey told SCA Magazine that Turkey's coffee tradition is sometimes



challenging for specialty roasters (SCA News, 2017). He stated, “We have a relatively small specialty scene at the moment in Turkey -with very few specialty roasters and an undeveloped market. Turkish people still need time to evolve their traditional coffee palates to this revolutionary new taste.”

However, Turkey’s established coffeehouse, patisserie, and tea garden culture help shape this trend, and this contribute Turkey’s experience of drinking coffee in few unique aspects. First of all, coffee was never alien to Turkey. Even the Turkish word for breakfast, *kahvaltı*, means foodstuff you should eat before drinking coffee. The Turkish word *kahve* has more than one meaning. In daily life, coffee or *kahve* is used as a short version of *kahvehane* (traditional coffeehouse where neighborhood male residents hang out). *Kahvecan* also signify beverages, coffee beans, instant coffee, or a traditional cup of coffee. Even though some dictionaries claim that the word coffee derives from *caffè* in Italian, the original root of the Turkish word derives actually derives from the Arabic “qahva”. The ancient meaning of the word “qahva” is wine or some kind of alcoholic beverage, according to the comprehensive Arabic-Ottoman Turkish dictionary which was completed in 1545. The root of the word derives from the verb of “qa-ha-ya,” which means something that “takes away or lessen the appetite for food” (Kafadar, 2014, p. 248). The spreading of coffee, in its contemporary meaning, and its consumption “started in private environments and then spilled over into public establishments, namely coffeehouses” (Kafadar, 2014, p. 248). According to historian Peçevi, whose chronicle “dates the appearance of the coffeehouses in Istanbul to 1554-1555 by two Syrian merchandise, one from Aleppo and the other from Damascus (ibid. 248). Before that, coffeehouses had existed in Cairo and Damascus from the early 1500s. *Kahve* was the brought to the Ottoman capital by Barboras Hayreddin Paşa. He was the pioneer of coffee through his long voyages, specifically Arab Mediterranean (ibid. 248-9).

Therefore, Turkey has been experienced coffee in a multilayered way, the one is the established way and the other appeared through international brands. When these trends appeared in Turkey ten years later than they did in the West, they were appropriated with new meanings by transforming the cultural associations of global

brands in a way that will fit into the local culture and lifestyle patterns of a country that already had a strong traditional coffee culture. In the following sections, I will explore the story of Turkey's coffee experience by focusing on the market entry of international coffee brands, how they spread, and the meanings attached to them. Analyzing the history of coffee in Turkey parallels the political and cultural life of the period. Before the entrance of instant coffee in the 1980s, coffee had been sold for years in little shops that roasted and ground coffee on demand. With the entrance of instant coffee into the market, these coffees also became marketized/brands. However, in some periods coffee was difficult to afford. Coffee is a luxurious item in the memories of Turkish peoples especially those who lived in the 1950s. The economic crisis which started in 1955 caused many goods to be withdrawn from the market. At that time, similar to other imported goods, coffee was banned from the Turkish market. There was no coffee to drink. People even attempted to roast chickpeas to drink in lieu of coffee. In April 1955, it was nationally decided by *Tekel [İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü]* that 100 grams of coffee grounds started to be distributed per household by provincial administrations (Onaran, 2016, p. 41; *Milliyet*, 3 June 1957).



Figure 3.1. *Milliyet*, 3 June 1957 [Caption: Preparations of distributing coffee for aid was started]

At that time the coffee shortage was politicized specifically by the opposition party (CHP). They declared their opposition to the economic circumstances of the period, and also the agenda of the ruling party (DP) with the slogan of the “Coffee faded away, only the name is the reminder of it [Kahve gitti adı kaldı yadigar]” (Alkan, 2016, p. 619).

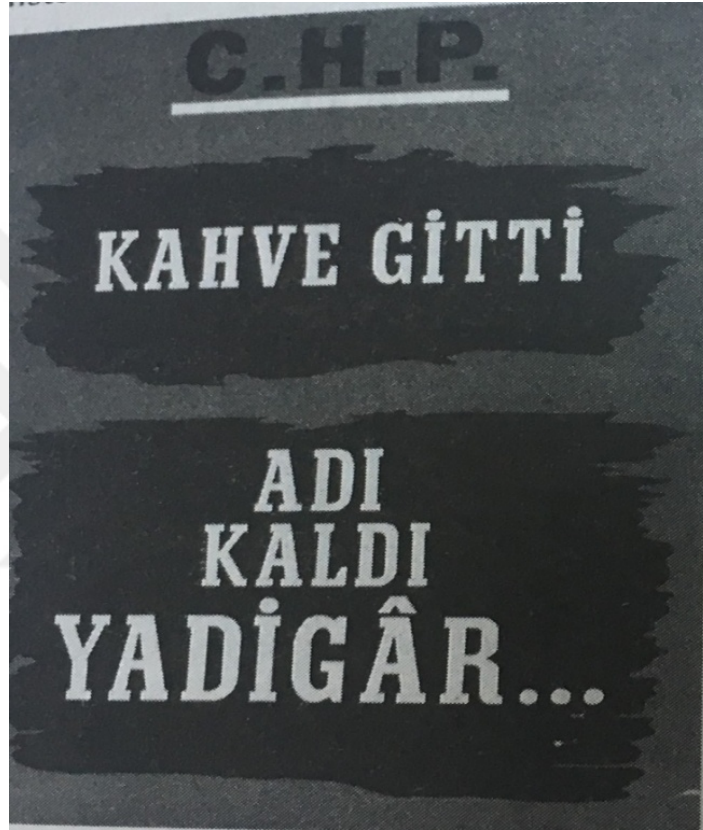


Figure 3.2. CHP’s brochure in 1957 (Alkan, 2016, p. 619)[Caption: Coffee faded away, only the name of it survived]

Coffee shortage in 1950s brought the coffee consumption to an end in these places. Therefore, coffee-houses transformed into venues where people began drinking tea owing to the fact that governmental policies achieved success on tea farming (ibid. 619). Another development which had a significant impact on coffee prices occurred at the end of the 1970s. Throughout 1970s, the price of the coffee increased in a spectacular way. The main development that caused the crisis was a frost in Brazil in the winter of 1975. Due to the frost, coffee prices in the world

market reached a record level. Turkey was also influenced by inflation. In 1975, the retail price of a kilo of coffee was 37 liras; in 1976 it was 73 liras. At the beginning of 1977, it increased rapidly to 142 liras. At the end of 1977, it was 332 liras. Under these circumstances, at a time when the minimum wage was 1800 liras, coffee was a luxury few could afford (Onaran, 2016, p. 41).

Those who could find it in exclusive establishments like Baylan Patisserie. Baylan was among the first examples of Western style patisseries which serve customers a variety of European patisserie products including espresso. There was an espresso machine in Baylan starting from the year 1954. It was the first place in Turkey where people could drink espresso, cappuccino, or milk shakes (Ors, 2005). The following is an interior photo of the Baylan Patisserie in Karaköy, which opened in 1927:



Figure 3.3. The interior space of Baylan Patisserie (Salt Archive, 2018-09-24T14:17:48Z)Retrieved from <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/123794>

Another exclusive place to access foreign instant coffee brands was American Bazaar, located in Tahtakale according to the magazine *Hayat* (Ölmez, 1977). The name of the bazaar was given as a result of Turkey's alliance with America at the end of World War II. In parallel to the political climate of the period, the consumption

culture of the American middle-class became an ideal and aspiration in Turkish people's everyday life. Items belonging to American cultural consumption were accessible in the American Bazaar, but only for those able to afford them. Basically, it was a black market selling items such as perfumes, infant formulas, cheeses, jeans, beauty care products, chocolates, and some electronic devices imported by American soldiers who were exempted from customs duties (Alkan, 2016, p. 593). Even though these items were mostly object of middle-class consumption in the West, they were accessible only to the upper-middle class in Turkey. In 1977, according to *Hayat*, Turkish citizens returning from abroad were granted some exemptions from customs duties, and they sold some specific goods in the bazaar (Ölmez, 1977). The new coffee drinking habits, immigrant Turks gained in Europe are a significant cultural repertoire for the place of instant coffee in Turkish people's minds.

Instant coffees' entrance to the American Bazaar was the unofficial entrance of the first wave movement in Turkey. However, the influence of the bazaar was restricted; it was closed down by order of the Ministry of Finance in March 1978 (*Milliyet*, 1978). Following these incidents, some newspaper columnists like Yılmaz Cetiner (*Milliyet*, 1979 March 5)) mention coffee smuggling from Bulgaria having tripled from 3 tons to 10 tons in 1979. Nevertheless, a few years before in 1974, instant coffee was available in Turkey. Maxwell House officially entered Turkey that year. But based on the fact that the ads of Maxwell House appeared only in one newspaper clipping, we can assume that its influence was highly limited.



Figure 3.4. *Milliyet*, 4December 1974[Caption: American coffee that dissolve in water in a second Maxwell House, the number one coffee of the world]

These international coffee brands strategically differentiated themselves from traditional coffee culture. Maxwell House advertised itself with its quickness by describing the product as “the American coffee which will dissolve in water in a second,” thereby distancing itself from traditional coffee, which required watching and waiting for the pot to boil. Nearly 10 years later, Nescafe entered Turkey with a strengthened form of the marketing strategy designed by the CEO of Maxwell House. The importer stated that they would go with one of the brands in demand by women (*Milliyet*, 2 February 1984), and they tried various strategies to secure a permanent place in the Turkish market. The CEO Cudal stated that what they were planning was to import objects which once had been brought back as gift by husbands to their wives from European business trips.

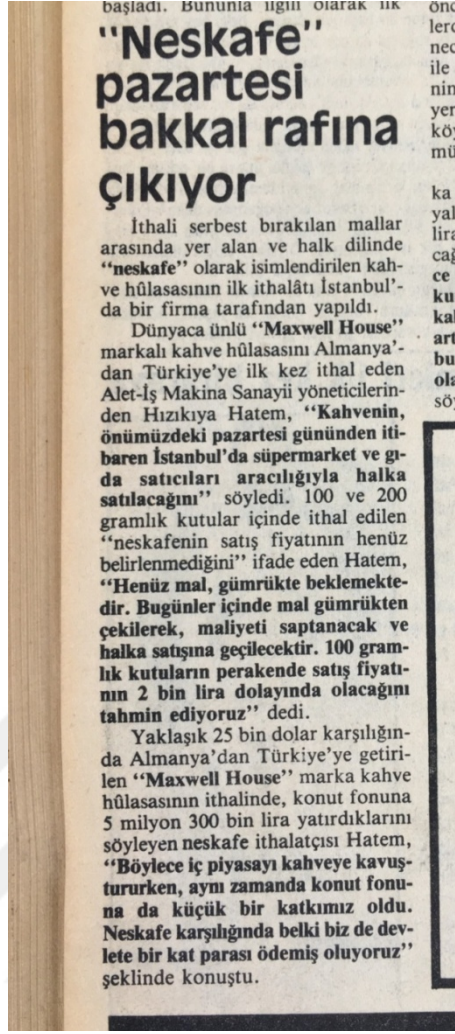


Figure 3.5. *Milliyet*, 2 February 1984 [Caption Nescafe will be marketized in Monday]

# İthalâtçı firma: “Kadınların özlemine göre mal getiriyoruz”

- “Maxwell”den sonra “Nescafe” marka kahve de getirilecek ve piyasa hangisini tutarsa ithalâta göre devam edilecek

Figure 3.6. *Milliyet*, 6 February 1984 [Caption: The importer company: We will receive goods at one's missing]



**“Türk kadını ne isterse  
onu ithal ederiz”**



## **Nescafe ithalcisi: “Türk kahvesinin yeri başka”**

“Maxwell” kahvesini ithal eden İrfan Cudal yapacakları ithalât kalemlerini saptarken Türk kadınının isteklerini gözönünde tutacaklarını söyledi. Cudal, “Eşleri Avrupa’ya giden Türk kadınları neler istiyorlarsa onu ithal edeceğiz. Böylece ev kadınlarının gereksinimlerini karşılayacağız” dedi. Cudal, görüşlerini açıklarken Türk kahvesi içti ve “Türk kahvesinin yeri başkadır” diye konuştu.

Cudal, “Maxwell” kahvenin yanı sıra “Nescafe” marka kahvede getireceklerini, piyasada hangisi tutarsa onun ithalâtına devam edeceklerini söyledi. İrfan Cudal, diş fırçası, Japon otomobilleri, tıraş kalemlerini getireceklerini de açıkladı.

Figure 3.7. *Milliyet*, 6 February 1984 [Caption: We import whatever Turkish women want. Turkish coffee has a special place.]

With the official entrance of Nescafe into Turkey in February 1984 (Nestlé, 2017; *Milliyet*, 6 February 1984) and of Jacobs a few years later, the first wave of the global coffee movement became more common in Turkey. Nescafe highlighted the flavor of coffee and correlated it with cosmopolitanism in its ads by using the slogan “to sip of the taste of the world,”

**Bir fincan nefis kahveyi  
yarım dakikada nasıl yaparsınız?**



**1** Bir fincan, bir iki çay kaşığı NESCAFÉ

**2** Üzerine sıcak su... Və dilediğiniz kadar şekər-

**3** İyol NESCAFÉ bir haqq. Başcaq 20 xanında.

Dünyanın önü çekirdek  
kahvelerinin lezzeti.  
Nescafé Gold. Nestlé'den.  
Bir Nescafé yapın, çabucak.  
Dünyanın tadını yudumlayın.  
Yaşasın yavaş. Keyifle...

**İçi kahve. İçimi kahve. NESCAFÉ GOLD**

**Nestlé**

Figure 3.8. Nescafe 1984(cited in: Yenel&Ahıska, 2006, p. 283)

Following them, Elite Instant Coffee, CaféPele, and Mocca Gold also entered to the market. By following Nescafe’s path, Jacobs’ used the slogan “offer your guest a taste of Europe” (Ahıska & Yenel, 2006, p. 282-3).



### ***Pele gelmedi ama kahvesi geldi***

***Brezilya ürünlerinden elde edilen dünyaca ünlü "Pele" hazır kahvelerinin "Yüksel Kahve Ticaret Sanayii" tarafından ithal edilerek piyasaya dağıtıldığı bildirildi. "Pele" hazır kahvelerinin 50, 100 ve 200 gramlık özel ambalajlarında satışa çıkarıldığı, fiyatlarının ise sırasıyla 750, 1400 ve 2500 olarak beirlendiği belirtildi.***

Figure 3.9. *Milliyet*, 21 May 1984 [Caption: Pele did not come to Turkey, but coffee Pele did]

den uzak 100  
heycanı daha ileriye göt

**ELITE**  
*Instant Coffee*  
100% PURE COFFEE  
MADE BY ELITE (FOOD INDUSTRIES)

**Kahvenin en güzeli  
en eliti**

Dünyanın dörtbir yanında  
kahveseverlerce beğenilen,  
seçilen hazır kahve **ELITE**  
şimdi Türkiye'de. Siz de Elite alın...  
Kahvenin tadına varın.  
Hazır kahvenin kolaylığından yarar-  
lanın.

**ELITE**

EL VE ÜÇELERE BAYİLİKLER VERİLECEKTİR

**ÇİKO-TAD ADI KOM. ŞTİ. METİN ALTUĞ VE ORTAKLARI**  
Türkiye Mah. Dr.Cemil Bengü Cad. Akar Sok. No: 7 Şişli-İSTANBUL Tel: 141 78 22 - 140 52 20


Figure 3.10. *Milliyet*, 8 February 1984[Caption: The most beautiful and elite coffee]

**Hazır Kahveniz**  
**MOCCA**  
**GOLD**

MOCCA. Dünya markası. GOLD. Erişilmez kahve kalitesi.  
EKONOMİK. Başka markalarla kıyaslayın.  
LEZZETLİ. Sıcak suyla da sütle de.  
PRATİK. Saniyede hazır kahve.  
Her zaman kullanabileceğiniz şık ve orijinal şişelerde.

50 gr. (net) şişe	1.000.-TL.
100 gr. (net) şişe	1.800.-TL.
200 gr. (net) şişe	3.400.-TL.

*Migros'ta ve diğer seçkin mağazalarda*



YÜKSEL KAHVE A.Ş. Deniye Han Kabaçası/İstanbul  
149 7974 - 149 5901 - 522 1063 - 522 3220

ALPTEK

Figure 3.11. *Milliyet*, 5 October 1983 [Caption: Instant Coffee for Yours: MoCCA Gold]

These first-wave brands gave consumers a low quality of coffee; their selling point was the opportunity to drink coffee easily and quickly. However, they associated their products with deliciousness, and being Western and modern. When the first wave entered the Turkish market around 1980, Starbucks and other specialty coffeehouses had already become popular in the West. In other words, in the

period when Europe and America gave up consuming instant, soluble coffees and started to consider quality in coffee, instant coffees entered the market in Turkey as a status symbol indicating being Western or having refined taste.

**Maxwell geldi,  
hazır kahve tutku oldu**

Bir fincan sıcak su, bir kaşık Maxwell.  
İşte hazır kahveniz... İşte kahve özütünüz  
Odaya yayılan nefis kokusuyla,  
damaklarda kalan tadıyla  
Maxwell yeni tutkunuz.

**MAXWELL**  
“hazır kahve,”

**beta** Türkiye Distribütörü  
**ÇİKO-TAD ADI KOM. ŞTİ. METİN ALTUĞ VE ORTAKLARI**  
Hürriyet Mah. Dr.Cemil Bengü Cad. Akar Sok. No: 7 Şişli-İSTANBUL Tel: 141 78 22 - 140 52 20

Figure 3.12. *Milliyet*, 5 April 1984 [Caption: Maxwell came and instant coffee became passion. Only a cup of hot water, one spoon of Maxwell, here is your instant coffee. Here is your coffee essence. With the delicious smell in the room, the taste in your palate Maxwell is your new passion.]

In 1997, one local company, Ruşen, which was frequently advertised in *Milliyet*, contributed to Turkey's coffee experience by introducing its brand Selen. Selen was a brand for instant tea, coffee, and new coffee equipment such as *Melitta*<sup>5</sup> coffee filters, and machines in 1989 (*Milliyet*, 16 February 1989). They also opened a coffee shop named Ruşen in 1990. The discursive representation in the advertisement of Selen differs in some points from earlier examples. It is true that, similar to Nescafe and Jacobs, Selen followed a similar road in terms of relating its products with modernity and a Western lifestyle. Yet Selen sexualized its product as female in the ads, which central to the way Selen advertised itself. The sociologist Erving Goffman (Goffman, 1979, cited in Gill, 2007, 95-6). The) suggests a new way of coding "gender representation in advertisements", focusing on the way in which "non-verbal signals communicated "important difference in male and female power. The brand slogan is derived from Turkish idiom "*Bir içim su,*" which means a very pretty woman; however, the product revised the idiom as "*Bir içim Selen,*" which put the product in the position of something drinkable and female named Selen.



<sup>5</sup>Melitta is the name of the women who invented the "paper-filter" (Melitta, n.d.)

Figure 3.13. *Milliyet*, 14 December 1997[Caption: Selen- This Pleasure Will Never End]



Figure 3.14. *Milliyet*, 7 December 1997[Caption: Selen -Making Tea is a Matter of Time]

The pictures in the advertisements display easily recognizable stereotypes of women that consolidated the sexualization of product. "Porn chic (McNair, 2002, p.88, cited in Gill, 2007, p. 94) is a representation within advertising in many Western countries in a context in which advertisers believe they have to produce ever more arresting and stimulating images in order to get consumers' attention in the crowded, sign-saturated media-scape." Images such as "the daydreaming woman," "the secretary biting her nail," and "the couple kissing or touching each other" became apparent in brand advertisements. Moreover, Selen (see Figure 3.15.) advertisement strengthened this image with the caption:

Selen reflects quality by its choosing; care by its preparation; modernity by its presentation. Selen may appeal all the taste buds. Selen likes changes (...) Selen is a kind of traditionalist, sometimes practical. Selen is little bit mysterious and mystical.





Figure 3.15. *Milliyet*, 21 December 1997 [Caption: Selen reflects quality by its choosing; care by its preparation; modernity by its presentation. Selen may appeal all the taste buds. Selen likes changes (...) Selen is a kind of traditionalist, sometimes practical. Selen is little bit mysterious and mystical.]

In Figure 3.15, a daydreaming woman shows as an object of desire. Therefore, we can assume that in the mindset of Selen or Ruşen, men are the consumers as represented by the images of white-collar workers, instead of women. Gill (2007, p. 95) stated that throughout the 1970s and 1980s, content analytic studies in the West presented the same consistent pattern of gender stereotyping in adverts:

Their appearance -looking beautiful and sexy- was more important than anything else; and they rarely provided an argument in favor of the advertised products - voice-overs were generally done by men, indexing their greater authority. In contrast, men were portrayed in a range of settings and occupational roles; as independent and autonomous; and were presented as objective and knowledgeable about the products they used.

*Bir içim Selen!*

Çay ve kahve dünyasına enfes bir tat geldi: Selen!

**Yoğun yaşama pratik bir keyif!**

İşte size her tempoda bile çay keyfini yaşatacak pratik bir çözüm: **Selen Fincan Poşeti!** Selen Fincan Poşeti, dünyanın en iyi Seylan çaylarından biri olan hazırlanmış %100 saf Seylan (Çaydan) tadı ve kokusu ile mükemmel.

**Çay keyfi akl şimdi başlıyor!**

100 poşetlik kutu

SELEN FİNCAN POŞETİ 1000' lük Selen

SELEN FİNCAN POŞETİ 25 poşetlik kutu

**Selen**

"Çay ve Kahve Dünyası"

Ruşen Diğ. Ticaret Ltd. Şti. Marmar Mah. Eski Rağlatı 1. Sok. 21. Mahalle 34680 İSTANBUL Tel: (0212) 693 66 00 Fax: (0212) 693 66 10

Figure 3.16. *Milliyet*, 30 November 1997 [Caption: A Practical Pleasure for Intense Life]

Ruşen yepyeni bir çay ve kahve markası yarattı: SELEN

**Artık herkes Selen tiryakisi olacak!**

Yıllardır Ruşen güvencesiyle size ulaşan ürünler

**SELEN**

Selen ürünleri, Ruşen'in yıllardan beri edindiği bilgi ve birikimle beğenimize sunuluyor. Her damak zevkine uygun ve farklı ürün çeşitleriyle...

Dünyanın en iyi Seylan çaylarından hazırlanan Selen çaylarının, Karadeniz çayları ile harmanlanmış çeşitleri de bulunuyor. Pratik bir keyif tatmak isteyenler için fincan ve demlik poşetleri ile birlikte.

Selen'in geniş ürün yelpazesinde Almanya'da üretilen hazır kahve de bulunuyor. Kahve keyfini sütlü tatmak isteyenler için Selen kahve kreması da üretilmiştir.

Artık siz de Selen markasının kalite güvencesi altında çayınızı, kahvenizi keyifle yudumlayacak, Selen tiryakisi olacaksınız.

**Selen**

"Çay ve Kahve Dünyası"

Figure 3.17. *Milliyet*, 20 September 1997 [Caption: Everyone Will Be Addicted to Selen]

After these international brands entered Turkey, local brands such as *Kurukahveci Mehmet Efendi* emerged and started to sell their products in vacuum sealed packaged in the 1980s (Ahıska &Yenal, 2006, p.282). These instant coffees, but specifically Nescafe, appeared in the menus of luxury restaurants as is Ceylan Orhun’s contemporary restaurant reviews column named The Art of Eating<sup>6</sup> (e.g., “Garden 74” [22 Jun 1984] or “Amarcord” [8April.1984] in *Milliyet*). These sorts of contemporary sources show in the restaurants of that time, coffee served was probably instant coffee, rather than a traditional Turkish cup of coffee.

These instant coffee brands triggered a diversification of coffee consumption in Turkey. With the global popularization of the coffeehouse and coffee culture, people started to learn coffee terms such as “filter coffee,” “espresso,” and “café latte” and to acquire a personal coffee taste (Ahıska & Yenal, 2006, p. 282).The Ruşen Company also launched coffee machines, filter coffees, and filter papers in 1989.

**“Kahve Keyfi”ne Varın...**

Şimdiye kadar edinmemişseniz eğer, yıbaşı öncesini iyi değerlendirin. Hemen bir Melitta çay-kahve makinesi alın, sonra da sadece Melitta'ya özgü kağıt filtreleri...

Ve seçin damak zevkinize göre kahveleri:  
Her şeyin en iyisini isteyen, ama klasikten şaşmayanlar için **Cafe Auslese**, yumuşak içimi tercih edenler için Kolombiya platolarından özenle seçilmiş **Milde Harmonie**, Rio tipi sert kahve arayanlar için **Cafe Moulu**, İtalyan damak tadı espresso ve cappuccino meraklıları için dünya ünitesi **Espresso** ve yeni kahve keyfi, özel harman **Spezial...**

Melitta Kahve Sistemi için Ruşen'i arayın. Kendinizi ve sevdiğinizizi “Kahve Keyfi”nden yoksun bırakmayın.

Ev ve ofislerde yeni yıl armağanı bulmakta zorlanıyorsanız için Melitta çay-kahve makinesi ideal ve özgün bir seçenektir.

**Melitta®**  
“Kahve Keyfi”

**RUŞEN**  
DIŞ TİC. LTD.ŞTİ.

Merkez: Yaralar Sokak 15  
80300 Etiler/Beşiktaş/İSTANBUL  
Tel: 135 49 96 02 (3 hatlı) Fax: 135 49 99  
Şube: Perihan Sokak 67  
81260 Sarıyer/İSTANBUL  
Tel: 841 01 84-141 53-43 Fax: 130 67 84  
Şube: Beyoğlu Sokak 50  
06846 Kızılay/ANKARA  
Tel: 1 516 13 117 82 58 Fax: 125 23 97

Figure 3.18. *Milliyet*, 16February 1989[Caption: Enjoy Your Coffee]

In 1990 Ruşen opened coffee stores in Antalya and Atakoy Galleria that serve cheesecake, egg liqueur and delicious bread and patisseries by “German chef Peter Freudenberger” (*Milliyet*, 2 November 1990).

<sup>6</sup>As seen in Chapter 1, this column was the first example of a restaurant review in Turkey written by an educated culinary professional.

*gi*  
im ve  
rinin  
afan  
turda  
belir-  
erine  
yelor  
u ku-  
ri ile  
par-  
adet  
un-  
erin  
ya-  
ca))  
rak-  
in 3  
ize-  
bin  
ra-  
bin  
ra-  
bin  
ka-  
lar

# da v e t l i s i n i z

Bugün Ataköy/Marina-Regatta Ruşen Bakery, Pastry & Coffee Shop... Yarın Şişli Nova-Baran Center Ruşen Coffee Shop'lar hizmetinize giriyor...

## RUŞEN COFFEE SHOP'LAR ÇOĞALIYOR...



*Antalya ve Ataköy/Galleria'dan sonra, yeni Ruşen Coffee Shop'larımızla hizmet ağıımızı yaygınlaştırıyoruz...*

*Alman pasta ustası Peter Freudenberger'in birbirinden nefis pasta ve ekmeğe çeşitlerini tüm Coffee Shop'larımızda tadabileceğiniz, dilerse özel ambalajları ile alıp evinizde sevdiğinize ikram edebilirsiniz...*

**RUŞEN DÖRT MEVSİM, PETER'İN YUMURTA LİKÖRÜ, CHEESECAKE,** sizleri bekleyen yepyeni lezzetlerimizden sadece birkaçı.

*Melitta kahve çeşitleri, kahve makinesi ve filtreleri ile Ruşen Türk kahvesini de bulabileceğiniz yeni Coffee Shop'larımızda sizleri de bekliyoruz...*

**Melitta**  
"Kahve Keyfi"

**RUŞEN**  
BAKERY, PASTRY & COFFEE SHOP

Figure 3.19. *Milliyet*, 2 November 1990 [Caption: You Are Invited! The Number of Rusen's coffee shops are increasing.]

By 1999, there were an increasing number of venues for drinking coffee in Istanbul's elite neighbourhoods such as Vakkoroma Akmerkez, Marks&Spencer Nişantaşı, Café Frappe, Schlotzsky's Deli, John's Coffee World, (*Milliyet*, 6 March 1999), and Dunkin's Donuts (*Milliyet*, 16 Oct. 1998; *Hürriyet*, 10 May. 1998). Following that, *Gloria Jeans'* opened its first store in Mydonose Showland in 1999.

Another important figure in Istanbul's coffee culture was Raffi Bişar who opened Myott in 1989 in Ortaköy. Myott is considered the cornerstone of Turkish café history. Bişar's agenda seems quite different than others due to his artisan approach and dedication to his business. He laid down strict rules for how consumers should behave in his café, the opening and closing hours, and products

sold there. He opened the store at 7.00 and closed at 16.30. He kindly warned customers who smoke or speak loudly to maintain the gentle atmosphere of the café. Bişar's café sold only espresso-based coffees, muesli, toast, and salad. Bodum brand glasses, tropical fruits, and brown sugar first appeared in Myott. Bişar considered Myottas a true Istanbul café, not a Western replica (Turhan, 2016). Myott was highly admired by its regulars mostly celebrities and intellectuals of this period. Myott operated for 12 years, and then closed permanently (Radikal, 2003).

Later on, Starbucks Company opened its first store in 2003 on Bagdat Street and in NautilusMall, both in rich neighborhoods of Istanbul, which marks the rise to popularity of second wave coffee in Turkey. It is important to note that this was the same year that the West already started to discuss the third wave. *Milliyet* newspaper (3 Aug. 2003) listed ground coffee sellers as follows; Divan, Elittepe Kahvecilik, Hanedan, Hisar, Kurukahveci Mehmet Efendi, Kafeda, Kent, Kraftsa, Kubas, Madenci, Sagra. Other brands active in the ready-to-drink coffee market were Elittepe, Kafeda, Kraftsa, Starbucks, Gloria Jeans' Coffee, Coolbeans, John's, Melitta, Nestle, Sagra. Later, local coffee companies emerged such as Mambochino which established its own roasting facility in 2008 (Mambochino,2019) and Kahve Dünyası opened which in 2004 (Kahve Dünyası,2019).

Although George Ritzer (Ritzer, 2008, p. 217) claimed that it would be challenging for Starbucks to succeed in societies like Turkey that "already have high-quality, and most would argue higher-quality, coffee than Starbucks offers and are famous for their rich coffee cultures," Starbucks did just expanding aggressively into Istanbul and Ankara and becoming a way of life. In 2004, the number of Starbucks store in Istanbul reached eight. That same year, the first Starbucks store opened in Ankara (*Milliyet*, 22 August 2004), and the regional agent declared that they would open five more stores in Istanbul soon. Their success was even beyond the imagination of the investors. The regional agent of the company stated that Starbucks earned the money that it spend for the investments in 6 months, while they were planning to achieve this success in seven years (*Vatan*, 2004). Buying coffee from Starbucks was a way of showing that one was open to the world, modern, and high status

(Ahiska&Yenal, 2006, p. 284). From this perspective, Turkey's engagement with these coffeehouses is similar to that of some Eastern countries, such as China and Taiwan. Henningsen (2012) offered that gaining authenticity and the aesthetic value of the products are central reasons for purchasing from Starbucks in China, which enables consumers to construct their self-images. Additionally, Moskowitz (2015) claims that coffee shops in Taiwan represent modernity and participation in global lifestyles for Taiwanese consumers.

The perception of these stores by the Turkish public followed a similar path. The commercial strategy and agenda of investors have a strong impact on the image of these stores, and drinking coffee specifically. They expand in Turkey using a kind of enlightenment discourse which has pedagogic intentions. For example, when Gloria Jeans' Coffee opened their ninth store in Istanbul in 2001 (*Milliyet*, 26Aug. 2001), the CEO of the brand stated that customers initially ordered products they were already familiar with like espresso, cappuccino or Irish cream. Later however, after they began to branch out, and try other drinks, they eventually come to know almost as much as about coffee as employees of Gloria Jeans' Coffee. Yet he also stated that "The quality level of Turkish coffee market was similar to those developing third world countries. It is not advanced neither are literature, politics, sport in Turkey [(Türkiye'deki kahve piyasası) gelişmekte olan üçüncü dünya ülkesine benziyor. Sporda, siyasette, edebiyatta neredeysek kahvede de oradayız]." Another example which represents the connotations of drinking espresso in Turkey was offered by Emir Yargıcı, the owner of the *Yargıcı* brand. In 2009, he stated that "Whenever people living in Anatolian cities start drinking four espressos a day, we will open a store in those cities" (*Sabah*, 6 June 2009).

# Anadolu ne zaman espresso içerse oraya Yargıcı açarız

**Londra ve Paris'te Yargıcı mağazası açmaya hazırlanan Emir Yargıcı, Anadolu'da ise ancak halk günde dört espresso içtiğinde mağaza açmayı düşünebileceklerini söyledi**

Giriş Tarihi: 6.6.2009

Son dönemde özellikle aksesuarlarıyla ön plana çıkan Yargıcı'nın sahibi Emir Yargıcı gözünü Avrupa'ya dikti. Türkiye'de 20 mağazaya ulaştıklarını ve bundan sonra iç piyasada mağaza açmayı düşünmediklerini belirten Yargıcı, "Batıda Fransa, İngiltere rekabetine girmek istiyoruz. Muhtemelen Paris ve Londra'da mağaza açarız" dedi. Özellikle aksesuvarında kendi fiyat segmentlerinde rakiplerinin olmadığını altını çizen Yargıcı, cironun yüzde 50'sini aksesuvar satışlarının oluşturduğunu söyledi. Satışa sundukları ürüne cevap veren müşteri segmentinin büyükşehirlerde toplandığını, bu yüzden de Anadolu'ya girmediklerini vurgulayan Yargıcı, "Anadolu'daki alışveriş merkezlerinde olmak isteriz ama ne zaman Anadolu'daki insanlar günde 4 tane espresso içmeye başlar ancak o zaman Anadolu'da olmayı isteriz" dedi.

Figure 3.20. *Sabah*, 6 July 2009 [Caption: Whenever people living in Anatolian cities start drinking four espressos a day, we will open a store in those cities. Snapshot: Emir Yargıcı, who is preparing to open a store in London and Paris, said that in Anatolia, people can only consider opening a store when they drink four espressos a day.]

Acquiring espresso habit, not one a day, at least four, becomes a criterion for the desired, targeted customer of the brand: "urbanized and modern" (Yargıcı, 2018), and being familiar enough with espresso as to be used to the heavy taste and not be affected by the caffeine. To sum up, the spread of these global coffees and the rise of the new café culture introduced new consumption practices to Turkey's daily life. In the years to come boutique roasters and the specialty coffee movement will follow a similar course in Turkey. It is important to consider these developments in terms not only of their similarities with the West but also of the uniqueness of the Turkish case.

### 3.5.1. The Specialty Coffee Network in Istanbul

The Turkish coffee market has always had local chains which roast and grind coffee beans on demand. Turkish style "kurukahve [ground coffee]" is available in local shops and stores, the most famous of which are Kuru Kahveci Mehmet Efendi, Mandabatmaz and Kocatepe Kurukahvecisi. Although others are largely anonymous,

they are parts of citizens' everyday life. Therefore, Turkey has a rich coffee culture resembling the sense of specialty coffee.

After global coffee chains spread, it became easy to access coffee beans for home brewing. However, most of them are neither freshly roasted nor specialty. The concept of the "micro-roaster" did not exist in Turkey; roasting was an industrial process. However, there were earlier examples of the boutique roaster in Istanbul. Cherry Bean Coffee in Galata was the first boutique roaster in Istanbul (Kahvve.com, 2016). It was started by two entrepreneurial engineers in 2008 with the slogan "Fresh coffee in the town." They distinguished themselves from others by always having freshly roasted coffee available in their stores. However, they did not specify any information about where their coffee beans come from, or the quality of the beans. Brew Coffee Works in Sirkeci opened in 2012 as boutique store roasting coffee its own site (PlumTheBlog, 2014). Another boutique roaster was Ozo Coffee, opened in Tophane in 2012 by an artist (BuSuper, 2016), and Çekirdek Coffee, opened in Moda in 2013 by a chef (TimeOut, 2013).

Kronotrop was the first specialty-third wave coffee shop in Istanbul. It was opened in 2012 in Galata, one of the old, touristic, and gentrified districts, by Çağatay Gülabioglu. Kronotrop was the first and only micro-roaster in Istanbul. They had a roasting machine whose capacity was only enough to carry one kilogram of coffee. Thus they roasted a small amount of coffee on demand, and all roasted coffee in the shop was fresh. They also served hand-brewing equipment, which was unfamiliar to Istanbul. In 2013, Cup of Joy opened their store in Bebek, one of the affluent neighborhoods of Istanbul. Dripcoffeist is another pioneer, opened (*Food in Life*, 2017) in 2013 at Asmalimescit. In 2014, Istanbul Food & Beverage Group and chef Mehmet Gurs incorporated *Kronotrop* to redesign and restructure. The first owner, Gülabioglu, opened Probador Colectiva which became a hub for roasting, coffee equipment, and training. Later on, the number of coffee shops mushroomed in Balat, Karaköy, Moda, Nişantaşı, and Cihangir. Petra Roasting Co., Coffee Sapiens, Coffee Department, Rafine Espresso Bar, Coffeetopia and Ministry of Coffee are early examples of these coffee shops. Some of these coffee shops were awarded



prizes by *TimeOut*. Some of them were organizers of the Istanbul Coffee Festival. Some coffee shops were mentioned in such international travel magazines as must-do in Istanbul or initials (e.g., *Eater Magazine*, *European Coffee Trip*, *The Guide Istanbul*, *Lonely Planet Global Coffee Tour*, and *Buzzfeed*).

Istanbul Coffee Festival has been organized since 2013 with the participation of lots of coffee companies both specialty and not. The festival hosts interactive workshops, seminars, acoustic concerts, and exhibitions. Turkey's Barista Championship has also been hold at the festival to choose who will compete in the World Barista Championship. The championship includes different sections such as barista, latte art, coffee brewing, coffee roasting, and *andcezve/ibrik*.

## CHAPTER 4

### COFFEE PLACES

The cafe is not a place a man goes to for a drink but a place he goes to in order to drink in company, where he can establish relationships of familiarity based on the suspension of the censorships, conventions and proprieties that prevail among strangers. In contrast to the bourgeois or petit-bourgeois cafe or restaurant, where each table is a separate, appropriated territory (one asks permission to borrow a chair or the salt), the working-class cafe is a site of companionship (each new arrival gives a collective greeting, 'Salut la compagnie!' etc). Its focus is the counter, to be leaned on after shaking hands with the landlord-who is thus defined as the host (he often leads the conversation)-and sometimes shaking hands with the whole company; the tables, if there are any, are left to 'strangers', or women who have come in to get a drink for their child or make a phone call. In the cafe free rein is given to the typically popular art of the joke-the art of seeing everything as a joke (hence the reiterated 'Joking apart' or 'No joke', which mark a return to serious matters or prelude a second-degree joke)..."

Pierre, Bourdieu (1984, p. 183)

The quotation above comes from Pierre Bourdieu, describes how the setting of "men's cafe" is different than "the petit-bourgeois cafe." Nonetheless, how they are experienced also varies. From this perspective, Bourdieu's words make a description that resembles the distinction between "traditional coffeehouse" and "modern cafe" in Turkish context, where the traditional coffee house is gendered spheres dominated by men mostly hosting the dwellers of the neighborhood. On the other hand, "the bourgeois cafe" in Bourdieu's description seems to have close ties with the "modern cafe" in Istanbul. These two different venues have different settings used differently by their actors in daily life. Therefore, one can question the place of specialty coffee shops within this picture. While the bourgeois cafe has "appropriated territory," it also allows people to establish relationships based on the familiarity, but without the suspension of conventions. The specialty coffee shop, however, has its implicit conventions based on building around the stylization of consumption. Therefore, in this chapter, I will uncover the differentiated settings of "coffee-places" in Istanbul by means of "ethnography of space and place" (Low, 2016).

#### 4.1. Istanbul's chaotic drinking-out scene

The phenomenon of drinking-out has never been distinguished from Turkey's social and cultural life, as exemplified in the previous chapters. Throughout its history, there has been a festive eating/drinking-out scene with various patisseries [*pastane*], tea gardens [*çay bahçesi*], wine taverns [*meyhane*], casinos, *bozahanes*, all of which have been significant sites for socialization (Yavuzer, 2015). These kinds of places are the core points of discussion on public life, public space and public sphere as they encourage people to socialize and communicate each others. Jurgen Habermas introduces the concept of public sphere "as a space in which rational, open discussion comes into the fore" (Hetherington, 2002, p. 79). He elaborates on European coffeehouses as one of "the most important sites for the development of public life." His primary focus is the "emergence of the public sphere between civil society and the state" in the 18th century (ibid. 79).

Therefore, the public sphere and public space coincides in Habermas' model (1962). Public space is considered as the "physical location that creates social ties," which may be found in the street culture, playing fields, or architecture. He regards cafes or literary salons as public or semi-public spaces where purely rational actors carry on a rational discussion to contribute "the common good" and "lead to the attainment of consensus (public sphere)" (Aubin, 2014, p. 90). In contrast to Habermas, Hetherington argues that "public sphere, rational and affectual in character, involves social performances in certain important spaces" (1997, p.81). Hetherington (1997, p.80) believes that "recognition of the expressive or affectual side" was missed in Habermasian concept. To put it in a different way, the "recognition that is included alongside rational debate, the development of a convivial sociability to be found in such a things as public eating and drinking (Mennell, 1985), gambling, fashion, theatergoing (Wilson, 1985; Isherwood, 1986)" is not fully covered (cited in Hetherington, 1997, p.80). According to Hetherington, Habermas only emphasizes the rational and discursive elements of the public sphere. In this chapter, I will search into sociability in coffee-places, coffee shop culture and public life herein order to put it in a different way, how individuals

make use of these public spaces (Gehl & Svarre, 2013). While some authors argue that cafés/coffeehouses are semi-public spaces since “they take on the form of public space through the ways in which they are used despite being formally marketized and privately owned” (Jones et al., 2015). They also allow us to explore more comprehensive social transformations in the period they emerged. In Turkish case, different types of venues where people drink coffee can be mentioned. These places are called as traditional coffeehouses [*kahvehane-kahve*], café-coffeehouses (global chains), and more recently third-wave/specialty coffee shops. Different words used for these different types of coffee drinking venues also mirrored the social and cultural differences. It is striking that even though all of these three terms mean “a place where people drink coffee,” each one implies different practices. As Eric Hobsbawm (1962, p.1) noted, “Words are witnesses which often speak louder than documents.” Inclusion of new coinages in the dictionaries or the new meanings a word gain may provide clues on the cultural climate of a country’s specific era. It may also point to new social developments, new phenomena, different ways of seeing and different social classes and segments who interpret these ways differently (Ozbek, 2004, p. 39). For example, using the term “third wave coffee” can reveal new consumption practices, which also imply specific social segments who look for stylized consumption.

Considering several words that signify venues where people drink “coffee,” I will describe Istanbul’s coffee scene as chaotic. These urban spaces were “socially produced –planned, built, designed and maintained- in different historical or sociopolitical context” (Low, 2010, p. 132) however in Turkey’s contemporary landscape; they exist altogether reflecting their initial differences. For example, traditional coffeehouses were still prevalent in Istanbul’s neighborhoods, when cafés were introduced. Although they did not maintain their original forms and meanings, they still had the resonance of the Ottoman tradition, especially in the mind of urban elites. Alternatively, when specialty coffee trend was spread, the other two forms were still on the field. For instance, in Kadıköy or Eminonu, it is still possible to access all different sorts of coffee-places in one such as a traditional *kahvehane*-a place selling only traditional Turkish *cezve* coffee- a global chain store,

and a boutique specialty coffee roaster, each of whose design, structure and customer profile is different. Therefore, in the following sections, I will unearth the physical, historical, and conceptual dimensions of coffee-places, and social relations and practices embedded therein through the perspective of “spatializing culture” (Low, 2016, p.7-10).

#### **4.2. Spatializing “Coffee” Culture**

Most generally, the place is limited and specific to a location, and is an objectification of cultural meanings or affective experiences that people invest in or attach to a specific site or locale (Low & Zuniga, 2003). That is to say, space refers to abstract, unlimited, universalizing, and continuous conception. We can assume that space and place are in a “sub-categorical relationship” where place is contained in space. In this relationship, space is an “encompassing” construct, while place maintains its “relevance,” and meaning as a “subset of space” (Low, 2016, p.12). Kevin Hetherington (1998, p. 184) describes the relationship between space and place as follows:

Space, by contrast, has tended to be associated with materials and their (often Euclidean) geometrical arrangements: the space between things, between the chair and the door, between the earth and the moon, between physical entities that do not in themselves mean anything. Turning a space into a place, giving it meaning, it has been assumed, is the act of human intervention. The way a room is arranged has meaning for me either in the present because of its relation to social conventions about how we recognize a space or in memory, a space that I remember as part of my life, as something that becomes a place by association with events as well as spaces.

Different aspects of space and place is covered by “spatializing culture”, tool for analyzing them in reality. The verb spatialize implies “producing and locating - physically, historically, affectively and discursively- social relations, institutions, representations and practices in space” (Low, 2016, p. 7). On the other hand, culture is “to the multiple and contingent forms of knowledge, power, and symbolism that comprise human and nonhuman interactions; material and technological processes; and cognitive processes, including thoughts, beliefs,

imaginings, and perceptions.”(ibid.7).Understanding coffee culture spatially and the cultural meanings of spatialization(Low, 2010) requires a close examinationunifyingtwo main well-established approaches to the study of place and space, one of which is the approach of “social production of space” and the other is “social construction of space” (Low, 2016; Low, 2010; Low, Taplin, & Scheld, 2009)

First, “social production of the space,” in other words, the built environment includes the history of a place, its building process, its designing politics and its impact on people.“Social production of the built environment” integrates with everyday habits and ritualistic events of the cultural realm and phenomenological experience of individuals. The “social, economic, ideological, or technologicalfactors” contributing to “the creation of material settings” could be involved in the social production of space(Low, 2016, p. 10-15).This approach utilizes Lefebvre’s theoretical framework ethnographically. Henri Lefebvre views space as a social product and offers a “theory of space” that emphasizes “embodied spatial practices and the role of the human body in the production of space” (Low, 2016, p.18). Nevertheless, in Lefebvre’s opinion “space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relationsbut it also produces and is produced by social relations” (Lefebvre 1991,p.286, cited inHayden, 1995, p. 31).

On the other hand, the second approach, “the social construction of space,” in other words, “place-making” explores people’s usage of place, meaning of place for people, and people’s feeling of comfort orexclusionwhile they are present in the place (Low, 2016, p. 3-5). This approach also uncovers the racialization or privatization of places and class relationships. Thus, spatializing culture “evolved into a multidimensional framework that includes social production, social construction, embodied, discursive, emotive and affective, as well as translocal approaches to space and place through subsequent research and theory building.” (ibid. 7). I will concentrate on the historical emergence of space, the sociopolitical ideologies, and political or economical forces that can be involvedin its production, its social uses and relevant affective and symbolic meaningsherewith (Low, 2010,

p.130). Among all these aspects, historical, economic or political viewpoints refer to its social production, while the usage, affective experiences or symbolic meanings refer to the social construction of space. I will put forward that there are two main focuses of this chapter. Firstly, application of spatializing culture to coffee places would reply to such questions as: Why so many people are congregated at some coffeehouses but not at others? What do these coffee shops mean to people going there and others living nearby? Are some people comfortable in these spaces while others feel excluded? Secondly, using this framework would allow us to uncover the process that makes specialty coffee shops different than cafés or traditional *kahvehanes*. Why are traditional coffeehouses different than specialty coffee shops? Emphasizing the process of production and construction of coffee places can reveal the thing that makes them different from one another. For instance, not only the built environment of specialty coffee shops but also people's attributions to these specialty coffee shops play a role in this differentiation process. Briefly, an ethnography of space and place or "spatializing culture" will help us analyze how space and place "are produced by bodies and group of people as well as historical and political forces," how people feel in these places and how they perceive these places (Low, 2016, p. 32). In the coming parts, touching upon the history of these places, economic and social forces shaping them and social construction of their spaces, I will present a brief description of coffee-places.

#### **4.2.1. Traditional Coffeehouses- Kahvehanes-Kahves**

Historians and urban scholars have noted that the variety of coffee-place has multiplied since they first appeared. According to Pecevi's chronicle, the first coffeehouses of Istanbul were opened by two Syrian merchants named *Sems* from Damascus and *Hakem* from Aleppo, in Tahtakale in 1554 (Kafadar, 2014, p. 249).

Cemal Kafadar (Kafadar, 2014) links the development of coffeehouses with the rise of modernity in early modern Istanbul (Kafadar, 2014, p. 244). The spread of coffeehouse in Istanbul brought about the new forms of urbanization coincided with the rise of bourgeoisie, increasingly spending time at night for socializing, leisure and labour, and "the rise of new forms of entertainment or performative

arts, primarily of Karagoz shadow theatre and meddah storytelling performance” (Kafadar, 2014, p. 244). For instance, there were some coffeehouses which became the significant place of leisure life by offering additional entertainment in the form of Karagöz and meddah plays (Kafadar, 2014, p. 244), especially during the Ramadan nights.

On the other hand, historians and urban scholars have different opinions on how to classify Ottoman coffeehouses. Some historians argue that coffeehouses partially fit the Habermasian concept of “discursive public space” based on how Janissary coffeehouses served as rebel headquarters (Yavuzer, 2015, p. 10). However, Cengiz Kırılı argued that “coffee-houses diverge from this model because they were not protected from state’s regulation attempts.” (cited in Yavuzer, 2015, p. 10-11). Janissary coffee houses opened and visited mostly by Janissaries were beyond regular coffeehouses. Ali Çaksu (2007) thinks that Janissary, as “the former military,” and the café as a civic institution primarily, “came together to reinforce one another” (p.117). Janissaries were social forces who represented civil citizens’ demands, concerns, and complaints but never hesitated to be an element of oppression (ibid.155). Janissary coffee-houses were important venues in the political and military life of the Ottoman Empire. They were not only venues for cultural, social or entertainment activities but also places for “practice of Bektashism” and “official duties like policing and market inspections” (ibid. 121).

Secondly, the rigid separation between public and private “representations prove a hindrance rather than an aid in describing Ottoman cities” (Mikhail, 2007, p. 134). The “rigid conceptualization of space within the Ottoman empire would in all likelihood prove ineffective in describing the vast multiplicity of spaces that made up the Ottoman world” (ibid. 134). Mikhail was intended to do this just to eschew Jurgen Habermas’ dichotomous category of public and private with the help “heterotopia” concept termed by Michel Foucault (ibid. 37). From this perspective, neighborhood coffee-houses provide men a space where they could “assemble to discuss neighborhood affairs, conduct business, gossip and relax with one another,” which had much in common with the domestic space (ibid. 148).



In the following years, public life in traditional coffee-houses changed, especially after the loss of Yemen, the primary coffee source of Ottoman Empire. Moreover, coffee shortage in 1950s brought the coffee consumption to an end in these places. Therefore, coffee-houses transformed into venues where people began drinking tea owing to the fact that governmental policies achieved success on tea farming (Alkan, 2016, p. 619). In the same years, tea gardens and patisseries also expanded (Wohl, 2017, p. 60). However, although these places had turned into venues where people drank tea, they were always mentioned as coffeehouse [*kahve-kahvehane*], something that never changed. Such alterations can also be observed in architectural style or furnishing, social class, and range of occupations. The gender composition of users cannot be involved in those changes; coffee-houses are still male-dominated places. Most of the changes are the result of both global and national economic forces that brought increasing cultural and social diversity and caused cafes to emerge.

#### **4.2.2. Café – Global Coffeehouse – Coffeehouse Chains**

In Turkish, café is a generic term used for a place that functions simultaneously as a patisserie/restaurant/bar and where various foods and beverages can be consumed (Ahiska & Yenal, 2006, 286). Henri Lefebvre describes café and this sort of place as a venue which “valorizes certain relationships between people and space” (Lefebvre, 1992, p. 56). There exists a “spatial consensus” like being trouble-free and a quiet area where people go peacefully to have a good time and this can easily be included in the civilization process (ibid. 57). It is true that cafés appeal more upper classes with their separate tables, from which one needs to ask permission to borrow a chair or the salt (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 183).

When cafés emerged in Istanbul, most upper-class families began socializing in these cafés and global coffee house chains. According to Cengiz Kırılı, these cafés, especially the ones in 1980s, are meant to differ from traditional kahvehanes (Ahiska & Yenal, 2006, p. 287). *Kahves*, specifically “in the mind of urban elites” are venues preferred by neighborhood residents, mostly by men. There are strong associations between traditional kahve and East, laziness, unemployment and killing

time, especially in the mind of urban elites (ibid. 287). In contrast with traditional kahves, these new cafés are places where men and women can socialize together. Their menus and their decoration styles display a global aesthetic that indicates distancing from an “Eastern” lifestyle (ibid.289). Alongside, café symbolizes urbanity, modernity, and the West, of course.

These cafés and coffeehouses also differ from one another in terms of location, menu, and price policies. There is a subtle difference between plain, cheap cafés mostly preferred by students to stay long hours without being forced to order something and “other types” of luxury cafés where customers are offered various dishes and meals prepared by professional chefs and cooks (Ahiska & Yenal, 2006, p. 287). In Turkey, Starbucks and other coffee-houses emerged as a part of the new café culture. In addition to their Western decorative style, they provide a sphere for “a taste of romance,” “an affordable luxury,” and “causal interaction.” So, these coffeehouses also encouraged customers to come to Starbucks with their laptops and connect to Internet by a wi-fi connection (for a fee), which make them more attractive venues (Ritzer, 2008, p. 218).

Furthermore, café in Turkish context implies not only economic differences but also differences in lifestyles, political or cultural inclinations. Parmaksızoglu’s investigation (2009) represents bohemian bourgeois’ preferences of artisanal, boutique cafés in Istanbul for conspicuous consumption or authenticity experiences. Some cafés in Uskudar or Fatih, neighborhoods with symbolic meanings in the mind of Islamic actors, tend to host more Islamic or conservative guests (Komecoglu, 2016, p.65-70). The wish to be preferred by particular social groups may influence product sale or interior design. The most ironic expression of changing cafes’ settings based on the target group can be seen in the news about Davidoff Café in 2009. According to articles in *Hurriyet* (26 August 2009) titled “How Davidoff Café Saw the Light? [Davidoff Kafe Nasul Hidayete Erdi?] by Eyup Can and *Milliyet*(31 July 2009) titled “Conversational Turn Mixed the Mall [Muhafazakar Manevra Alışveriş Merkezini Karıştırdı]”, due to his ambiguous rental problems with management of mall, the owner decided to attract Islamic agents and change the setting of the café, thus he could maximize the profit and also annoy the

management. Signature products of café including many types of alcoholic beverages and dishes from world cuisine were replaced by traditional Turkish dishes such as white bean stew, pilaf, steak tartar a la Turca, and traditional black tea. The strategies of café achieved success and appealed Islamic/conservative social groups, especially after it replaced jazz music with arabesque music and hired headscarved waitresses (*Hurriyet*, 2009; *Milliyet*, 2009). In my belief, being a fine dining venue for Islamic/conservative agents, Davidoff Cafe covered a symbolic distance from Western-style food and eating habits. In this case, I suppose, they were Islamic agents who avoided culinary products associated with the West. I also think that such a rigid separation between Islamic and secular social groups, who went through different socialization processes, is invalid. In addition to all these, this case represents the stereotypical view of culinary consumption and cultural differences in Turkish context, which can be used for the service industry as a marketing strategy.

In the advancing years, specialty coffee shops, similar to global coffeehouse chains, were opened in upscale elite neighborhood. Be that as they may, specialty coffee shops have emerged as a new type of consumption, different from cafes, and offer stylization of both producing and consuming coffee, and require knowing how to consume the coffee.

#### **4.2.3. Third Wave- Specialty Coffee Shops**

Third wave specialty coffee shops as urban places are a relatively new phenomenon, not only in Turkey but also in the rest of the world. These coffee shops declare themselves strictly different from the global chains or second wave coffeehouses by their name, “the third wave,” the process of how they produce, supply, or serve coffee. With the spread of third wave shops, some global coffeehouse chains, once represented quality, are no longer favorite just as in the past. The emergence of third wave coffee shops even affects Starbucks shops, the mainstream one, since it triggers to release the Starbucks Reserve to the market (Starbucks Reserve, n.d.).

Specialty coffee shop is beyond a regular café. Social interactions among barista and customers contribute to the designing strategy of the coffee shop. In a specialty coffee shop, customer's desire to talk about coffee, coffee beans and brewing equipment is more profound than in any regular cafés. In an ordinary café, customer can talk about tea; cookie or another product with the employee, but the conversation will probably be limited. It may start with the questions of ingredients, cooking methods and may move on mentioning food blogs or celebrity chefs. In my fieldwork, talks and interactions in specialty coffee shops are essentials of some shops including global and local networks among participants of specialty coffee culture, celebrity baristas, coffee events, and popular social media accounts.

Placing the equipment in specialty coffee shops also constitute the built form of the shop, as the coffee-shop-owner 1 stated that they put espresso machines in a way that allows baristas to talk to customers. Similarly, John Manzo (Manzo, 2014, p. 8) stated that low-profile of espresso machines in specialty coffee shops let the customer and baristas communicate with one another face-to-face. Brewing tables and manual brewing equipment permit interactions and allow customers to talk to the barista about the coffee types and brewing methods. These interactions shape the baristas' perception of customers; they tend to describe customers who positively interact with them as good. From a broader perspective, the vibrant atmosphere in specialty coffee shops relates to baristas' perception of conversations as an opportunity of "educating" customers with a third wave mission (Manzo, 2015, p. 755). These are the connections between people, space, machines that shape the space of third wave coffee shops around "this educational mission". Also, specialty coffee shops are spaces where human and nonhuman bodies "produce, reproduce, shape, and assemble" space and place (Low, 2016, p.7).

In the case of Istanbul, pioneers of these specialty coffee shops follow similar patterns with those of cafés and secondwave coffee houses since they also appear in upscale neighborhoods. The neighborhoods on which I conducted my fieldwork are Cihangir, Karakoy, Moda, Gayrettepe, Topagaci, Balat, Bebek. Streets and roads

of Balat, Karakoy, Cihangir, and Moda are full of cafés, kiosks, and restaurants just like a parade. It is possible to observe a lively atmosphere in those neighborhoods full of youngsters drinking in front of stores, pubs, and art galleries. I observed some people coming there and say “I will move to the USA tomorrow. Before leaving the country, I would like to visit your coffee shops. I always followed your social media posts from Antalya.” I also saw some Persian baristas seeking coffee sponsorship to participate world barista tournament.

I believe that there some commonalities and differentiations among neighborhoods where specialty coffee shops are started to be opened. For example, in my mind, Karakoy is more popular and hosting diverse groups due to its location and fashionable character. On the other hand, cafes in Bebek are more exclusive, and do host mostly dwellers of the neighborhood. Such factors as being in a distance location from public transportation system contribute to the exclusion process and also the socio-cultural identity of the cafe. Amy Mills (Mills, 2010, p.2) describes her process of mental mapping of socio-cultural identities of neighborhoods as follows:

As I became familiar with Istanbul, I began to detail my mental map of the city, developing my understanding of the socio-cultural identities coded in *mahalle* place names: I knew Suadiye as an upper-class neighborhood near an expensive shopping district on the Asian side. I thought of Cihangir, located near the cultural center, as a gentrified neighborhood with an interesting leftist political history. I was less familiar with Fatih, a poorer neighborhood on the historical peninsula with an Islamist cultural-political identity.

That a certain type of customer visits these shops coincides with the fact that specialty coffee shops open in certain neighborhoods, which we can understand this relying on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and habitat (Bourdieu, 1999). Some coffee shops are in the settlements of higher social status and have *mahalle* setting, like the ones in Bebek or Cihangir. I could see that people in Cihangir or Bebek knew each other. They were greeting each other and asking questions about one another's lives. Cihangir is also a touristic place located near Taksim and that is why lots of domestic or foreign tourists come by to visit coffee shops. Karakoy, as not a residential district, is used more for leisure and consumption by people living in different parts of Istanbul and Turkey as well.

Specialty coffee shops spread to malls or museums, and other upscale neighborhoods like Fener, Yeşilkoy, Atasehir and Levent to meet the coffee needs of white-collar workers. Also, there other specialty roasters opened in Yeldeğirmeni<sup>7</sup>. Majority of neighborhoods on which I carried my fieldwork is the residential neighborhoods of foreigners. These old neighborhoods, where Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and other minorities used to live, have gone through gentrification. These neighborhoods like Galata or Balat were not desirable in 1970s, due to the fact that poor people lived there, gypsies or Kurdish people migrated there and ultimately more refugees from Central Africa or Southwest Asia settled there. After 1980s, this neighborhood was renovated for tourism, consumption, and leisure (Mills, 2010, p. 20). Mills states that “people who move to or visit the new historical areas are not interested in any critical revisioning of history but rather articulate an elite and European lifestyle through locations that represent a Western identity” (ibid. 20).

Therefore, the preference of the location represents targeted cultural groups of the shops and their cultural values. “Cultural values refer to the shared meanings associated with people’s lives, environments, and actions that draw upon cultural affiliation and living together” (Low, 2009, p. 15). Also, values may be understood as “symbolic content attached by a group” to a place (Washburne, 1978, p. 177). In addition to the socially constructed values of neighborhoods, the interior space of coffee shops refers to a particular strategy to build a European atmosphere with their names, songs, international magazines, books, and newspapers. The design of the place itself reduces “vitality and vibrancy of the space” (Low et al., 2009, p.1). The patterns of design and management not only make some people feel excluded but also diminish social and cultural diversity since they are “by-products of privatization” which require specific strategies based on economic and cultural hierarchies (Low, Taplin, & Scheld., 2009, p.1).

---

<sup>7</sup>A lately gentrified neighborhood that attracted attention after *Gezi Park* protests.

Investigating specialty coffee shops in terms of the difference in the extent of various social groups' participation reminds of marginality and ethnicity literature in the USA (e.g., Washburne 1978; Hutchison 1987; Anderson, 1999, 2011, cited in Low, Taplin, & Scheld, 2009, p. 41). While the explanations centering on marginality literature for under-participation of colored people were based on socio-economic factors such as the accessibility to places, affordability of products, or the cost of visiting (ibid. 41), the explanations centering on ethnicity for under-participation of different groups focused on different cultural values analyzed previously. In specialty coffee shops, certain factors like working hours or pricing policies determine people's participation. There are coffee shops which strictly close its doors at 7.00 pm, which means that a regular office worker' existence is less probable than a freelancer there. Furthermore, these places are pseudo-libraries, which explains the participation of students and freelancers with wi-fi connections. Caffeinated beverages and the general relaxed atmosphere of these shops are akin to third place. Also, specialty coffee shops function as the points where people can meet; experience the atmosphere, access the fine products that fit their taste. In the following sections, I will discuss whether characteristics' of specialty coffee shops fit the concept of third place after analyzing its class-based structure and sociability practices.

#### **4.3. Sociability in third wave/specialty coffee shops:**

Lennard & Lennard (1995) argue that "urban public space" is an essential element that determines whether a city is livable or not. Good urban public space should easily be accessed so that customers can be offered a bunch of activities and gain self-esteem, sense of belonging, enjoyment fun, and social interaction. Therefore, one should ask what specialty coffee shops mean for their participants and whether their self-esteem or sense of belonging rise thanks to their presence at those places? I will employ a theoretical conception of "third place" by Ray Oldenburg (1989) in order to examine the functions of specialty coffee shops as urban public venues. Previously, I did not regard specialty coffee shops as places for hanging out and just thought that they must have been venues for experiencing refined tastes. The very first time I focused on the idea that specialty coffee shops might function

as third place was when I faced with the cases of “jobless men” and “the barista friend.” After defining third place, I will mention these two cases and touch upon the spark that makes me regard specialty coffee shops as third places.

Third places are “the core settings of informal public life” (Oldenburg, 1989, p.17) since they host “the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realm of home and work lots.” Ray Oldenburg categorized home as the first place, which is a domestic environment and business environment as the second place for gainful and productive works (1989, p.14). On the other hand, third places are where people spend their time for “socialization,” “free interaction,” and “build a friendship” away from the roles or duties that wait for them in other places. Referring to George Simmel (1949), Ray Oldenburg argues that “pure sociability” should be experienced in third places. George Simmel explains (cited in Oldenburg, 1989, p. 25) “pure sociability” as “precisely the occasion in which people get together for no purpose, higher or lower than for the ‘joy, vivacity, and relief’ of engaging their personalities beyond the contexts of purpose, duty, or role.” From this perspective, it is possible to offer that third places are alternative places that allow people to “escape from their mundane routines” (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982, p. 269). This “escape theme” is common in all third places; however, the benefits of participating in third places are not limited to this. As Oldenburg set forth, the third place provides “uniquely qualified experience to sustain a sense of well-being among its members” by means of allowing them to enjoy the quality of human association. People experience democratic participation and qualified conversation in a playful atmosphere while feeling as if they were home. It is essential to experience “easy and random communication” in the third place; thus “businessmen clubs and singles bars which people inhabit in order to informally encourage the achievements of former goals” (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982, p. 269) are not third places. I propose that some components of third place are missing in specialty coffee shops, which poses an obstacle for experiencing pure sociability. In the forthcoming lines, I will focus on the missing components in Istanbul’s specialty coffee shops.



#### **4.3.1 Case of jobless men**

I met him in coffee shop-2. He was like thirties. When I observed the coffee shop, it appeared to me that he had already been familiar with baristas, owners, regulars of the shop. He was greeting most of the people coming there and sometimes talked to them. Finally, I attracted his attention as a person in the coffee-shops, who was eager to talk to someone. He introduced himself to me as “the most precious customer of the coffee shop.” He jokingly mentioned that baristas did not like him; but he liked them very much, contrarily. Thus, I decided to interview with him regarding him as an interesting informant. During the interview, it appeared that he was coming to the coffee shop every day since he was unexpectedly fired from his white-collar job. While he spent time in the cafe, he did not prefer specific coffees but drank only cappuccino. He did not force himself to drink filter coffee or espresso due to their bitter taste. He just liked cappuccino, so he drank it everyday. During the interview, I could not get any answer from him longer than four words. I could have only brief answers without any sign of affection. In any question, he just expressed that he came here everyday and it was a pleasure for him to sit in the cafe and talk to people. He did not have any coffee machine at home. I just pondered on the benefits he gained coming to this coffee shop and talking to customers.

#### **4.3.2. Case of the barista friend**

I encountered a similar case in another coffee shop. The barista friend was a teenager preparing for university exams. He came to coffee shop at an early time of the morning. He even came the coffee shop one day before in his university exam and talked to baristas about the exam. He explained his motivation as such:

I come here almost every day. I like talking to the baristas; they are my friends. We talk about the coffee. I like talking about coffee, coffee houses, and baristas... I met a guy on the bus whom I remembered from here. We recognized each other, started talking, [and] now we are planning to visit other coffee houses together. After leaving here, I am going to Karaköy to visit another coffee shop.

Apparently, he regularly goes to one coffee shop in the morning and to another one in the afternoon. He defines himself as a sportsman that is why he drinks coffee

without sugar since his childhood. He drinks espressos every morning before he cycles. However, he is also keen on trying new coffees; therefore he is offered new-coming coffee beans to drink in coffee shops he regularly visits. He says that he sometimes helps baristas and they work together (even though he has been never got paid), he sometimes takes away coffee bags from one coffee shop to another. In the quotation above, he expresses that he is friend with baristas and sometimes they eat together. He really likes talking about social media celebrities who post about coffee and other specialty coffee shops and employees. He says that some coffee shop owners took his phone to make him study, while he was preparing his university exam. In my eyes, these coffee shops and participation in their routine were meeting his needs of interaction and friendship. Later on, I would specify that these cases are not unique since there are many other people going to these coffee shops for social interaction or chatting with barista to learn cultural codes of third wave/specialty coffee. Therefore, I think that analyzing these places based on the concept of third place will give me the necessary insight on their usages.

#### **4.4. Specialty Coffee Shops in Istanbul: Are the "components" of third place really there or merely not?**

Ultimately, it appeared that specialty coffee shops might be places where people meet their needs of association, self-belonging, or communication. For example, another coffee drinker told that as much she engaged in this culture, the employees in the coffee shops became her "beloved friends". Similar statements were used by other informants that they became friends with shops' owners, baristas, and other customers. It was obvious that they felt a bit proud of making friends with employees of coffee shops. Being mostly student or freelancers, there are some other people who constantly go to coffee shops and have become regulars hereof. From this perspective, specialty coffee shops appear very close to function as third places. However, Oldenburg assumes that third place has some other characteristics, all of which these make the third place a neutral one free from social hierarchies.

Oldenburg believes that removing social hierarchies is one of the crucial aspects of third place so that people can experience "pure sociability" as defined by Georg Simmel (1949). He figures that English coffeehouses were levelers as they used to make people from different social classes meet and allow them to experience a joy of association, which was possible as a result of the fall of feudalism (1989, p. 24). Nevertheless, all those fine products, seasonal drinks, specialty coffee beans, or even sometimes a cup of excellence<sup>8</sup> beans cannot be priced on a moderate level. Not only being able to afford purchase products but also being familiar with the culture or meaning of these products bear an impact upon people's participation in specialty coffee shops. We can mention multidimensional factors such as economic level, lifestyle or age that affects people's participation in specialty coffee shops. For example, one of my informants said that her father never wanted to come to this kind of places as the secular and youthful atmosphere inside the shop worried him. It is true that participation demand of millennials is much more. In my fieldwork, most of the informants were born between 1980-1997. Two of my informants were only exceptions being born in 1963 and 1964. Throughout the following sections, I will explain the exclusivity of specialty coffee shops' setting with the help of characteristics that Oldenburg attributes to "third place" in allowing for pure sociability.

"Experiencing pure sociability" seems hard in these places. Pure sociability within this context can be described as "a precise occasion in which people get together for no purpose, higher or lower than for the 'joy, vivacity, and relief' of engaging their personalities beyond the contexts of purpose, duty, or role" (1989, p. 25). The vibrant interaction in specialty coffee shops is built around coffee community, specialty coffee knowledge, and refined taste. Also, Oldenburg (ibid. 22) suggests that third places should be neutral to allow for pure sociability:

In order for the city and its neighborhoods to offer the rich and varied association that is their promise and potential, there must be the neutral ground upon which people may gather. There must be places where

---

<sup>8</sup>The Cup of Excellence is a national competition held in 11 countries each year designed to uncover and auction the highest quality specialty coffees

individuals may come and go as they please, in which no one is required to play host, and in which we all feel at home and comfortable

#### **4.4.1. Are “the regulars” really there?**

As mentioned previously, there are regulars of specialty coffee shops. Some of my informants visit these coffee shops regularly for the purpose of contacting people, building friendships easily or freely talking, or sometimes just buying coffee. For example, there are several customers who are well-known by the owners and baristas as “true coffee people.” Baristas also talk about some regulars and some of them believe that people tend to become regular in their neighborhoods. Barista 7 talks about one of the interesting looking customer who dress like Buddha. The Buddha customer visits this coffee shop every morning; orders filter black coffee and special breakfast meal consisting of two egg whites and one egg yolk. It becomes harder to serve Buddha’s full order every day for employees of the coffee shop so that the café management decides to add this specific meal to their menu called as “Buddha’s omelet.” It is true that there are regulars or veterans of specialty coffee shops who are well-known by the employees. However, they are different than what Oldenburg sees. He (1989, p. 34) writes:

The third place is just so much space unless the right people are there to make it come alive, and they are the regulars. [ ... ] It is the regulars, whatever their number on any given occasion, who feel at home in a place and set the tone of conviviality. It is the regulars whose mood and manner provide the infectious and contagious style of interaction, and whose acceptance of new faces is crucial.

Regulars in specialty coffee shops do not create any atmosphere or gain any characteristics. As I have observed and noted, no one comes to these places for the purpose of joining in a friendly conversation. Nothing but some come to talk to barista so that they can have more knowledge about coffee. As to the explanations of these people, they come to these for talking about anything related to coffee culture such as hip roasters and coffee shops, celebrity baristas, and the other relevant topics. In the next chapter, titled as “coffee people,” I will analyze these conversations between baristas and customers in a more detailed way.

#### **4.4.2. They are high-profile and far from being “plain”:**

Oldenburg describes a third place as such:

A third place is a public setting accessible to its inhabitants and appropriated by them as their own. The dominant activity is not "special" in the eyes of its inhabitants; it is a taken-for-granted part of their social existence. It is not a place outsiders find necessarily interesting or notable. It is a forum of association which is beneficial only to the degree that it is well-integrated into daily life. Not even to its inhabitants is the third place a particularly intriguing or exciting locale. It is simply there, providing opportunities for experiences and relationships that are otherwise unavailable (1982, p. 270).

However, in specialty coffee shops, a planned strategy for design exists to create an atmosphere. For instance, it seems as if they attempted to create such interior design, which makes the customers feel like in Europe or resembles traditional Italian coffeehouse romance. In addition to this, the owners of these coffee shops also states that they obtain support from designers, artists, or architects in the very beginning. Even though they seem like trying to generate a unique and authentic atmosphere, what they create is a new mainstream at the end of the day. Kyle Chayka (2016) observes that “the same raw wood tables, exposed brick, and hanging Edison bulbs” were there in any coffee shop he visited in Odessa, Beijing, Los Angeles, or Seoul. He thinks, however, that this particular style is different from the decorative style of the international coffee shop chains: “It’s not that these generic cafes are part of global chains like Starbucks or Costa Coffee, with designs that spring from the same corporate cookie cutter. Rather, they have all independently decided to adopt the same faux-artisanal aesthetic.”

In accordance with my observations, decorative strategies of coffee shops can be grouped into two: over-decorated coffee shops with coffee slogans, coffee gunny bags, unused roasting machines or equipment, and other coffee shops that prefer simple, effortless looks. Both decorative strategies are intentional and create a picturesque atmosphere. For example, Barista 6 stated that “Some people come to coffee shops not because they are after a good coffee but they are after good photographs. Nevertheless, over-decorated coffee shops are ironically criticized by

others. Drinker 6 told about how much he did not like such coffee shops creating European image with fake bricked walls and aiming to appeal more foreign tourists. “Not true third wavers” he underlined. Others coffee shops focus on creating fake atmosphere, either. For example, Owner 1 argued that their interior design was unique and inimitable thanks to all of the objects, products, and equipment used by employees and the reason of their existence within the shop is being usable for specific purposes. Some baristas separate coffeeshops they worked in from others in terms of being “hobby-focused” rather than being “fad,” who cared for decorative style far more than the quality of coffee. Thus, differences in design strategies have also become a way of being distinct and provided insight into various aspects of conspicuous consumption.

#### **4.4.3. Not the chats but the coffee-related acts are main activities**

Chatting in third places has a special place in Oldenburg’s discussions due to the fact that it is an essential part of social interaction. Conversation in third place should move on in democratic order (Oldenburg, 1989, p.29), and dominate the place. In my fieldwork, I observed that people have various reasons to come to a specialty coffee shop. In accordance with my frequent observations, people with earphones focus on their laptop without intervening in crowd or the noise of the space and people use these coffee shops as meeting points for dating, hanging out with friends or even making a job interview. It sometimes associates with culinary tourism, which includes desire to explore new places and tastes or access high-quality coffee, a rare one. Some people even visit one coffee shop then another, located in various regions of Istanbul, or visit one coffee shop for the purpose of tasting certain dishes, which can be seen on café’s social media accounts. To my opinion, this is another praxis brought by specialty coffee culture: visiting place by place to try/explore/drink coffee.

Additionally, we can argue that particular conversations between customers and baristas rise from specialty coffee houses. However, neither baristas are regular nor the conversation between customers and them is like what Oldenburg figures out. Conversations with baristas can be considered as a kind of enthusiasm including the

wish for knowing coffee culture in detail. Since specialty coffee is still strange to Turkey, explaining the product is the main activity for people working in the specialty coffee business. These chats between barista and customer and goals of “explaining” or “teaching” coffee culture offer us a wide range of study. Using Erving Goffman’s sense, we can set forth that barista’s bar is a kind of “scene”, where both barista and customer take some roles (Ritzer, 2008, p.221). This can also be analyzed with a focus on why people are so keen on coffee taking the cultural capital behind their motivations into account. All of these points will make content of the next chapter.

#### **4.4.4. Accessibility**

Being located at walking distances from people’s home, third places are accessible. Who do we mention while talking about accessibility? Does living in the same neighborhood, where coffee shops operate, reveal class differences and urban segregation? During my fieldwork, at one day in Bebek I was observing people and taking notes. I heard the chit-chat of two women, who were talking about various but interrelated subjects like gym, sports, yoga, sports coaches, psychoanalysis. One of these women seemed to be a regular of coffee shops since she greeted some people and asked how their job or children was going. Finally, the women realized that a father was sitting next to me with his daughter. I had talked to the father previously and he had mentioned his dream of opening an Asian type pilaf store in Istanbul, which gives much insight into the coffee shops’s dwellers and their interests. So, the women asked the father whether they met before or not. However, the father was pretty sure that they did not meet but the women persisted that they should have met before since he was like someone from Bebek. She said that “I guess you are someone born and raised here in Bebek.” At the end of the conversation, the women stared at me for a few seconds. She did not need asking me whether I was from Bebek, since I was obviously not and also did not look like someone from Bebek. Therefore, we can propose that some coffee shops located at particular neighbourhoods host more homogeneous groups in terms of wealth, cultural values, and even family. This associates with what Pierre Bourdieu (1999, p. 129) explains as “the club effect that comes from the long-term gathering

together (in chic neighbourhoods or luxury homes) of people and things which are different from the vast majority and have in common the fact that they are not common." So that, I, as an outsider was the one "who does not present all the desired attributes or who presents (at least) one undesirable attribute" and could easily be marked as stranger (ibid. 129).

As I kept conducting my fieldwork, I realized that some coffee shops define themselves as *mahalle kahvesi*, which reminds me Bebek organized similarly. Obviously, a coffee shop in Karakoy could not describe itself that way owing to the fact that it is neither located in a *mahalle* nor a residential area. However, employees of coffee shops in Bebek, Moda, and Topağacı tend to use the phrase of "*mahalle kahvesi*" with a specific focus on the café's more plain and cozy atmosphere and the acquaintanceship among their customers. One coffee shop owner focused on similar points:

The coffee shop in the neighborhood is for talking to people who live next to you and talking to your barista in a social atmosphere. When you go to another type of coffeeshop, you wear earplugs and then you are alone. In "*mahalle kahvesi*," even tables are situated next to one another so you can talk to the person right next to you about your drinks...Here is the beauty of the commune [*biraz böyle daha komün bir güzelliği var*]

This term, *mahalle kahvesi*, also alludes to traditional coffee houses (*kahve*) that used to be simple, plain, and egalitarian. To my opinion, *mahalle kahvesi* carry some more tacit meanings identified with patrons since people using the phrase of *mahalle kahvesi* are those living there. Also, people in *mahalle kahvesi* seem to have "properties presupposed by the legitimate occupation of a site (...) which are acquired only through prolonged occupation of this site and sustained association with its legitimate occupants" (ibid, 121). From this point of view, *mahalle kahvesi* provides their members a particular social capital that strengthens their ties. On the other hand, as Michel de Certeau examined, "propriety" describes "the behaviors of neighbours that create belonging by defining who is an insider and who is an outsider" (Mills, 2010, p. 144). For example, some "*mahalle kahvesi*" owners specify that they know all of the customers because they are regulars. Only in weekends these owners see strangers in their shops, who come for visiting or exploring the



place. In this manner, people in the first group are those who are familiar with coffee culture, while the other group is still in discovery process. Drinking specialty coffee for the first group is a part and parcel of a daily routine, while the other group makes it an event. Therefore, in the context of this study, we could assume that “*mahalle kahvesi*” defines propriety, “code of the behavior” and correct attitudes towards drinking specialty coffee. The appropriate practices, identity and cultural background set the ground for “*mahalle kahvesi*.”

#### **4.5. Concluding Remarks**

Throughout this chapter, I have efforted to explain class-based structure of specialty coffee shops by means of various theoretical backgrounds. I first used Setha Low’s ethnographies on space and place, which allow me to elaborate on differantiated settings of coffee-places in Istanbul’s history. From *kahvehanes* to coffee shops, it is possible to observe noticeable differences among these places in terms of their interior design, aesthetics, and also patrons, products, and sociability in Istanbul.

These differences imply the differentiation of cultural attitudes, moral perspectives and lifestyles in Turkey. Similar observations for Istanbul city were also made by Jan Rath, who stated that even branches of Mado, a chain café store, differ from each other based on the location of the store. For example, if it assumes a certain form in Moda, a secular middle-class neighborhood, it takes another form in Üsküdar, conservative neighbourhood(Rath, 2018). Ardekhani (2015) similarly deliberates that the difference between tea houses and coffee houses in Tehran represents the polarization in the country. While tea houses represent older and traditional Tehran, coffee houses represent a young and urbanized population with different political and social ideas.

As a summary, throughout this chapter, I have examined social construction and social production process of specialty coffee shops to understand what they have become today and by which means they decide their customer profile. As Bourdieu suggests, “If the habitat shapes the habitus, the habitus also shapes the habitat, through the more or less adequate social usages that it tends to make of it”

(Bourdieu, 1999, p.128). To explore the relationship between habitat and habitus of specialty coffee shops, I will elaborate on “coffee people” and their social backgrounds in the next chapter.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **COFFEE PEOPLE**

In this chapter, I strive to answer the question of how the consumption of such a product, one already established in Istanbul since the 16th century, was then re-circulated, practiced and, accepted in the 21st century's Istanbul. Through the theoretical frameworks of class, social stratification, and affect, I aim to provide information on the forms and connotations of drinking specialty coffee so that its symbolic and contemporary cultural meanings and functions can be understood. The practice carries multiple meanings including class, cultural capital, and consumption, all of which is shaped by its contemporary practitioners in Istanbul. We can name these practitioners "coffee people," described by Jan Rath and Shaker Ardekani (Ardekani & Rath, 2017) as the group of middle-class consumers who share some characteristic, and consumption practices.

This chapter discusses coffee people in Istanbul and the development of four interdependent goods that they are after: cultural capital, sociability, refined taste, and good habits. My account of the contemporary specialty coffee scene in Istanbul tells the story of these coffee people, who I believe to be after these four goods which shape their consumption patterns and their identities.

#### **5.1. Specialty Coffee Consumption**

The very first studies analyzed the process of the yuppification of coffee (Roseberry, 1996). Thus, consuming specialty coffee is associated with the increasing diversification of American coffee market in the 1980s parallel to the rise of the middle class. The members of the middle class differentiate themselves from others through their consumption choices and their preferences of stylized consumer goods. Coffee is gaining a gourmet beverage status akin to an aristocratic, cosmopolitan commodity, the departure of uprising its status or moving up its class. Zafer Yenil and Meltem Ahiska (2006) have claimed that a similar process can be observed in the Turkish coffee market. In Turkey, the expansion of Western style coffees brought diversification to the market; the diversification itself opened a

sphere where people make choices about coffee based on according to their lifestyle and motivation.

Starbucks Company's massive global expansion has been investigated by a number of different scholars. Bryant Simon (2009) elaborates on Starbucks corporate strategy in the USA to understand its success in his book *Everything But the Coffee: Learning about America from Starbucks*. Starbucks's local expansion has also been analyzed for example in China (Henningsen, 2012) or Taiwan (Moskowitz, 2015) in terms of consumers wish of the participating global market, being cosmopolitan or modern. Arsel and Thompson (Thompson, Arsel, 2004) analyze Starbucks's "hegemonic brandscape strategies" and how they influence local business in the USA. They focus on local coffee shop consumption and the forms it takes under Starbucks's corporate hegemony. In this endeavor, they describe and investigate two different "types of local coffee shop consumption triggered by the reaction to Starbucks' corporate hegemony": 'café flaneurs' and "oppositional localist." Café flaneurs are after the social and creative buzz of the local coffee shop. They consider local boutique coffee shops as sites for experiencing authentic local cultures, while they slightly embrace the "Anti-Starbucks" discourse; they do so without significant socio-political engagement.

On the other hand, there are oppositional localists who are highly engaged with Anti-Starbucks discourse; and prefer purchasing from local shops, thereby displaying their political consciousness. "Oppositional localists are fairly militant in their views about what constitutes a legitimate local coffee shop, questioning the social consciousness and motivations of any proprietor whose establishment does not display a strident anti-Starbucks' political sensibility" (Arsel & Thompson, 2004, p.639). Later years, the term "third wave coffee movement" used in academic literature, specifically after 2014 with John Manzo's studies which cover specialty/third wave coffee shops as sites for sociability and social interaction. More recently, Rath, Hyra, and Ardekhani (2017) have investigated specialty coffee consumption in different regions of the world. Through cross-national ethnographies, they found that the urban middle class from different cities with

“different contextual opportunities, share particular qualities and characteristics” on their consumption choices.

One of the purposes of this chapter is to contribute to what previous studies have presented on coffee people living in the USA, Iran, China, or Netherlands by investigating the scene observed in Istanbul between the years 2017 and 2019. To gain a better understanding of how individuals’ consumption patterns and identities are shaped, I will first describe how I understand and employ the concept of social class, consumption, and habitus.

### **5.1.1. Class**

The term social class refers to a particular sort of social stratification which group individuals in society. according to their financial earning (Newman, 1966). Karl Marx made the most well-known definition of class as “a group of people who stand in common relationship to the means of production” (Giddens, 1993, p. 216).

Different definitions of the social class have been provided by various significant theoreticians, but most are insufficiently explanatory for the 21st-century economic life in urban areas, including that of urban Istanbul (Levent Yuna, 2010). William Lloyd Warner’s (1960) definition of social class in industrialized societies leads to some variations in the stratification of the society. He divides society into three different groups: upper, middle and lower, each of which is subdivided into lower and upper (Camera Jan Patrick 1971 (Camera, 1971; Warner & Lunt, 1941). William Lloyd Warner’s understanding of social class holds that social hierarchies derive not only from the economic variables but also from social variables which include “wealth, income, and occupation but also patterns of interaction, social behavior, lifestyle” (Gilbert, 2010, p. 21). This description has close ties to Weber’s idea of “status group” which means “a communal group bound by shared prestige, lifestyle values and patterns of association.”

He understands the hierarchy of social class (Warner and Lunt, 1941, p.88) as follows

Upper-upper classes: this group was the old aristocracy, family elites. The family has maintained their wealth and large houses in the affluent neighbourhoods for more than one generation.

Lower-upper classes: this group was relatively new rich. They are slightly richer than the upper-upper classes.

Upper-middle classes: these people are business professionals.

Lower-middle classes: these groups are mostly skilled craftsmen, small business owners, and foremen in industry.

Upper-lower classes: semi-skilled professionals, respectable labouring people

Lower-lower classes: unskilled labourers, people on relief.

Warner's categorization is limited in some ways; for example, he does not clarify the distinctions between some classes, such as the lower-middle and upper-lower. His analysis also derives from the characterization of American society that he developed in his research. Nevertheless, using his terminology helps explain social stratification in global, metropolitan, urban cities such as Istanbul. I consider the participants of this study as upper and upper-middle class. Researching middle classes in "low-industrialized" or Westernized countries is a significant field of study because they are a growing market with an increasing demand for global commercial goods and a unique way of localizing the global meanings of commercial goods (Ustuner, & Holt, 2010, Arsel & Thompson, 2004).

Neoliberal structural transformation in the Turkish economy in the 1980s led to economic growth that engendered a bifurcation within the middle class. Through this bifurcation, a kind of new layer appeared among middle classes composed of people who work in global economic sectors at a professional-manager level. These groups started accepting new cosmopolitan consumption patterns (Harvey, 2005; Rutz&Balkan, 2009). In later years market liberalization and integration with the global markets had an increasing impact on social and economic life and this triggered the growth of the new middle class in Turkey (Keyman, 2012). Mills (1951) describes the members of the new middle class as people who occupy professional positions in the healthcare, technology, and education fields as managers, lawyers,

and specialists. Kravets and Sandıkçı (2014) and Fernandes (2006) demonstrate that the characteristics of new middle classes are “holding a college degree,” “speaking English,” and “describing their income as comfortable in corporate careers.” Cavuslugil investigated new middle classes in detailed studies (Cavusgil, 2013; Cavusgil & Guercini, 2014; Cavusgil & Kardes, 2013b) and indicated that the new middle classes “aspire to enjoy comfort, stable housing, better healthcare, reasonable retirement, and job security. Also they possess the disposable income that can be spent on cars, home appliances, better housing, private education for children, and leisure (Uner & Gungordu, 2016).

However, these households are not only the group of consumers with discretionary income; they also differentiate themselves in terms of their values, lifestyles, and political stance. Therefore, applying Bourdieu’s theory on social class and consumption is necessary to understand the variations and differentiation on this issue.

### **5.1.2. Habitus and Capital**

Pierre Bourdieu emphasizes the importance of one’s economic possessions, but he clearly distinguishes himself from Marxism (Bourdieu, 1985, 1992). It is possible to see Max Weber’s reflection with the notion of “status groups.” Pierre Bourdieu takes something from each of the key figures in sociology (Grenfell, 2014, p. 21)

In his theory of class, habitus and capital are the central foci. Habitus is a conceptual device developed Bourdieu in answer to the question of "How can behaviors be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules" (Bourdieu, 1990 p. 65; Maton, 2014, p. 50). "Second nature" or "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 63) are other terms employed by Bourdieu to point the idea of habitus is the influences of past conditionings relate with specific class positionings and “social injunctions addressed not to the intellect but the body” (Bourdieu, 2000, p.141). Employing the concept of habitus allows Bourdieu to transcend the established dichotomies between subject and object, individual and society, internal and the external, reason and emotion, and the soul and the flesh (Pauille, van Heerikhuizen, &

Emirbayer, 2012). In other words, habitus is the result of Bourdieu's attempts to resolve how social structure and individual agency can exist together. To use Durkheim's terms, he puts "how the "outer" social, and "inner," self help to shape each other" (Maton, 2014, p. 50). Therefore, his approach is unification of Weber's, Marx's and Durkheim's theories.

Habitus is "a system of durable and transposable dispositions through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world" (Calhoun et al. 2004: 276-277). Habitus implies one's possessions, assets, and resources all of which consist of "structured and structuring structure" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 170). People's habitus produces their choice of lifestyle, taste, and consumer preferences, which are "structured" by social agents' personal history and current circumstances, such as family and educational background. Habitus is "structuring" because social agent's habitus conditions their current and future practices. Lastly, it is a "structure" because it has a systematic pattern or order. The structure consists of the set of dispositions determine an individual's perceptions and practices. Individuals' dispositions create perceptions, appreciations, and practices (Bourdieu, 1990b). These dispositions or tendencies are both durable and transposable; they continue to exist over time, but they can change or evolve into something in the process of time. Nevertheless, Bourdieu's view is far from claiming that individuals act or are managed through the implications of their upbringings (Maton, 2014, p. 51), Social agents' practices are in "an unconscious relationship," between habitus and a field (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 76). This is the formula that Bourdieu (1984, p. 147) suggests for analyzing practices:

$$[(\text{Habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

That is to say, relations between one's set of dispositions (habitus) and one's position within a social field (capital) where those practices are exhibited determine one's practices. Secondly, capital is another important concept in Bourdieu's theory. "Capital is accumulated labor" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241). The term capital implies the knowledge individuals obtain in a lifelong process from familial, educational, and social structures and institutions. Social agents have a particular volume of capital, and their capital has a particular composition. Capital is strictly related to one's



social class or position in social space. In Bourdieu's approach to class, all social agents occupy a position in social space in accordance with their accumulated economic and cultural capital. He defines different types of capital to emphasize that dominance or power comes not only from one's own economic, material resources but also to from cultural and social properties.

Thus, individuals can be put in a graph or a map according to their portfolio of capital that is the volume and composition of their capital (Crossley, 2014, p 89-91). The map displays the location of occupational groups and social practices. When Bourdieu maps social space (for example, *in Distinction*), he displays the associations between practices/dispositions and the volume/composition of capital (Crossley, 2014, p. 94). Bourdieu states that even if people are proximate in social space; this does not mean that they are identified with each other. They are "classes on paper" in his terms. However, they might develop similar lifestyles, dispositions or a class habitus. On this point, what gives them a sense of place or what cause distinctions is that their practices are affected by position, disposition, and the field in which these practices come into existence.

## **5.2. Participants of the game: coffee shop owners/investors, baristas, and hobbyist drinkers**

In this part, coffee people, the informants of this study will be described as "the participants of the game," or "interested participants." Among the participants, I determine three different groups: owners, baristas, and drinkers. Regarding the map mentioned above of social space, I consider to the owners have a relatively high volume of capital with various compositions. On the other hand, the baristas tend to possess a low volume of capital compared to the owners. The drinkers are another group with various compositions, but probably have a high volume of economic capital to be able to afford to purchase products. In the next lines, I will describe the analogy of game and other concepts related to it in Pierre Bourdieu's theory.

Pierre Bourdieu's analytic approach is best understood through his "triad of interdependent core concepts" (Paulle&Emirbayer, 2012 p.73). He states "Such notions as habitus, field, and capital can be defined, but only within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 96). On this point, the analogy of the "game" helps to understand how both field and other concepts are organized. The field is a structured space possessing its own principal rules, players and habitus. The social field creates a kind of "game space" (McCormick, 2006); it is where the game is played. The game is one in which people struggle to raise their position in social space through what they gain in a particular social field as a result of playing. Individuals act in social fields as if they are in a competitive game and strategically seek ways to maximize their positions. That is to say, the game is played with the goal of improving one's positions in the field. The field imposes its determinations on individuals; one who wants to enter into a certain field has to earn related capital and follow the rules of the field.

Bourdieu offers that players have an investment in the game; in other words, *ilusio*. "Players are taken in by the game, they oppose one another, sometimes with ferocity, only to the extent that they occur in their belief (*doxa*) in the game and its stakes; they grant these a recognition that escapes questioning" (Crossley, 2014, p. 98). People enter into fields by benefiting from their habitus which provides them a "practical sense for what is to be done in any given situation." This sense of practice resembles a "feel for the game" in sports. What provides a "feel for the game" is the overall capital of the participants, which operates as inherited knowledge of how to play or how rules work. As Bourdieu and Wacquant explain (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 98) "People also have trump cards, that is master cards whose force varies depending on the game: just as the relative value of cards changes with each game, the hierarchy of the different species of capital varies across the various fields." That is to say, the value of the cards is relative and is determined by the logic of field. Following the rules or *doxa* of one specific field operates to maximize participants' capital and improve their position.

Bourdieu lists fields in the chapter on habitus in his *Distinction* (1984, p. 208) as “sport, or music, or food, decoration, politics, language.” Food field is crucial for Bourdieu regarding it represents basic distinctions between the “taste of necessity” and the “taste of luxury.” It is possible to analyze coffee space, in its own “symbolic space” with each element being defined against others. Bellavance (2008) has developed a “taste space” of cultural items map based on the intersection of high/low and new/old. Although the high/low distinction is one of the significant classificatory systems to understand how taste is expressed (DiMaggio, 1987), another system, which includes the distinction between old (traditional, established) and new (modern, up to date, rebellious) should also be considered while analyzing the expression of taste. In Bourdieu’s works (1984), the distinction between old and new is regulated by the high/low dimension (Bellavance, 2008, p. 194). This is a system which includes multiple types of distinctions, such as socioeconomic and generational, and also points to the cultural tension between traditional and modern, observed in the Turkish case. As *Euromonitor International* (2019) states Turkey is experiencing specialty coffee culture in between the traditional and the modern. In addition to that, when one considers how Western types of coffees, first or second wave, spread to Turkey, one notices the symbolic meaning attached to the practice of coffee drinking and the cultural differences influencing consumption could be realized. Guy Bellavance conceived (2008, p. 195) a “theoretical plane” composed of four sub-spaces occupied by four different types of taste repertoires: classical, contemporary, folk and pop:

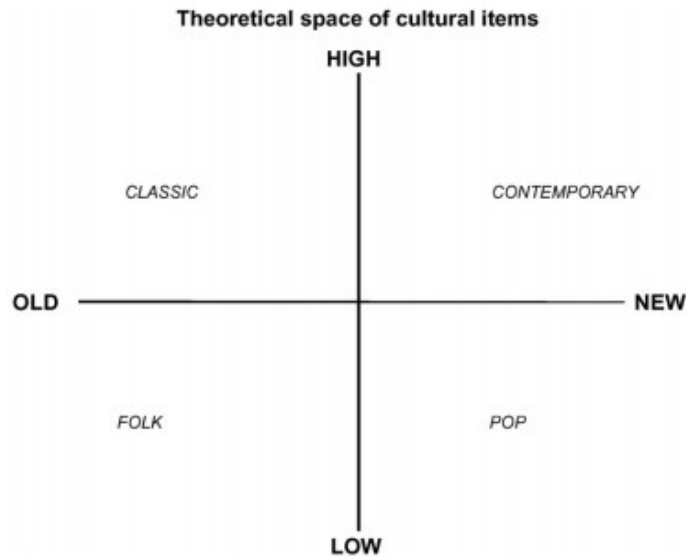


Fig. 1. Theoretical space of cultural items.

Figure 5.1. Theoretical space of cultural items(Bellavance, 2008, p.195)

According to Bellavance, high items whether classical or contemporary correspond with significant institutions, while low items correspond with the market or mass media. Folk style taste repertoires which are located at the intersection of low and old imply traditional practices and taste repertoires. In the case of coffee, conventional and low practices might be a taste of instant coffee or dark roasted ground coffee, which established to the palate of Turkish society. Pop styles are relatively newer than folk but still located in the low axis. This category might be included syrup and cream infused, glittering coffee drinks which might be made of either soluble coffees or ground coffees. Classical items, in contrast, are located at the intersection of old and high, and are associated with items of high Western culture. In the case of coffee, this might include the practice of drinking filter coffee or espresso-based drinks from various origins or having equipment in homes such as batch brew or automatic espresso capsule machines.

On the other hand, contemporary items related to “international edgy art practices” are located at the intersection of new and high. Specialty coffee could be put in this sub-space. However, it might be named differently for several reasons. First, the consumption of specialty coffee in Turkey is also influenced by Western culture. Second, specialty coffee trend is with its new sense toward coffee farming, new

equipment and even new etiquette of drinking. Third, all four sub-spaces can include Turkish pot coffee. The majority of people having folk, pop or classical taste repertoires may enjoy Turkish coffee, which shows that coffee drinkers tend to be omnivorous in their habits. However, when it comes to the specialty coffee space, a discursive opposition against folk, pop and classical tastes can be observed. Although some are reluctant to serve it, specialty Turkish coffee is one of the alternatives in third wave/specialty coffee shops which is prepared by the combination of specialty coffee beans and water at the right brewing temperature. In some stores, coffee is even cooked in a streamlined *cezve* used by champions of barista tournaments. Thus, I believe that it is better to describe specialty coffee as “the breaking convention”, rather than “contemporary,” because it implies a break with the ordinary attitudes or habits, in other words “an ethos of elective distance from the necessities of the natural and social world” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. xxviii). Specialty coffee offers a new area or new mentality that promises a more affluent and distinctive life, which gives rise to a new doxic suggestion, a new perception of coffee. In specialty coffee space, the primary distinction is based on the stylization of the methods of preparing coffee, rather than the product itself. In other words, how you consume matters more than what you consume.

Therefore, the question is how and through what means people internalize coffee drinking practices in this symbolic space as legitimate. These people find this game worth playing, and accept its rules and other players. I categorize them into three different groups: owners, baristas, and drinkers. They all play the game in different positions in accordance with their volume and composition of capital. As a first step, the players in the symbolic space of specialty coffee need to be identified.

### **5.2.1. Coffee shop owners/investors: Authority Position in Coffee Space**

Coffee shops owners are the pioneers of the specialty coffee trend in Turkey; they set the standards inside the game, which includes policies on serving coffee, the process of buying coffee, roasting choices and how to run the shop. To understand the practices of owners and how their capital became dominant in the coffee space, it is necessary to describe their position in the social field, in other words, their

accumulated capital, and also their social conditions of the aesthetic dispositions. This analysis also helps to cover the following points: What are their specific interests, objectives, and strategies that make their entrance into this business easier and based on what do they shape consumption, and how? In what way and through what means do they apply their coffee knowledge in the Istanbul case? How do they set the rules and think that these rules would be appropriate for the Istanbul case? As Bourdieu offers that social agents move in the direction of those social fields to be positioned best in accordance with their dispositions. Their inherited habitus determines both to start playing the game and the outcomes of the game.

Starting with agents class position, which is signified by their accumulated cultural and economic capital, helps us to see the shared social conditions behind their practices and aesthetic disposition on coffee. Bourdieu describes the logic of production and consumption with “homology between the positions of the producers (or the works) in the field of production and the positions of the consumers in social space (Bourdieu 1984, p.20). “The functional and structural homology” form some logic to “structure the field of the social classes between dominant and dominated”to make them positioned in relation to to their accumulated capital (ibid. 232). Thus, owners, like producers, are dominant in this space through their capital on food industry or culinary arts. Some of these owners are elitist white collars, chefs or entrepreneurs. There are some who are wealthy socialites, members of families whose elite properties and family business have belonged to them for over two or three generations. Some manage skyscrapers and some live in manor houses. There is ethnic diversity among the owners; some of them come from established, ethnic or religious minority families.

Their educational backgrounds differ. While the majority have bacheolor degree, some of them have master degree. Among these groups, there are some who have graduated from elite or respectable educational institutions. The birth of date of this group ranges from 1969 to 1989, but the majority of them were born around the 1970s. It seems that opening coffee shops/starting a new coffee trend in

Turkey is mostly an experience of generation X, and generation Y's participation is relatively low. In my fieldwork, most of the owners are male, but there are considerable numbers of women entrepreneurs in this market. Some of them work with their partners; they manage the roaster, coffee shop and all related business as a couple. Thus, regarding, generation, education and occupation, the people in this group are heterogeneous. This heterogeneity derives from different volume and composition of capital

There are also some who were educated in the USA and worked in a professional or managerial position in reputable companies. When we consider the shared anecdotes of how they left their job and established this new one, there seems to be a common relaxation theme: some of them adapted a leisurely lifestyle which allows them to not work for a while, take a break in their career, and find something that interests them. For example, Owner 2 tells that;

I worked in an audit company for five years; I became a certified public accountant. Then two years ago, we opened this store. I had taken my decision in 2013, in the middle of 2013. However I set up the company in 2014, then for 6 to 7 months I dealt with the problems of finance or establishing the store. Finally, we opened the store in 2015.

Owners 3 and 4 followed similar paths in their careers. After making the decision to leave their former profession, they experienced a break which included the process of training, learning coffee, and finding a place to open their shops. Yet there are some who have always been in the coffee business or hospitality sector, and some of them were chef, tradesman or franchise owners.

Nevertheless, the common characteristics they all share include having close economic and social connections with the West and a significant amount of investment. Considering their contemporary position in the specialty coffee business, they start to occupy a new layer in the creative class positions in this "knowledge/information economy" powered by creativeness (Florida, 2002) which highly differ from their former profession. Richard Florida (2002, p.232) defines two distinct groups in the creative class one is "the super creative core" composed of

people who create new ideas and technologies, and work in the science, education, design, engineering, and entertainment sectors, and the other is “creative professionals” who work in business, law, finance, healthcare, and related field using their independent judgment and creative capacities. Working in these fields allows them to develop an experiential work/lifestyle. Owner 1 says that:

This is one of the most fun jobs that can be exercised among people in my generation; this is one of the most flourishing businesses. What I like most about this job, why I try to stay in this sector is what you do shape the market. If you are tradesmen, you do not have a much of a playground to shape your industry. Here is a brand-new playground, so anyone who entered can bring or add something new to the table (...) it is nice to have dynamism, this sector is very very dynamic.

Similarly, Owner 2 considers this job in a coffee shop as akin to a kind of hobby which he tries to leverage and beautify every day by being better at matching specialty beans with the right roasting methods. Owner 4 is more likely to act as café manager; she tries to create both new dessert idea and coffee cocktails by pairing some aromas with coffee. The owner stated that whenever she serves something new in the café, those products are admired a lot by the customers. In addition to these, the quest to serve specialty coffee in a proper way itself operates as an experiential working style. It is experiential because after the first phase of coffee training, they prefer to deal with work by experimenting on their own. Thus, they can find their path and develop themselves in roasting. Thus, we can state that they can know the specialty coffee and all that is associated with it, such as processing, roasting, and brewing. They have “practical mastery,” a “sense of practice,” and “practical knowledge” of coffee (Maton, 2014). There are varieties of web contents and literature including interviews or commercial ads which elaborate on their entrepreneurship stories, their social identities, and how they perceive the contemporary coffee market. They have been invited to some conferences, workshops, and coffee festivals to teach and explain to people what specialty coffee is, how to brew filtered coffee or to make Turkish *cezve* coffee. They determine what legitimate taste is; they have the power to transform their cultural capital into symbolic capital. Their master knowledge takes the form of symbolic power that



allows them to establish “categories and allocate differential values” in the coffee market, which legitimize them further in the process (Deer, 2014). Thus, they can establish new rules on how the game is played, and how and in which ways people drink specialty coffee.

How they reach this position in coffee space and the source of their practices can also be understood through their dispositions. Their set of dispositions has the capacity of “to produce classifiable practices and works [...] and [...] to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170; Warde, 2006, p. 6). Habitus is a “the set of dispositions [that] creates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170). The term “disposition” represents the tendencies acquired from family or educational life. In the interviews, I observed that owners’ memories, family habits, and educational backgrounds have a significant impact on their familiarity with coffee. It is through these encounters that they first experienced and started to consume various coffee drinks and developed a kind of gourmand sense toward coffee.

Owner 1 says,

I realized that the flavors that can be tasted in drinks are nothing like foods. I realized it when I was very little. Drinks and beverages have always been more flavorful than foods (...) I tasted the flavor and aroma of wine, tea and coffee. Coffee is the one in which I can taste the most differentiated aromas (...) I started this business abroad then established my system here. It just soared; I mean my coffee taste and everything related to it...

Familiarity with or the habit of drinking wine is significant in coffee quality; both these practices use shared terminology to describe the quality of a beverage such as acidity, balance, body, and note (Croijmans & Majid, 2016). On the other hand, there seems to be a more general drinking habit deriving from family has much more influence. Owner 4 clearly states that she remembered her parents had a habit of drinking filtered coffee in their home with imported coffee beans, while at that time most people could access can access neither those coffee beans nor filter coffee machines.

Three of the owners in my fieldwork who left their jobs to get run a coffee business caught my interest in how they use and restructure their leisure time. Owner 3 and Owner 2 brought up their former office jobs where they often drank filter coffee with various methods and beans. Although leisure is one of the universal motivations to start and develop a hobby, it takes unique forms in societies with close socio-cultural, economic, and political connections to the world's Western hemisphere (Levent Yuna, 2010). As Robert Stebbins (1992, p.1) puts it, the concept of leisure time and all related activities emerged in Western and Westernized countries. Nevertheless, it gained new meanings related to finding a new career path in leisure. This is "serious leisure" which is "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career these in the acquisition of its special skills and knowledge" (ibid.3). There are also four owners who differed from those others who once experienced coffee as a hobbyist interest. They are culinary professionals or in drinking industries. For some, being in the specialty coffee business is an exercise which is less complicated than running a restaurant. However, some of them continue their career in culinary arts at the same time. In addition to the familiarity with drinking culture gained in earlier phases of their lives, traveling to other countries, specifically Western parts of the world, has given them a kind of awareness of the quality standard of coffee in Turkey. They referred to the realization of the superior level of coffee quality in European or American cities, a degree of quality not found in Turkey. "Why not in Turkey?" is the question that inspires them to enter the specialty coffee business. Owner 4 states that:

The first time when I encountered coffee was actually in 2001 during our trip to London. It was a very different coffee than the ones in Turkey; it was delicious. I said there is something wrong in here (...) so I decided to start a trend of coffee. Coffee never reached a certain standard here; it is far below the standard. So this job might be very joyous. So we started with the idea, built a roasting site, and sold coffee other places.

Having observed or investigated European or American coffee shops is an experience common to all these owners, specifically when they established the shop. This realization or the decision to open a coffee shop in Turkey is associated

with Giddens' concept of ) "critical moment" (2014, p.147-48). Critical moments, in Giddens' terminology are turning points in individuals' lives in which big decisions are made that will have a huge impact on their future life. In the owners' case, starting a new job entails a kind of rupture with their earlier lives. This rupture can involve needing to be trained in coffee the roasting and brewing process, and thus travelling for initial training from the SCAE or SCAA's champion baristas/roasters in countries where trainers live. This is an experience shared by all of the owners. Some have deeper connections with the Western coffee markets; having had the experience of working in respectable coffee shops in the USA or Europe or Australia as a roaster, Q-grader, or franchiser.

Thus, what they intend was to bring this trend to Turkey. They transfer all this information and the mentality that they observed abroad to Turkey. Some of them describe their attempt as akin to a coffee revolution or kicking off a new trend which will redefine all of the coffee production and consumption process from field to cup. This redefining even includes changing the conventional methods of preparing or drinking Turkish pot coffee, which has been established in the culture for centuries. Some only use pots which are made of silver instead of copper because they believe this is the best way. Owner 2 talks about using specialty coffee beans for making Turkish style coffee:

We use specialty coffee beans for preparing Turkish coffee. Nevertheless, from past to present, people's palates have been getting used to the (dark) taste of Mehmet Efendi's coffee. There are some who do not like our coffee, so we explain to them all: "We use specialty beans, (these are) different kinds of beans so that you may taste different aromas than that of Mehmet Efendi's.

The process to bring this to Turkey new trend requires explaining both the product and to struggle of changing of the older palate. Owner 3: "Turkey has a certain palate on coffee, the palate of Turkish *cezve* coffee. It is tough to break its influence, the influence of poor quality bitter coffee beans." They aim to change the mentality of consumers and establish some rules out of the belief that following those rules will give people the most pleasurable coffee experience. It is like new *doxa* which is

produced by the third wave/specialty coffee trend. The new doxa makes people develop an awareness or gourmet sensibility on coffee and encourages them to be after joy and refined taste in coffee. The base of the new doxa is that coffee is a gourmet product; it can be more than older coffee can ever be. It is delightful; it is experiential; it should be investigated scientifically. Owner 2 said:

In the beginning, it is required to learn all processes from some primary sources. There are excellent sources, we found them. We tried the things that they recommended to do. For example, I had never made acidic cupping, so I bought some acids from a chemist. I bought citric acid, lactic acid... There are of course some tips on how to prepare them. After you drip these acids into the water, you can taste it in the water and differentiate what (the taste of) citric acid is. These are acids that are naturally found in coffee, and I tasted them all in this way. These are similar tastes with the ones in coffee. I mean we educate ourselves continuously.

For example, Owner 3 said,

To be able to explain why this (coffee) should be like this, it is crucial to be able to know the product scientifically, and also you should know how to articulate it to customers, so they can understand why it is like that. It does not matter whether they love it or not, but we are still working hard to tell them why. So (...) to decide which water should be used, what kind of water should be used, what kinds of components should be found in water, we performed some experiments and tests. That is to say we took our interest in coffee to a more scientific level. I am still working on it in a scientific, physical and spiritual (*manevi*) sense. By spiritual I mean to explain your products to customers, how to explain it. It is because we are doing very different kinds of stuff related to coffee.

There are some beliefs, individual attitudes, as part of coffee's new doxa. On this point, we can assume that specialty coffee exists not only through beans or beverages but also through discourses on them. Coffee should be drunk with appreciation for its production in the field and roastery. To gain better appreciation, it should be drunk black, light roasted, and without sugar. It should be consumed just because of its deliciousness. Even for some, coffee should not be drunk as an accompaniment to such activities as studying, wasting time in a cafe, or meeting

with friends. Owner 5 describes his place as “just for reaching high-quality coffee” and as “nothing like those others where people go for a meeting or chatting.”

However, the new doxa is not easy to establish. Even though there are some who rely on the new doxa the process of transferring common beliefs is a task that requires some reformulation regarding how it is practiced. Some of the rules should have to be changed to be more applicable to the Turkish market. For example, Owner 2 says “In Berlin, they give you nothing, no no they do not give any (milk)... We have a softer attitude in here, but they do not play any music in cafe and do not let customers use a laptop”.

#### **5.2.1.1. How to produce specialty coffee?**

“Pierre Bourdieu ([1966] 1969) offers that “field” designates the state of a cultural enterprise when the relevant, productive and consumption activities achieve a certain (always relative) degree of independence from direct external constraints” (cited in Ferguson, 1998, p.597).

Nevertheless, the evolution of the coffee field in Turkey is questionable. There is different poles and different modes of production. During the marketing process of their production, coffee shop owners and their employees take some positions, which also implies their distinction strategies. The strategies they use resembles the field of art where some people position themselves “for the values of art for art’s sake” and aesthetic judgment, while others whose practices are dominated by the principles of commerce and profit (Bourdieu, 1993). In my fieldwork, some owners explained that they do not participate in the coffee festival in order to differentiate themselves from commercialized coffee shops. Strategies that they use for differentiations led them a certain amount of autonomy which also gain them a prestige or symbolic rewards. Even though some of these coffee shops seem to be autonomous or to have their own rules, all those can be part of their advertisement strategies. For example, the usage of the language, the adjectives they use to describe the product, and how they design their shop, gained them a kind of autonomy. Some declare their mission as “let everyone have good coffee” or “just

being after real coffee.” The positioning of the producers may also include to use of the term “third wave” or “specialty,” roasting preferences between light and medium, and their roasting style’s proximity to lighter pole. Using lighter roasting methods gains them autonomy a certain extent, which also puts them in the field of restricted production, because the strong acidic taste appeared by light roasting is something one must to be learn or get used to it. Owner 1 talks about how they decided to open a café instead of just working as roaster:

Customers showed a reaction when something new came. We took some nonsense feedbacks like the coffee is being too aromatic (from where they sell coffee). This is why we do this job; however, people started to find it strange. Thus we think that we should have our places where we can serve our beverages. We made people demand excellent coffees in other restaurants having similar style; we made it by brewing coffee in a right way, in a way that we believe that the right way to brew our coffee, as you may see in here.

They seem to have a belief about how this game ought to be played, how specialty coffee should be drunk. Some of the owners say that they are “tradesmen [*esnaf*]” and that is why they are not very strict on some rules for serving coffee as Owner 6 puts it,

A good coffee man should be a tradesman first. The one who sells coffee should know this and should not lampoon other coffee shops. No one opens a coffee shop for doing wrong things (...) Anyone who open a coffee shop probably wants to things in a right way.. How and by what means they operate their coffee shops is related to the capacity and the financial possibilities they have (...), but every product would find its buyers, so every coffee shop are patronized by its own target groups.

What owners 6 focuses on that “there is something for everyone” points that products in different coffee shops are appreciated by people with different cultural interest in accordance with their class conditions and positions. This links to the rivalry among the producers and their habitus, which give them specific positioning (1984, p.231-2). The most basic differentiation shows itself in the point of whose rules are applied to a coffee shop: owners and their aesthetic judgements or taste or customers and their enjoyment. It seems that while those of the ones who

describe themselves as “tradesmen” do not strictly to determine the rules of specialty coffee, because of they are in the business for sell. Others who located in more artisanal pole have specific understanding of how specialty coffee should be consumed, so that they try to educate customers to drink their coffee in their desired way.

Moreover, how baristas and drinkers perceive them is also influenced by their strategies. For example, Owner 1 is sometimes appreciated or criticized for his autonomy, for establishing his own rules. A case point is his insistence on serving acidic light roasted coffees (or “sour” as other people describe it), even though Turkey is not ready to drink coffee in his way or the preference for serving coffee in glasses instead of mugs. Barista 2 implies that Turkey is not ready for a true third wave:

They roast the beans very light. I mean they are too raw. However, wait a minute, you are in Turkey, you are newcomer, but the third wave..? [*Sen türkiyedesin daha yeni gelmiş törd veyv bismillah*] For example, Nusret made Turkish people eat rare or medium rare steaks. He did not apply it suddenly, and of course, he appealed to the taste buds of particular groups. Currently, two years after he started, every place serves rare steaks. But, they tries to apply it suddenly and strictly since the day they began. I mean some people like the rare steaks but some do not. I mean, even I do not like it (coffee), but you roast them raw so that the aroma of the coffee comes to the for.

Sometimes other owners even explain their method by referring to Owner 1’s shop, saying “We do not roast them [coffee beans] as lightly as coffee-shop 1 does.” Thus, we can assert that the rules that owners set for their coffee shops shape their trajectories. The positioning of coffee shops is determined by the positioning of others, mostly by established players, which constitute the field (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 20). That is to say, in such fields meanings and values of products or institutions are not essential in those things, “they are relational” (Rocamora, 2002, p. 234)

However both two groups, even the one having the mission of “coffee for coffee’s sake,” could not easily save themselves from being stuck in between “the field of

restricted production” and “the field of large scale production.” This is because they are still in the service industry, where they cannot resist the impacts of the economic field as a field of power. They need to sell their products, so all coffee shops have some drinks which can be appreciated by anyone like mocha, latte or artisan tea. They also commercialize themselves by using different channels with different styles which make them closer to “the field of larger scale production.” They need to find the balance while maintaining their craftsmanship and their profits. This struggle is sometimes voiced through such expressions as “customer satisfaction,” “not being arrogant,” and “explaining the product” and “the serving coffee in a kind and sweet way.” Therefore, owners develop certain strategies on how to communicate with the customer and how to introduce their product to the Turkish market. All the interaction strategies they use will be elaborated on in the next parts, after describing baristas and their positions in coffee space. I will also focus on the point of “just being tradesmen,” which displays the distinctions among coffee shops.

In summary, coffee shop owners have comprehensive, specialized knowledge of coffee; they produce know-how for drinking specialty coffee. They determine the value of capitals in the field. As they are members of the dominant class with their inherited habitus, they can accumulate a high volume of capital through the process of socialization and formal education. They tend to engage with cultural activities that make them familiar with coffee. They naturally practice these coffee-related activities as an inherited familiarity. This is because almost all the owners come from families with high economic and cultural capital. Their “inherited habitus” provides them with certain dispositions or familial backgrounds. Higher education gives them a chance to have high cultural capital. There is only one exception, Owner 6, who built his career thanks to their previous job in the coffee sector, which acquainted him with coffee circles. Their “acquired habitus” paves the way for learning specialty coffee. Their habitus functions as to produce some strategies to help other players deal with various situations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 27). They are also trainers, instructors who teach coffee to baristas. They generate a new space for the consumption of coffee; they attempt to introduce this strange



sense of coffee into Turkey. I believe, they succeed in establishing this game to a certain extent. People, baristas, drinkers play this game by following the rules that they set.

### **5.2.2. Baristas and Employees: A craftsmanship for the sake of feeling the game**

In specialty coffee shops in Istanbul, it is possible to observe various interior settings styles and different working positions for employees. Some coffee shops are more corporate and has multiple branched; thus all their staff are charged with different tasks and responsibilities. In these types of coffee shops waiters and waitresses, logistics managers, roasters, baristas, managers, social media specialists, and sometimes chefs are all separately hired. Some coffee shops have more boutique settings; thus their owners are responsible for both roasting and managing, and sometimes being a barista.

Behind the barista bar, there is a system akin to a kitchen hierarchy composed of a head barista and others. The head barista is generally the most experienced one and is responsible for the training of other baristas. The educational profile of baristas seems to be heterogeneous. Their birth date range from 1985 to 1993. They are university students pursuing their education or high school graduates participating in Open University programs. Some of them are college graduates who have worked in various positions in the service industry. In the fieldwork, a few of them were white-collar workers who left their careers for a simpler and more satisfactory work life. Barista 6 said that “I was working in a museum, but the job did not satisfy me. I needed a job that makes me feel more relaxed after I finished my shift. I realized that what I need is a social, dynamic, and energetic job. Here that’s what I feel.”

Nevertheless, most baristas work as blue-collar workers. They are responsible for dishwashing, cleaning the toilets, wiping tables, etc. However, it is still a prestigious job; it is craftsmanship. Baristas produce know-how or practical knowledge of coffee by experience. This is a crucial point to understand their position in both social space and coffee space, especially in the century which is defined as

“producing know-how” by Zygmunt Bauman or described as “to know how to do, to know how to live, to have the license on a topic” by Lyotard (1990). There is one roaster who said that he was a cleaning worker before his job in the coffee business and then became an awarded coffee roaster. Unlike service jobs, in the cup that they serve to customers, baristas serve an image, their knowledge, and craftsmanship. In coffee shop, they enter in a small but intense world of social interaction.

Most of the informants in this group had worked as a barista in franchise coffee chains or as a waiter. Several baristas claim that the barista job is quite similar to being a bartender; some of them even worked as a bartender in the past. Baristas are mostly men, which is another significant aspect of the gendered connotations of the barista. Gender gap is frequently encountered situation in the service industry. Spradley and Mann (Spradley & Mann, 1975) analyze cocktail waitresses process of adapting the patterned interaction strategies between male and female in society to their work environment. They state that each of the waitresses starts working equipped with bits of tacit cultural knowledge which make them aware of “their demeanor must be less aggressive than males, that their speech should be less direct and cutting, and that their movements should be more graceful.” Customers expect emotional labor from baristas in the form of informative answers, greetings or suggestions. Friendly environment is socially constructed in coffee shops to make easy to talk about specialty products, so these cultural knowledge reflect women baristas’ behaviour and attitude on how to greet customers, how to explain the menu and the products, and how to struggle with customers who try to flirting with them. Also, Perrish (2018, p 72-81) demonstrates that customers tend to trust expert information when it comes from or is approved by male baristas. Sometimes, they even fail compelled to confirm, their order with male baristas if they first give it to women baristas (Parrish, 2018, p. 8). Most of the time, I interviewed male baristas because coffee shop owners prompted me to talk with the most experienced, the first hired baristas which who are mostly men. When I asked informants to describe the typical barista image, the majority replied by referring to tattooed, muscular men with long, bushy beards. It is striking that while most of the

baristas in my fieldwork were not bearded, “the barista” is nevertheless perceived as a show-off with a beard and tattoos. Some female baristas replied by directly bringing up how male-dominated this working area is and how they admire female barista champions who compete in the world tournament.

If we analyze baristas’ shared memories of starting this job, we can see the impacts of their acquired habitus, social environments, and education on their dispositions (Bourdieu, 1984, p.13). Baristas’ acquired habitus, the conditions and features of their families do not give them any familiarity with specialty coffee (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56; Reed-Danahay, 2005, p. 2). This familiarity comes from the previous, temporary jobs that they have worked. Their past conditions, such as employment histories, enable them to gain practical mastery. Some of them mentioned their high school years when they first started working in global chain coffee stores. The habitus of baristas as their personal history determines and shaped their ways of acting and thinking. The majority of baristas consider the job as a transient occupation but do not plan a significant career change. The majority seem to have no specific anticipation related to their future career. Some want to be a trainer or join the barista championships. Barista 5, as an exception, was planning to be a judge of Specialty Coffee Association (SCA) in the future. In his word:

I aim to be a judge in international competitions in the future. I need to be an instructor first. The SCA has programs to become an instructor. Starting from the first of those training programs, you collect points from each module. After you've reached 100 points, you become the assistant trainer. Then you take the trainer exam, and then you become a judge.

I believe that Barista 5’s “ongoing conditions of existence enable more of a feel” (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 58). He is an engineering student at Bogazici University and has a relatively different background. He became acquainted with specialty coffee, while he was in Berlin for the Erasmus program. He first aimed to work in the coffee shop to save money; he transformed it into a plan. He talks about his process of learning how to barista as follows: “When I was first hired, there was a man from

England who was the head barista. At the first two months of work, I got detailed training. He left the job six years after I started. Then I became the head barista”.

The strategy of the process of learning how to be barista can be best described as “following” which means they pursue the rules established by the owners. Some (e.g., Barista 6, 9, or 4) claim that they first applied to these coffee shops after drinking coffee there and observing the mastership of the owner. As Barista 1 and others said, they completely apply what they learned from the owner when they prepare daily purchase products, brew coffee, and make espresso. More generally, there is a system akin to a “master-disciple relationship” in these coffee shops. As Barista 3, who was once bartender said,

I had worked as a cocktail bartender. The working conditions, the night shifts and all the negative impacts of this sector became disturbing over time. I researched what can I do in related sectors; I researched coffee shops and found this place. I have worked here for two and a half years. (...) I started here without any specific knowledge and information on coffee, yet I learned many things here.

In addition to learning from a head barista or owner, “auto-didacticism” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.24) is the key to becoming a better barista. Coffee knowledge is accumulated through both independent learning and the “experience” acquired in and through practice. As Barista 10 explains it, “Learning never ends, this is what the third wave is.” This is because specialty style is different from other styles of drinks, cocktails or coffee. Even there are some who worked in global chain coffee shops; they have to learn all the steps and rules of the specialty shop all over again. That is to say, a person who has worked in other coffeehouses would not find many of the patterns in specialty coffee shops to be strikingly familiar. Owner 2, Barista 4 and several others believe that it is easier to teach the ways of the shop to those who know nothing about specialty coffee than it is to change the mindset of those who come with their own knowledge. Barista 10 “In the past (or in the second wave shops), there were just simple rules.” Barista 2 described his experience as follows:

I quickly noticed that the coffee I've drunk here is delicious. Then I realized the difference, and I remembered those memories in Starbucks where I worked before. I went to Starbucks again. In front of that machine, you can see that the coffee beans look soggy, because dark roasting made them oily.

Educating the palate and acquiring coffee drinking habits proper to specialty coffee shops are a necessity for all baristas. They learn new patterns of cultural knowledge and cultural behavior. If the barista displays attitudes which are irrelevant to the doxa, how will he/she convince others/customers that their coffee is the best one? They acquire names for drinks; they learn to appreciate black filter coffee, how to use barista jargon, how to behave toward customers, how to brew. Their superiority at learning the doxa makes them successful players; more clearly, they start to “feel the game,” even if they have never been involved in the game before. Barista 4 states that “I noticed that I have been drinking bad coffees” and describes it as an “illumination process.” Similarly, Barista 2 said that,

Three and a half years ago, I am not exaggerating, I was a person who adds nearly ten spoons of sugar to a cup of coffee. When I came here, they suggest that not add any sugar to coffee for one month. I drank coffee without sugar for a month. After a month, I tried drinking coffee with sugar. I could not understand how I was able to drink it in that way before. Currently, I do not add any sugar, because this is what the real taste of the coffee should be.

Learning how to be a barista improves one’s cultural capital through the acquisition of general information about coffee, and the ability to distinguish coffee taste as embodied body practices. Learning the rules shapes their habitus through the stylization of their taste. Some owners represent the lack of harmony between “the general tastes baristas incline to and the tastes they aspire to” as a result of the gap between their inherited moderate habitus and their acquired habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 326). Owner 3 stated,

But when the barista becomes more knowledgeable, and they become able to tell something (related to coffee), their appearance and style change as well. They started to dress more stylishly. We perceive baristas as losers so that if presentable people work here, we call them hipsters. But they are not. As the level of culture increases, it is reflected in the proper style of

dress, lifestyle, and rhetoric style of the employee (...) Now the people who work here can speak in front of people; and speak maybe one or two foreign languages. People call them hipsters. But they're wrong; they are just cultured kiddos. The people working in this sector, especially those working in the new generation coffee shops, are highly respectful. Those people who are studying in university, they read and research, they are college graduates, this is the truth. People call them hipsters if they have a beard. But this is a culture which is reflected in everything from a kiddo's behavior to clothes and cleanliness.

He opens a more controversial argument on baristas manners and their acquisition process. It relates to what Bourdieu says about "different modes of production of the cultivated habitus" (66). In my opinion, the term "hipster" enters the Turkish vernacular is reference to people who would like to make discretionary consumption choices. The negative connotation of hipster relates with showing off and conspicuous consumption as a reconversion strategy but also symbolizes how owners' acquired habitus and practical mastery become a symbolic power upon baristas.

Knowing the manner is a symbolic manifestation whose meanings and value depend on as much on the perceivers as on the producer, one can see how it is that the manner of using "symbolic goods, especially those regarded as the attributes of excellence", constitutes one of the key markers of class and also the ideal weapon in strategies of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984, p.66)

Nevertheless, it is true that baristas' position in coffee space and their social position are elevated by coffee knowledge. They are coffee mentors; barista is an alluring job, and people depend on their knowledge when they pick coffee beans or drinks. On this point, while owners have the right to define the rules and the value of capital in coffee space, they similarly spread it to people by using particular interaction strategies. They may take different roles such as educator, trainer, explainer, or critic. These roles sustain "symmetrical rules of demeanor" between them and customers as equals (Goffman, 1982, p. 490). While waiters and waitresses are expected "to be to perform in dignified manner services of an undignified kind," baristas are more likely to adopt a position of "deference." Sometimes, talking or explaining the product transforms into a necessity for the

barista. It determines how baristas talk with customers, how they greet people, take their orders, and use the brew bar with all those equipment that customers would like to photograph. Customers expect a barista to be talkative and explain the product, and to offer recommendations all of which requires emotional labor to a certain extent. Therefore, baristas need to develop some tactics to deal with customers. As Barista 1 said “The best barista is the one who can act like he/she is the one who knows the best; even if it is his/her first day.

Their superiority on doxa may take the form of symbolic power which is mediated by various forms of accumulated cultural capital. Therefore, some customers use statements like “I do not know much about coffee, but I like this one” to get approval from the barista. Some baristas mention customers’ hesitation or feeling of being denigrated while they are questioned about their preferences. Symbolic violence, in Bourdieu’s terms, refers to the imposition of symbol and meaning systems on a group or a class as a legitimate practice. Baristas are aware of the symbolic violence they can impose. For example, Barista 1 said that he hates serving milk with filter coffee. If the customers orders a coffee with milk, he suggest that they first taste it first without milk. Barista 5 states that he is okay serving any coffee, yet he still questions the preference of Americano. They describe their approach to customers as “not to humiliate them,” (Barista 7) when customers “do not know the name of the drink,” and similar phrases are used by others (Owner 6, Barista 5). Alternatively, Barista 8 says that he offers milk to customers to avoid spoiling their mood, especially if he realized that customers are refraining from adding milk just to protect his feelings. Their pedagogic actions are ways of exercising symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990), which will be covered in the next part.

In summary, baristas learn the tempo, rhythms, and the rules of the game through time and experience. Throughout the process, parallel to owners’ positioning, they find their style of ( Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992)how to work and how to approach customers. If the analogy of a “fish in the water” ( Bourdieu, & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127) is apt for the owners, baristas are the fish out of water. The structure of

baristas' habitus does not match that of the social field as much as that of owners does. They acquire such knowledge, the code of behavior, and cultural capital through experience and autodidacticism.

### **5.2.3. Educating Turkish Palate: Pedagogic tendencies, interaction with customers, and mythical language**

“If you see him while he makes cupping, you will understand...It is ceremonial.”  
(Fieldwork note)

There are specific ways of using language amongst baristas, roasters, and owners. The language is even mythical, fueled with affect and feelings like “appreciation for the farmer” and “respect the beans.” The jargon of specialty coffee describes their products as: “Our coffee is like a juice” or “We just serve coffees which maintain their fruity origin.” How they use the language, how they act, the cupping sessions, all are the part of the mythification. The ways of interacting with customers are influenced by this mythification. In this part, I will focus on the process of how and by what means the owners and the baristas apply this new doxa to Turkey, and what kind of strategies they use during this process.

First, I will start by describing the concept of “respectable customer.” I believe that there is a specific image in the minds of coffee shop employees of “respectable customer.” Respectable customer is the one who reaches the highest point in the game, who knows the code of coffee shops, and who follows the rules and naturally has certain kinds of habits. Sometimes, it is the customer who drinks only espresso or someone who has an established coffee routine that does not change from day to day. They are not a discoverer. From one barista's point of view, respectable customer is described as follows:

There are some who come here very early every weekend. They order an espresso to wake up and also ask for filtered coffee to be served after they finish their espresso. Sometimes espresso is just an appetizer that they drink while they are waiting for their filtered coffee to be brewed. They read their newspaper while they enjoy their coffee.



The characteristic attributed to respectable customers has some links with one's social position and inherited familiarity with high-brow culture. As I observed, respectable customers are the customers who do not need any orientation from the barista. They pursue their hobby/interest in a natural way.

Most of the time coffee shop employees have an agenda in which explaining the product, introducing new drinks, and make suggestions could all be involved. Sometimes education or suggestion can be a constant demand of customers. This agenda is implemented through "not being snobbish" or "not imposing their rules." Owner 1's explanation and emphasise on "customer satisfaction" is a good example:

We never tell anyone whether they should drink in a particular way or not. We try to help and educate them as much as possible. I have heard about other places telling (customers) that this is their way they do coffee; it does not matter whether they like it or not. I believe this attitude only shows the insufficiency of the people who serve coffee. What is important is serving good products to customers in a good way.

Educating customers gradually and using soft language are the keys to finding the balance between their wish of following the third wave's rules and their aims of selling and making a profit. Owner 3 declares his aim as "to tell people that coffee is not just a drink with added milk which is drunk in the morning; it is a gourmet deliciousness." They have a mission, like "coffee for coffee's sake" and displaying the value of coffee, so they believe that there are better ways of drinking coffee to appreciate it more. They find the balance between their rules and profit by the strategies of education, orientation, and suggestion. Some describe their strategy on the following lines:

I mean, of course, I did not know what specialty coffee was (at the first) like how it is served, etc. Our new customers do not know as well. However, every coffee shop has its unique style, its way of serving. When you first go there, you may be confused. We consider these kinds of situations as teaching customers how we serve, instead of being insolent or arrogant [*küstahlık ve ukalalık.*] However, some perceive this as humiliation or disgrace. It constitutes such a disgusting vibe. That is what I hate the most.

So if the customer does not know how to drink coffee, I am here to teach them. I do not think it is kind to be smart-mouthed. However, this is what is usually done. However, that is one of the things I have been paying attention to. The customers are usually prejudiced because of this. I have observed very clearly that the customer who first comes here becomes more knowledgeable after I explain and serve him/her. So, the next time, they seem surer about themselves when it comes the menu. Then, on his/her next visit, he/she is the one who explain our menu and style to his/her newcomer friends, which means that we won ever that person. So, we continue to explain and continue to teach. I keep teaching, but not coffee. It is our style that I have taught.

They introduce and spread their mission by giving customers “just suggestions,” “not offering to add milk,” “helping them to choose,” and “not being persistent on what or which way is the best.” Owner 1 emphasized “introducing customers to new tastes”:

We were aware that Turkish coffee drinkers only know three kinds of coffee beverages: latte, americano, and espresso. They do not know any more products. What they know is that a latte is something milky, an Americano is a black and long drink, and espresso is an espresso. We designed a strategy that encourage people to order different things than their routine. Customers usually order one of those drinks that they already know, but we have ten more different beverages in here.. So we did this: If an americano was ordered, we suggested filtered black coffee. If espresso was ordered, we directly served it without questioning. If the customer ordered a latte, we suggested cortado, which includes less milk. We always serve something that includes less milk.

These statements represent the agenda of encouraging people to drink coffee in particular ways to truly appreciate and taste coffee. Barista 3 says: “We serve some cold coffees here, but it is hard to break the influence of the hot drinks for some. The smoothness of true coffee makes them like it. We try to break the influence of the older image of coffee.” Barista 10 says,

First, I ask them what kinds of coffee they like. If they have any familiarity with global chain coffee houses, I first suggest they drink mocha. When they come here again, I suggest they drink something without sugar. I try to motivate them to drink black coffees as much as possible, because that it is the way you can taste coffee best.

Owner 2 refers to a hypothetical example buying equipment of someone:

Anyone, for example, you never drink coffee and come here. Alternatively, someone comes here and says that she wants to drink an Americano. So, we offer her our filtered coffees and various coffee beans with different aroma profiles. We tell her all of this, and she says, "Hmm okay I will try." Then she reacts with a 'Wahoo! What a coffee.' She really liked it. After that she wants to drink coffee from other beans, so she comes again and tries them. Then she buys equipment for home consumption, and starts brewing in her home. Then, it is her hobby!

On the other hand, Barista 7, 4 and 9, and Owner 6 and Owner 3 focus on the fact that they are tradesmen in the service industry, so they should serve the products in the way the customer wants. Also, they are agreed one ought to explain their product to anyone, which is what the third wave spirit is. Barista 4 says, "A barista should talk with anyone interested and explain what coffee is. He/she should not say, 'Go somewhere else (if you do not know).'

Yes some baristas behave in that way. However, I do not; I can explain coffee to anyone, even the ones who want to drink Nescafe. I offer them cappuccino; we start with cappuccino, and start explaining..."

In summary, owners and baristas have slightly different agendas which determine their selling strategy, which form of applying their own rules or adjusting their rules to fit the wish of the customer. Overall, they all seem to teach customers coming from different social positions to the best ways of experiencing pleasure from the right objects (Ahmed, 2010). Because they are in the service industry, they manage this process by developing some interaction strategies with customers. Many explain the process as "testing the knowledge of the customer" (e.g., Barista 5) or "helping them to find their taste" (e.g., Barista 1 and a few others use similar statements).

One striking aspect of these strategies is that they are tailored according not only to the customers' knowledge or verbal expression but also their appearance:

... if I explain the product to cultured men, I draw an analogy between wine and coffee. If other types of people are my interlocutors, I explain it by looking at the degree of steaks' doneness. I mean they might never drink wine ... for example like you (he makes a headscarf gesture) It is just an assumption ... however, if someone who is Muslim comes -please tolerate my example- if a faithful person comes here, you could not explain her/him by wine, maybe tea is possible... You can explain that there are lots of tea varieties; each one is unique. A little bit of empathy is essential to understand your respondents and act in that direction.

In this case, having a visible sign of Islamic identity make coffee shop employees turn toward different strategies and tactics for explaining their product. Of course, these kinds of regulations do not apply to male customers because generally they do not have a visible sign of their Islamic identity. One's external appearance may thus represent the ideological dimension of cultural consumption in Turkey in a broader perspective. The cultural differences between secular or religious groups have always been at the center of political and cultural debates in Turkey. I believe these strategies are only a reflection of these cultural differences.

Finally, I would like to understand the meaning of these educational orientations and pedagogic agendas. Why and when people became overly-attached to this mission? Could we assumed this education that to possess colonial characteristics? In certain level, it resembles "colonial education" or "civilizing mission," aiming that to regulate the experiences of people/consumers who derive "pleasure from the wrong things in the wrong way" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 126). In a sense, acquiring good habits involves an affective disposition: "to learn to be affected in the right way by the right things" (ibid. 129). This mission seems to operate as "a moral and pedagogic project of improving manners, a project of cultivation" (ibid, 127-9). At least, we can offer that customers become "mimic men" who needs to be like them, the ones who become engaged with the proper ways of drinking coffee, "in matters of taste, opinions, morals, and intellect." (ibid. 129). Therefore, on the one hand, they serve to meet people's wishes to "stylization of their life." On the one hand, all these foci on "consciousness" or "development" resemble discourses of "achieving the levels of contemporary civilizations" which were seen in the early Republican years. In a wider perspective, I believe that education mission aim to "maximize

one's happiness" by maximizing their experience of pleasure from the right things (ibid. 123). Some even use such statements as "reaching the same level as Europe" (Barista 6) or "The West is in the fourth wave, but we are still in stuck in the third wave, because people here still thinks that the acidic coffee which they call 'sour' is spoiled (Fieldwork note).

#### **5.2.4. Hobbyist Drinkers: Aesthetic Tasters, Enthusiastic Participants and Mimic Men**

Specialty coffee shops have a wide range of customers. Drinking specialty coffee is an aspiration for the majority of them, the game is so alluring that make people want to participate. Some people visit these coffee shops as they would a museum: the trip is an event, a chance for quality time, and discovery. However, I do not put these people in the group of "coffee people," because they are not involved the game and follow the rules in a way coffee people does.

The core group that I am interested in, "coffee people," has certain tendencies, attitudes, perception, and habits in terms of drinking specialty coffee. They try to be attuned to the new doxa and start playing to improve their social position. There are several words in urban vernacular used to describe these coffee people, such as "coffee lunatics," "coffee geeks," and "coffee evangelists." These sorts of descriptions imply there is a group mindset amongst them which also function in a similar way to following a cult or religion. Some coffee people follow the doxa by taking it seriously and always try tinkering with themselves and their drinking style.

I believe that in the overall picture, their passion for coffee has a similar resonance with what Johnston and Baumann call "foodie." The term foodie refers to "the food television, the obsession with celebrity chefs, the glossy food-porn, the food blogs, and the general obsession with culinary pursuits (Johnston&Baumann, 2010, p.2)." Several participants of this study participated in special coffee events, that I attended. One of these events had a food and coffee pairings ceremony. The organizers claimed that people often drink coffee with desserts, so they wanted to show people this can be changed by serving a meal with a cup of coffee. During my

time in the field, it started to be ordinary for me to see people mentioning food festivals, trendy restaurants, food columnists or food and beverage awards. One day in Karakoy, customers and owners started to talk about an upcoming food festival and its participants. Another day in Moda, customers asked a barista questions about desserts, and the barista explained how the desserts were baked. After that, the conversation turned to that the customer's passion for French desserts. The customer said that they intended to come to high quality, a street-food restaurant which was awarded recently in Moda. The restaurant was nearby the coffee shop, so customers there can come by the coffee shops after lunch. In this point, I involved the conversation and asked them whether they like it or not. They expressed their compliments on dishes, specifically the hummus. Another day in Moda, I met with a couple who seemed to be regulars of the coffee shop. The barista and the couple complained about how everyone considers themselves a "gourmand," how everyone has become a food critic. Therefore, the usage of words like "gourmand," and the names of food or coffee celebrities, events, and restaurants point a wider "shared conceptual map" (Guy De Hall, 1979). This sort of encounter shows that these are the people who "speak the same language and have similar cultural knowledge" (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1990; cited in Crossley, 2014, p. 95)

However, specialty coffee shops includes people who occupy different positions in this game according to their familiarity with the rules. Their familiarity with the language relates to their positioning, which is expressed in terms of capital and its configurations. Therefore, their position, disposition, and positioning in the field differ. First, I will start by describing their position. I believe that this is the most heterogeneous group I interacted with in compared baristas and owners. During the fieldwork, I encountered some family elites, unemployed people, students, bloggers, and creative classes. There is a tendency among them to work in creative jobs such as lawyer, web designer, life coach, engineer, architect, and artist. I interviewed four university students, and all attend reputable universities. Eight informants were creative or white-collar workers, two informants were unemployed, and one informant was a cook. Most of the drinkers who took part in

my study had at least a bachelor's degree: seven had a master's degree and another was a Ph.D. student. Only two of them were only high school graduates and both were planning to attend university.

I categorized them according to their sets of disposition which differ regarding their early socialization process, the formation of their habitus, and their social background. First, there are some whose coffee taste derives from their family, as their inherited habitus. Selected examples include the following:

Drinker 5:

Even when I was a child, we had a filtered coffee machine. My brother studied abroad, had a filter machine, and he used it. I drank filtered coffee thanks to him. I can say that I drink no instant coffee. Then my (coffee) habit started, ... in high school. I was born in 1984 by the way.

Drinker 1 (who was born in 1964, as an exception of birth day range):

My grandmother drank coffee with milk in big mugs. She made me taste it. At that time, there was no one who drank coffee with milk. Milky coffee was made for her especially. Others would come to our house to drink coffee (...) I believe that the taste for coffee comes from family, through family habits, what else can it be? (...) I drank lots of coffee when I was a student in America. I do not remember any time when I did not drink coffee. However, before going to America, I was in Vienna, where I attend high school. I drank coffee for the first time there. The origin of my love of coffee comes from there.

Drinker 7;

When I was in high school, my cousin drank filtered coffee. My cousin invited me to drink coffee in his home. I liked it and drank it, and my cousin kept invited me over to drink. Now I have been drinking six or seven years. I often used to drink coffee outside [at cafes] and then I bought a French press. Then I bought a filter coffee machine when I began university. At that time, I bought coffee from Tchibo. Two years ago, as a result of both the rising third wave coffee shops in Istanbul and the people around me who were interested in, my curiosity of coffee became more refined (...) When I realized the coffee I drink is the third wave, it was after high school when I was with my cousin (...) After that I bought a machine, I bought a V60 as

well, and I started to buy coffee beans. My sister was studying in Berlin, so I started to buy coffee beans from abroad.

There are also others whose families had coffee drinking habits, but most of the time it was middle-brow Turkish coffee which means they did not encounter specialty coffee until later. They entered into this game as the result of socialization, their effort to search of better coffee or their social circle. In other words, they were led there by their “the acquired habitus,” which is agents’ educational background, accompanied by different social environments (Bourdieu, 1984, p.13). Selected examples on the following:

Drinker 3;

I used to get coffee abroad and drink it. At that time, we did not have anything like Hario or Chemex in Turkey. There were no places where you could drink it or buy it. It was expensive when you tried to buy from abroad. I started to buy coffee from abroad and, to drink it, I made my filter paper using paper towels or cheap filter paper sold in the market. ... Earlier on, there were no instant coffee brands such as Nescafe. We were able to drink those coffees [only] if the immigrants who lived and worked in Europe brought them to us. In the early 2000s, with the opening of Starbucks in Turkey, and then the entry of brands like Lavazza or Tchibo or Kahve Diyari into the Turkish market, the second wave started to be consumed. I mean, there was no chance not to drink it, and some still do.

Drinker 6,

I was at the university campus, sitting with a friend and he offered me coffee. I liked what I drank. I asked where he bought it or how he made it. One of my relatives was in the United Kingdom and I asked him/her to bring me a dripper. I started to buy coffee from Tchibo (...) I bought a grinder and a dripper. After my cousins started drinking coffee, we got home a filter coffee machine. We live in a family apartment. At that time, there was no 3rd wave coffee in Turkey, but there was Tchibo was. I had friends in England or Belgium, and I asked them to bring me coffee beans when they came here.

There are others who started to drink specialty coffee after they met their partners. Their romantic partners introduce them to specialty coffee. As Bourdieu offers “taste is match-makers” and makes “well-matched couples” (1984: p. 243). Drinker



6 met his wife because of the coffee interest they both have. They drank coffee on their first date. After their relationships deepened, the couple decided to get married and organized a coffee-themed wedding in a coffee-shop. "Hence the astonishing harmony of ordinary couples who, often matched initially, progressively march other by a sort of mutual acculturation" (ibid. 243). In parallel to this statement, there were three more couples in my fieldwork whose coffee taste started to resemble each other. For example, Drinker 4 talks about how her coffee taste changed after she met her husband Drinker 5:

I like drinking coffee, but... it increased after we started dating, didn't it? I can say that I have drunk coffee for six or seven years. I used to be uninformed about coffee beans. For a long time, I sought qualified coffees such as good quality instant coffees. Then Starbucks became popular in our country and I met my husband, and I turned toward higher quality coffees. I bought a mini espresso machine for my home. After we got married, we had a good coffee machine and also a grinder. Then we turned toward coffee beans. We were already buying quality coffees. However, we became more conscientious.

Drinker 10 talks about a similar process:

Until my university years, I drank soft drinks, even at breakfast. At that time there were no filtered coffees. Coffee entered my life with Nescafe just to keep me awake throughout my exam days. I loved coffee, but without being obsessed about it (*kafa yormadan*). Over the years, when I was introduced to filter coffee, it evolved into a completely different meaning for me. Also, of course, the man who I am in love with likes coffee very much, specially filtered coffee. For me, it (coffee) is something which comes with him. I feel like it always been like this, like I was never been without coffee. I mean for five or ten years every day and every morning coffee is drunk in our house.

Drinker 15 talks about her German husband and her effort to make him feel at home with the smell of filtered coffee. There are also other channels, travel memories, Erasmus visits or interests like sports or wine which introduce people to specialty coffee. For example, Drinker 9 says that after a famous European biker came to Istanbul to participate in a campaign and shared a photo of the coffee shop he visited, he realized that there was a coffee shop in Eminonu. Then, he wanted to explore it. Drinker 16's statements display how people's coffee drinking practices

are predisposed: “I was not raised in a family that drank filtered coffee. I met with filter coffee thanks to my friends in university. If I have a kid one day, the kid will grow up in a family where both parents have coffee drinking habits.”

Another dimension of acquiring refined coffee taste is its changing structure according to people’s lifestyle and ideological background. People coming from an Islamic middle-class habitus have similar feelings and experiences while they drink specialty coffee. The most interesting one is Drinker 8 and her experiences in Fatih, one of the Istanbul neighborhoods which have established Islamic roots. Drinker 8 was a headscarved woman who was interested in coffee; she even wanted to be a barista in one day. After she was trained in Italy specifically for espresso, she wants to work as a barista. But she could not find a job in a specialty coffee shop. She found one job in one of the cafés of Fatih’s Atpazarı district named “Coffee Laboratory.” However, she quickly noticed that she would probably never do anything related to coffee there, because no one wants to drink coffee. As she said, throughout her time working there; she only made two espressos and one of them was for her sister. Drinker 6 and 7 offer similar statements to that of Drinker 8. They mentioned that consuming luxurious items like specialty coffee are not approved by their social circles. Also, even though people who want to try specialty coffee, they do not like atmosphere in specialty coffee shops. They state that they do not count themselves and those who go to the “coffee-shop 1” as part of same group.

#### **5.2.4.1 Regulating Habits, Regulating Feelings**

From another perspective, there is a constructed contingency in the ways people talk about their coffee experiences. As Sara Ahmed (2010, p.22) says, this is the “drama of contingency,” which is the belief of some objects’ being inherently good. She explains this as follows:

To be directed toward such good things is to be directed in the right way. It is crucial that we share this direction with others. The fan club or hobby group makes explicit what is implicit in social life: that we tend to like those who like the things we like. This is why the social bond is always sensational. If the same objects make us happy—or if we invest in the same objects as if

they make us happy—then we would be directed or oriented in the same way. To be affected in the right way by objects that are already evaluated as good is a way of belonging to an affective community. We align ourselves with others by investing in the same objects as the cause of happiness (ibid. 38).

We can mention the existence of an “affective community” (ibid. 41) among coffee people which is composed of individuals who are directed in the same way toward objects, which are already considered “good.” For example, Drinker 10 and a few others like Drinker 8, 11, 2 and 12 talks about the influence of her friends: “Of course, with the development of my palate and finding friends with similar taste and interest, we started to take each other to discover new coffee places in the city.” Others also mentioned how they influenced or were influenced by their friends, and how it became something that unites them.

On this point, there is another group who want to be part of the affective community. Drinker 11, 9, and 2 seem not to care about aesthetic judgment; they are here for the social and creative buzz of specialty coffee and all related to it. They mention the people they make friends with in a coffee shop or how excellent the social interaction there is, how they became friend with baristas. Drinker 9’s statements best represent their position in this space:

I come here nearly every day. I like to talk to the baristas; they are all my friends. We chat about coffee. I like to talk about coffee, coffee houses, and baristas... I met a guy on the bus whom I remembered from here. We recognized each other, started to talk, [and] now we are planning to visit other coffee houses together. After leaving here, I am going to Karaköy to visit another coffee shop.

Drinking specialty coffee is attached to such good feelings. Some say that drinking specialty coffee is a source of pride. For some, it is a joyful activity. For some it evolves nostalgic connections the coffeehouses of the Ottoman past. Basically, what Ahmed says that “happiness is attributed to certain objects that circulate as social goods. When people feel pleasure from such objects, they are aligned; they are facing the right way. They become alienated—out of line with an affective

community—when they do not experience pleasure from proximity to objects that are attributed as ‘being good’ (Ahmed, 2010, p.41). A reflection of this alienation can be seen in Drinker 2’s statements. He states that he cannot drink espresso, even though he tried many times. When he tries to take a sip, he cannot. He tries again, and again cannot. This makes him very sad. However, he specifically emphasizes that he tries to drink different sort of filtered coffees, to compensate for inability to drink espresso. Drinker 2’s sadness stems from both not being able to drink espresso because of its bitter taste and not being able to engage with espresso in the right way when it should be a pleasurable experience. Thus, he puts an effort into turning toward and experiencing pleasure from other drinking ways. The regulation of taste can be observed among the members of all groups to a different extent and in a different equilibrium. They learn to like coffee gradually as their appreciation and fondness for it increases. I believe that drinking specialty coffee operates as “happy object” as Ahmed (ibid. 29) explains:

We could say that happiness is promised through proximity to particular objects. Objects would refer not only to physical or material things but also to anything that we imagine might lead us to happiness, including objects in the sense of values, practice, styles, as well as aspirations. Doing x as well as having x might be what promises us happiness. The promise of happiness takes this form: if you have this or have that, or if you do this or do that, then happiness is what follows.

Thus, we can see people put effort into learning drink some sorts of coffee; it is an ambition in some cases. “Objects not only embody good feeling; they come to embody the good life” as Sara Ahmed offers (Ahmed, 2010, p. 90). Also, good life is imagined “through the proximity of objects” as Locke evokes good feeling through the sensation of taste (ibid. 90). On this point, one should ask: why people insist on drinking coffee in particular ways. What does it mean to be part of this community/or turning toward coffee? To answer these questions, I will focus on three different interrelated points. First, I will investigate the discourses that surround people’s regulation of their drinking habits. Second, I will elaborate on people’s self-regulation of their engagement with coffee. Third, I will analyze the

purposes they are after by this self-regulation, and what kinds of promises are behind their motivations.

First of all, people regulate their drinking habits and methods in attempts to have the right associations with coffee. There is a promise which says that “happiness is what you get for having the right associations that is why we are directed toward certain things” (ibid. 2). Taste is neither coincidental nor a matter of chance. It is acquired in time as Pierre Bourdieu (1984) says. Acquiring taste is a “very specific bodily orientation that is shaped by what is already decided to be good or a higher good” (ibid. 33). Thus, my informants use discourses such “improvement,” “becoming consciousness,” or “reaching enlightenment.” Selected examples include the following:

Drinker 4:

I was thinking the older version of me. I used to drink coffee from Starbucks, but today I could not even think of drinking it. Today, I improved myself; I can differentiate stale coffee beans [*kendimi geliştirdim, bayat bir kahve içtiğim zaman anlayabiliyorum*]. Before that (the third wave), we were trying to buy good coffees. After then we become conscious of coffee beans.

Drinker 11:

Being inside of this (culture) is this (he points at the coffee cup on the table). The third wave triggered this; it made people conscious. I believe it is a nice thing they did.

Drinker 12:

Of course, your taste is developing by trying. In the beginning, I was not making coffee in my home. I was drinking outside in coffee houses. Then I started to do it at home.

Similarly, Drinker 2 says,

Some such people really invest in this; they strive hard to improve their palate. At the same time, they publicize what they like; they try to help people. That is my intention as well: to make people know third wave coffee, to understand more the coffee we drink.

Drinker 3:

For three years, I have been making efforts to improve coffee culture in Turkey. After the first of the third wave coffee houses opened in 2012, I started to visit them. However, there was a problem that I observed. Those coffee shops took the third wave in the wrong way, and they were not able to explain (it) to customers. So I started to share my coffee knowledge with the public through social media.

Acquiring the taste for specialty coffee also requires an awareness of “the distinction between good and bad taste, or even the distinction between having and not having a taste” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 34). Drinker 10 says that instant coffee is bad. But she was not aware of the bad taste while she enjoyed drinking it. Whenever she discovered something good, you realized that what she drank before was bad. Similarly, Drinker 8 says “Maybe I show displeasure because now I know these (new) coffees.” Drinker 11: “I never drink more those things like Nescafe (after he met specialty coffee) I never trust those other international brands.” Drinker 14 uses similar statements and emphasizes the importance of trying new things if you want developed your palate. He even mentions his experiences in various specialty coffee shops and how he discovered only a few specialty coffee shops was beyond ordinary.”

However, being able to differentiate good taste from the bad can quickly transform into aesthetic intolerance. Aesthetic intolerance addresses the people who know the rules of the game, who experience pleasure from a bad object in the wrong way. This is “the aversion to different lifestyles which constitute the barriers between the classes” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 56). According to Drinker 2, places with names like “Coffee World” is where the worst coffee beans are served. The taste is always bad there. Drinker 3 thinks that “People who drink Turkish coffee have a bad coffee taste.” Drinker 16 states “I insult people who drink coffee with milk.” Drinker 4;

Too many people do not know. There are lots of people who think that they drink very good and high-quality coffee because they buy beans from Starbucks or Tchibo; they do not get any information about the [coffee], or they do not know much about [coffee], or their grinder does not work well,

though they think that they drink fine, specialty coffee (...) Once I saw a man in Tchibo. He was in a mood like he is super-cool, like he bought the best coffee, and he did not even want them to be ground. However, we were in Tchibo, come on.

Drinker 14;

You may think that I disparage them but in my opinion Starbucks is low and something bad. The people who go there probably have not got any idea about coffee.

However, sometimes “the rules of this game” or its doxa do not apply to other fields or other spaces of cultural consumption. I believe Drinker 10’s example below represents what Bourdieu’s comment that “A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101) in a unique way:

Everyone around me smokes and drinks black coffee at the same time. I imitated them and pretended to like it for a year, but only when I was with them. At home, I drink my milky coffee without any cigarettes (...) There is a scene in the movie ‘Coffee and Cigarette.’ In the third part of the movie, the speechless one, there is a woman who drinks coffee while she reads her magazine. The waiter comes by to add milk to her cup of coffee. What the woman wants is a little portion of milk just enough to give the color that she desires. The waiter adds the milk without asking her. Then the woman says something like ‘Please stop.’ I add milk to my coffee with that scene in my mind. I add some milk and look at the color of the beverage, and then I add more till I believe that I have reached the color that I desired. After I watched the movie, I started to think like ‘It means that lots of people abroad drink their coffee with milk. So, why do we try hard to drink it without it?’ Everyone should drink coffee as they want (...) Thanks to [director] Jim Jarmusch, the level of my self-esteem increased, and I started to drink milky coffees while my friends are around.

Despite, the embodied cultural capital of coffee, drinking it black is maybe appreciated in coffee space; it may have no meaning in other fields like the universe of Jarmusch or independent cinema.

From another perspective, some intentionally leave cultural snobbery. When Pierre Bourdieu points the homology between high brow and low brow taste, Peterson’s cultural omnivore thesis (2005) offers that the traditional divide between highbrow and lowbrow has eroded. Than one can ask how these people perceive “bad”

coffees after they left to drink them? Do they drink specialty coffee everytime in everywhere? There are two different groups who occupy different affectual positions: In contrast to the ones who exhibit opposition and hostility toward omnivore coffee tastes, there can be seen a group who leave the hostility toward being “omnivore.”. The group who do not show opposition toward being omnivore stated that they might drink non-specialty coffees in some cases, but only if they have to do. Although they might avoid drinking lower coffees, they use a discourse which distances them others who insist on deriving enjoyment from particular objects. They describe their habits “through tropes of indifference” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 35):

It is not necessary to drink delicious coffee all the time. Sometimes you drink regular coffees and may like them. (Drinker 14)

Coffee has existed for centuries. It is nice to discover new things about coffee, but it is a little bit absurd to describe something as good or bad (...) Yes, I have drunk nearly zero instant coffee during my whole life, but if someone wants to drink it, he should. I do not mind. (Drinker 5)

I go to Starbucks if I need to. I should state this clearly. I am not obsessed. (...) even believe that even Tchibo is not appreciated enough. It is the coffee with the best price/quality performance. (Drinker 6)

Therefore they become educated which “make them free from hunger for things, from insistence on and in enjoyment. On the other hand “the tropes of indifference” also include individuals’ engagements with coffee and the ways they experience coffee. I observe they display a distance toward hunger, enthusiasm or excitement of drinking specialty coffee. It is a position which opposed to people who exaggerate drinking coffee. “They act like realizing themselves through coffee”, as Drinker 7 says. People “have the capacity to buy coffee-emblem shower curtains” (Drinker 1). Drinker 6 sheds light on the difference between inside and outside consumption from the perspective of “normalization”:

My cousin sometimes buys weird stuff like Australian coffee, he seeks an adventure, but I am not like that. I am not a weird coffee person, but he tends to be like that (...) The version of drinking coffee that I like is the one



that you can normalize, the one that you make in your home, not for the atmosphere of the café or drinking out (...) What I approve is the one who carries his/her coffee in a thermos. But of course anyone drinks whatever they want.

I believe people who shows this kind of indifference toward to be omnivorous display a different kind of symbolic power which allow them to show their coffee drinking habits ordinary and unpretentious. This means drinking coffee as a regular part of their life without showing an ambition, they do not seek of the “stylization of their taste.” If others’ hunger for being educated or regulating their habits is symptomatic of the failure to transcend their habitus, which makes becoming educated desirable in the first place, their indifference represents the influence of the formation of primary high cultured habitus upon their habits and feelings.

Lastly, I believe that people’s search for quality in coffee relates not only with reaching high-brow taste or better position in social space by acquiring cultural capital but also with the impact of imagined lifestyles on people’s minds; with the idea that they can attain these lifestyles by learning the right ways of drinking coffee. This is more than just a wish to feel good. As Sara Ahmed states “Objects not only embody good feeling; they come to embody the good life” (2010, p. 47). People reach this good life by having the right associations with such happy objects. During this process, feeling pleasure from the right objects in the right way and with the right feelings may cause distinctions amongst people who experience, in this case, drinking specialty coffee. Their tendencies of approaching objects that provide them pleasure coincide with owners and baristas’ duty of happiness. Locke asserts that “men may and should correct their palates” (ibid. 255). Sara Ahmed interprets Locke’s statement as “the concept of correctible tastes that happiness is about learning to be affected by objects in the right way. The very possibility that we can affect our affections by action, or through will or reason, becomes the basis of an ethical imperative” (ibid. 36).

### 5.3. Concluding Remarks

This chapter analysed influences and roles of people's habitus on starts of drinking specialty/third wave coffee. Also, from baristas and owners perspectives how specialty coffee is produced and circulated by its producers was also investigated. It is appeared that producers of specialty coffee, baristas and owners, come from different social groups, and play this game in relation to their composition of capital. New rules and doxa in specialty coffee culture created by these producers. This make people/consumers behave in particular ways and regulate their taste palates through legitimate tastes determined by owners and baristas. Therefore this symbolic space is become where people try to regulate their drinking habits, attitudes and feelings. From this perspective, I believe Bourdieu's (1984, p. 67) usage of the term gastronome excellently describes coffee people:

Taste must not be confused with gastronomy. Whereas taste is the natural gift of recognizing and loving perfection, gastronomy is the set of rules which govern the cultivation and education of taste. Gastronomy is to taste as grammar and literature are to the literary sense. And this brings us to the heart of the problem: if the gourmet is a delicate connoisseur, is the gastronome a pedant? ... The gourmet is his own gastronome, just as the man of taste is his own grammarian ... Not everyone is a gourmet; that is why we need gastronomes. We must look upon gastronomes as we look upon pedagogues in general: they are sometimes intolerable pedants, but they have their uses. They belong to the lower, modest order, and it is up to them to improve this rather minor genre by means of tact, restraint and elegant lightness ... There is such a thing as bad taste ... and persons of refinement.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The third wave coffee movement as a part of the sense of specialty coffee appeared as a result of technological developments on the coffee market, which allows investigating coffee quality scientifically. Third wave/specialty coffee trend offers a stylization of production and consumption of coffee. Getting the pure aroma of coffee is essential of this movement in the belief that it would maximize the pleasure that can be acquired from coffee. This approach leads some beliefs, new practices, and rules on the field which determines how specialty coffee should be drunk. In Turkey, specialty coffee is a craft commodity, it is perceived as prestige goods, and it has strong class-linked connotations because of its financial value and cultural knowledge. The geographical distribution of specialty coffee shops in Istanbul represents cultural and economic differences in Turkey.

Therefore, my study in Istanbul's specialty coffee shops aims to explore origins of acquisition of specialty coffee taste – a study of how people try to regulate their coffee drinking habits without following the obedience to rules in this process (Bourdieu, 1990). On the other hand, this study is also a story of achieving a good life by getting good habits and building right associations toward certain objects. Social agents' ways of regulating not only their habits but also their feelings that they attach to those habits and attitudes give insight into individuals affectual life, class relations, wish of prestige and social climbing. Throughout this study, I tried to answer how coffee, a product which had arrived in Istanbul in the 16th century was re-invented, practiced, and perceived in Istanbul by its producers and consumers in the late 2010s. I made use of the concepts of disposition, position, habitus, affect from Pierre Bourdieu and Sara Ahmed. Second, I investigated the social construction and the social production processes of specialty coffee shops. Also, Ray Oldenburg's concept of "third place" helps me to analyze the class-based structure of specialty coffee shops and sociability therein.

Through the ethnographic fieldwork, I aimed to explore that complex set of relationships among people's position, disposition, and their sociability practices in everyday life in specialty coffee shops. On the one hand, people who enter the world of specialty coffee learn particular rules and try to be attuned them to regulate their attitudes, tendencies, and palates. The regulation process not only includes bodily orientations and embodied practices, but it is also social orientation, including people's mental and emotional structures. This shows us how habitus as multi-layered concept encompasses people's personal history, their manners, emotional and spiritual compositions. On the other hand, there is the "objective orchestration of two relatively independent logic, that of the fields of production and that field of consumption" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.230). The supply and demand is orchestrated, so that the field of coffee production "if it could not count on already existing tastes, more or less strong propensities to consume more or less clearly defined goods, enables taste to be realized by offering it, at each moment, the universe of cultural goods as a system of stylistic possible from which it can select the system of stylistic features constituting a lifestyle" (ibid. 230-1). The material and discursive production of specialty coffee requires a "constitution of taste," so it allows to "reinforce dispositions."

In the fieldwork, I interacted with people from different social strata, from CEOs to unemployed people, from high-engineers to high school graduate teenagers. On any given day, one might see a tourist taking a photograph or a white business-person enjoying cortado, young friends tasting cheesecake. Thus, could specialty coffee shops be assumed a diverse characteristic? Is it possible to, "certain barriers are prone to be broken" (Anderson, 2004), when people become intimate through drinking coffee, sitting in coffee shops, asking about beverages? I believe that cultural spaces of specialty coffee open diverse groups but only for who can be wealthy enough to afford it. Moreover, even though people consume similar objects, it does not mean that they become closer in social space. Not only the practice, drinking specialty coffee, deciphers of one's taste and lifestyle; how they consume is still imply one's location in taste hierarchies. Where they consume, how they consume, how they are affected by the product, how they engage with the

product, which all relate how much they know the rules of the game become a tool for distinction.

On the other hand, specialty coffee as craft commodity is attached particular cultural and symbolic meanings as it is circulated and consumed (Terrio, 2000). Today we indeed observe explosion in demand for drinking and speaking about coffee. I could not even follow the numbers of the shops opened in Istanbul. It is easy to learn what specialty coffee is and how it should be consumed, and the famous coffee shops, through workshops, various coffee related contents. Also, coffee shops and festivals spread other cities in Turkey. Other cafes and restaurants also started to serve coffee as akin to specialty coffee stores. Other craft commodities experience similar processes regarding be attributed to particular meanings. For example, Paxson claims that artisanal cheese consumers interested in “buying the adventure and pleasure of taste, the status of connoisseurship” (Pazson 2013, p. 154). Similarly, Ulin (2012) positioning of wine producers determines consumers’ engagement level to the product with different economic and cultural capital.

Therefore, one can ask what kinds of symbolic meanings attributed to specialty coffee in Turkey? In my fieldwork, I found that it is a refined taste, gives people a hobby, and it makes them a member of the translocal coffee community. Nevertheless, different studies focus on specialty coffee argue that people who drink specialty coffee “share a set of ethical dispositions and cultural practices” through their consumption preferences (Shaker & Rath, 2019). Other studies (Ardekani & Rath, 2017; Thompson, Arsel, 2004) mention consumer’s political inclinations, such as environmentalism, as reasons for consuming boutique amenities instead of industrial products. However, in this study, this is one of the factors which was slightly emphasized by people while they were talking about their coffee drinking attitudes. Only a few participants spoke about ethical consideration about sustainability, supply chain and labor. Majority of participants mentioned their coffee routine and their quest for quality taste. However, it does not mean that these consumption sites and the consumption itself are free from political

meanings. How and why urban people in Istanbul city prefer to experience sociability in these venues? What these preferences can say about urban segregation in Istanbul? What does it mean the distance coffee hops put from local culture and their wish of transforming the local? I believe that it is still early to answer these questions, but the ideological or symbolic role of producing specialty coffee and people's sociability practice therein should not be neglected.

In summary, consuming specialty coffee is a sphere of leisure, pleasure, refined taste, and accumulating cultural capital for its social actors. From the baristas' perspective, it is a job that changes their role in work-space. It is a technique, knowledge, autodidacticism shaping their position in the social space. On the other hand, owners have practical mastery in specialty coffee based on the experiences they get from family and educational socialization. They are the main actors on the process of production of specialty coffee; they commercialize and sell new kinds of information about coffee to satisfy people's curiosity and hunger for unique coffee consumption style. Therefore, this study gives insight into entrepreneurial elites and wealthy entrepreneurs' role in society, which has been neglected in academic literature for a while.

Despite the historical neglect, it is possible to observe that the number of studies which focus on upper class studies has been rise in the world. However in Turkey, a few scholars like Hayri Kozanoğlu, Nurdan Gürbilek, Rifat Bali, and Ali Şimşek investigated upper class, new elites and their socio-cultural values in Turkey. Among these studies, food related topics are still highly limited. Referring from anthropologist Sidney Mintz, Sociologist Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson and Sharon Zukin claim that "few sociologist have analyzed food in terms of systems of production or consumption, cultural products or cultural words, or social context (1995, p. 194). In Turkey, only Zafer Yenil and Erhan Akarçay investigate culinary trends and gastronomic culture in Turkey.

I believe that food studies and investigating various groups' culinary practices and aspirations allow us to explore not only class-based and cultural differences in

Turkey, but also it may reveal the differences on lifestyle, ideologies and political inclinations. Also, ethnographic methodologies work as an excellent way to discover, follow and understand these cultural associations.



## REFERENCES

Ahıska, M., & Yenal, Z. (2006). *The person you have called cannot be reached at the moment: Representations of lifestyles in Turkey, 1980-2005*. Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre.

Ahıska, M., & Yenal, Z. (2006). *Aradığınız kişiye şu an ulaşamıyor: Türkiye’de hayat tarzı temsilleri ; 1980 - 2005*. Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi.

Ahmed, S. (2010). *The Promise of Happiness*. Duke University Press.

Akgün, M. (2018, Dec. 19). İncili Gastronomi Rehberi. *Milliyet* Retrieved February 27, 2018, from Milliyet website: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/pembelar/incili-gastronomi-rehberi-odulleri-sahiplerini-buldu-2797700>

Akın, N. (1998). *19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Galata ve Pera*. Literatür Yayınevi.

Akıncı, T. (2018). *Beyoğlu: Yapılar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar (1831-1923)*. Remzi Kitabevi.

Alkan, O. M. (2016) Kahve-Kahvaltı ve Çay Tiryakiliği In Mete Kaan Kaynar (Ed.) *Türkiye’nin 1950’li Yılları* (2nd ed.) pp. 591-619 İletişim Yayınları.

Anderson, E. (2004). The Cosmopolitan Canopy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 595, 14–31.

Appadurai, A. (1988). How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 30(1), 3–24.

Ardekani, R. S., & Rath, J. (2017). Coffee people in Tehran, Glasgow and Amsterdam. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540517736557>

Ardekani, R. S. (2015, February 2). Polarised Tehran: Tea House vs. Coffee shop. Retrieved June 16, 2019, from TheProtoCity.com website: <http://theprotocity.com/polarised-tehran-tea-house-vs-coffee-shop/>

Bahar Pastanesi 1951. (n.d.). Retrieved May 13, 2019, from <http://www.baharpastanesi1951.com/icerik.asp?baslik=tarihce&page=1&a=77&b=1&c=77>

Bakar, B. (2012). *Esir Şehrin Misafirleri Beyaz Ruslar*. Tarihçi Kitabevi.

Bass, P. (2016). Trish Rothgeb on the State of Specialty Coffee - Imbibe Magazine. Retrieved December 22, 2017, from <http://imbibemagazine.com/trish-rothgeb/>

Baylan Pastaneleri. (2019). Retrieved July 3, 2019, from Baylan Pastaneleri website: <http://baylangida.com/>

Belge, M. (2001). *Tarih Boyunca Yemek Kültürü*. İletişim Yayıncılık



Bellavance, G. (2008). Where's high? Who's low? What's new? Classification and stratification inside cultural "Repertoires." *Poetics*, 36(2-3), 189-216. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2008.02.003>

Beyti. (n.d.). Retrieved July 4, 2019, from Beyti website: <http://www.beyti.com/>

Biryol, U. (2016). *Gurbet Pastası: Hemşinliler, Göç ve Pastacılık*. İletişim Yayınları.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1985). The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups. *Theory and Society*, 14(6), 723-744.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, Greenwood), 241-258.

Bourdieu, P. (1990a). *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990b). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1992). Social Space and the Genesis of "Classes." In *Language and Symbolic Power* (pp. 227-251). Cambridge: Polity.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P., Accardo, A., & Emanuel, S. (1999). *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *Sociology in Question*. SAGE.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of Chicago Press.

BuSuper. (2016, May 11). OZO Coffee yollarda Retrieved December 23, 2017, from Bu Süper website: <http://www.busuper.com/ozo-coffee-yollarda/>

Caksu, A. (2007). Janissary Coffee Houses in Late Eighteenth-Century Istanbul. In D. Sajdi (Ed.), *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*. Tauris Academic Studies.

Camera, J. (1971). Study of W. Lloyd Warner's social classes - an application to department store purchasing in Great Falls and Havre. *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/8056>

Can, E. (2009, Aug. 26) Davidoff Café Nasıl Hidayete Erdi?, *Hurriyet Newspaper*, Retrieved 20 Aug. 2018 from Hurriyet website <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/davidoff-kafe-nasil-hidayete-erdi-12349500>

Cavusgil, T. (2013). Middle class phenomenon in emerging markets: Multi disciplinary & multi country perspectives. In *1st Middle Class Phenomenon in Emerging Markets Conference*.

Cavusgil, T., & Kardes, I. (2013). Quantifying the size of middle class in emerging markets: GSU-CIBER middle class scorecard. In *First middle class phenomenon in emerging markets conference presentation*.

Cavuslugil, T.& Guercini, S. (2014) Trends in Middle Class as a Strategic Marketing. *Mercati e Competitiva*, (3), 7–10.

Cetiner Y. (1979 March 5) Bulgaristan'a 10 bin ton kahve geliyor. Tıpkı Marlboro, Kent gibi komşuda pişer bize de düşer, *Milliyet Newspaper*, pp. 9.

Chayka, K. (2016, August 3). How Silicon Valley helps spread the same sterile aesthetic across the world. Retrieved January 18, 2018, from The Verge website: <https://www.theverge.com/2016/8/3/12325104/airbnb-aesthetic-global-minimalism-startup-gentrification>

Chemex Coffee Maker. (n.d.). Chemex. Retrieved January 28, 2018, from <http://www.chemexcoffeemaker.com/about-us?SID=eh3aji8tpgbi5ae36oug00qb55>

Claflin, K. W. (2013). Representation of Food Production and Consumption: Cookbooks as Historical Sources. In A. Murcott, P. Jackson, & W. Belasco (Eds.), *The Handbook of Food Research*. A&C Black.

Crossley, N. (2014). Social Class. In M. J. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Routledge.

Deer, C. (2014). Doxa. In M. J. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Routledge.

DiMaggio, P. (1987). Classification in Art. *American Sociological Review*, 52(4), 440-455. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095290>

Drip Coffeelist. (n.d.). İyi bir kahve, keyifli bir sohbet için: Retrieved March 25, 2019, from [http://www.foodinlife.com.tr/haber/37253/iyi\\_bir\\_kahve\\_keyifli\\_bir\\_sohbet\\_icin\\_Drip\\_Coffeelist\\_.html](http://www.foodinlife.com.tr/haber/37253/iyi_bir_kahve_keyifli_bir_sohbet_icin_Drip_Coffeelist_.html)

Drouard, A. (2007). Chefs, Gourmets, and Gourmands: French Cuisine in the 19th century and 20th Century. In P. H. Freedman (Ed.), *Food: The History of Taste*. University of California Press.

Euromonitor International (2016) Coffee Shops Around the World: Three Key Insights for 2016. Retrieved February 20, 2018, from Euromonitor International Blog website: <https://blog.euromonitor.com/2016/04/coffee-shops-around-the-world-three-key-insights-for-2016.html>

Euromonitor International (2016). Coffee Shops Around the World: Three Key Insights for 2016. Retrieved from <https://blog.euromonitor.com/coffee-shops-around-the-world-three-key-insights-for-2016/>

Euromonitor International (2018) Cold Brew Coffee: At the Coffee Shop, At Home and On the Go Retrieved February 26, 2018, from <https://www.euromonitor.com/cold-brew-coffee-at-the-coffee-shop-at-home-and-on-the-go/report>

Ferguson, P. P. (1998). A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19th-Century France. *American Journal of Sociology*, 104(3), 597–641. <https://doi.org/10.1086/210082>

Fernandes, L. (2006). *India's new middle class: Democratic politics in an era of economic reform*. University of Minnesota Press.

Feuvre, J. L. (2017). What does Specialty Coffee mean? - Coffee Magazine. Retrieved December 22, 2017, from <http://www.coffeemagazine.co.za/blog/1/5241/what-does-specialty-coffee-mean>

Freedman, P. H. (2007). *Food: The History of Taste*. University of California Press

Fielding N. (2006) Ethnography, In Victor Jupp (Ed.) *The Sage Dictionary of Research Methods*. SAGE Publications

Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class and How It's Transforming Work Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.

Gehl, J., & Svarre, B. (2013). *How to Study Public Life*. Island Press.

Gilbert, D. (2010). *The American Class Structure in an Age of Growing Inequality*. Pine Forge Press.

Gill, R. (2007). Supersexualize Me! Advertising and 'the midriiffs. In F. Attwood (Ed.) *Mainstreaming sex: the sexualization of Western culture*. I.B. Tauris.

Gloria Jeans (n.d.) <http://gloriajeans.com.tr/about>

Goffman, E. (1982). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior*. Pantheon Books.

Gold, J. (2008, March 12). La Mill: The Latest Buzz. Retrieved January 31, 2018, from L.A. Weekly website: <http://www.laweekly.com/restaurants/la-mill-the-latest-buzz-2152451>

Guevara, J. (2017, April 10). What Is "Third Wave Coffee", & How Is It Different to Specialty? Retrieved December 22, 2017, from Perfect Daily Grind website: <https://www.perfectdailygrind.com/2017/04/third-wave-coffee-different-specialty/>

Gul, M. (2011). *Modern İstanbul'un doğuşu : bir şehrin dönüşümü ve modernizasyonu = The emergence of modern Istanbul: transformation and modernisation of a city*. Sel Yayıncılık

Gul, M. (2017). *Architecture and the Turkish City: An Urban History of Istanbul since the Ottomans*. I.B.Tauris.

Gurbilek, N. (2014). *Vitrinde Yaşamak: 1980'lerin Kültürel İklimi*. İstanbul: Metis.

Gursoy, D. (2004). *Tarihin Süzgecinde Mutfak Kültürümüz*. Oğlak Yayınları

Gursoy, D. (2007). *Turkish Cuisine In Historical Perspective*. Oğlak Yayınları.

Gursoy, D. (2013). *Yiyelim İçelim, Tarihini Bilelim - Dünden Bugüne Gastronomi*. Oğlak Yayınları.

Harvey, David (2005), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Hayden, Dolores (1995) *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Henningsen, L. (2012). Individualism for the masses? Coffee consumption and the Chinese middle class' search for authenticity. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 13(3), 408–427. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2012.689709>

Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2006) *The Practice of Qualitative Research*. SAGE.

Hetherington, K. (2002). *The badlands of modernity: Heterotopia and social ordering*. Routledge.

Hoffman, J. (2014). *The World Atlas of Coffee: From Beans to Brewing - Coffees Explored, Explained and Enjoyed*. Mitchell Beazley

Hobbs, D. (2006) Ethnographic Interview In Victor Jupp (Ed.) *The Sage Dictionary of Research Methods*. SAGE Publishing.

Hurriyet (2017, Sep 26) 40 bin kahvesever İstanbul Coffee Festival'de buluştu. Retrieved February 26, 2018, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kelebek/keyif/40-bin-kahvesever-istanbul-coffee-festivalde-bulustu-40591044>

Hurriyet (1999 July,4 ) Makine kahvesinin ömrü 18 dakika. Retrieved February 26, 2018, from Hürriyet website: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/makine-kahvesinin-omru-18-dakika-39089490>

Hurriyet (1998 May 10) Dunkin Donuts Türkiye'ye Geliyor Retrieved February 26, 2018 from Hurriyet website <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/dunkin-donuts-geliyor-39018307>

İstanbul.net (2012). Kahramanmaraş 1963 Lahmacun - İçli Köfte - Restoran. Retrieved July 2, 2019, from istanbul.net.tr İstanbul şehir rehberi website: <https://www.istanbul.net.tr/yeme-icme/restoran/kahramanmaras-1963-lahmacun-icli-kofte/8808/3>

Istanbul Kahve Haritası. (n.d.). Probador Colectiva.

Johnston, Josee, & Baumann, S. (2009). *Foodies: Democracy and Distinction in the Gourmet Foodscape* (1 edition). New York: Routledge.

Johnston, Josée, & Goodman, M. K. (2015). Spectacular Foodscapes: Food Celebrities and the Politics of Lifestyle Mediation in an Age of Inequality. *Food, Culture & Society*, 18(2), 205–222. <https://doi.org/10.2752/175174415X14180391604369>

Jones, H., Neal, S., Mohan, G., Connell, K., Cochrane, A., & Bennett, K. (2015). Urban multicultural and everyday encounters in semi-public, franchised cafe spaces. *The Sociological Review*, 63(3), 644–661. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12311>

Julier, A. P. (2013). *Eating Together: Food, Friendship and Inequality*. University of Illinois Press.

Kafadar, C. (2014). How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul. *In Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies: Vol. 20*.

*Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Vol.20,pp.243–269). <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.LMEMS-EB.1.102271>  
Kahve Dünyası. (2017). Retrieved December 23, 2017, from <https://www.kahvedunyasi.com/kesfet/hakkimizda>

Kahvve.com. (2016, February 8). İstanbul'da kahve eşliğinde kitap keyfi "Kitap Kafe"  
Retrieved December 23, 2017, from Kahvve.com website:  
<http://www.kahvve.com/istanbulda-kahve-esliginde-kitap-keyfi-2989/5/>

Kardüz, A. R. (2012, December 22). 70 yıldır hiç değişmeyen lezzet: Beyti Kebap. Milliyet. Retrieved from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/70-yildir-hic-degismeyen-lezzet-beyti-kebab/ali-riza-karduz/cumartesi/yazardetay/22.12.2012/1645207/default.htm>

Keyman, F. (2012). TÜrkiye'nin Geleceğini Orta Sınıf Belirleyecek [Middle class will determine the future of Turkey]. *TUSIAD Görüş Dergisi*, (76), 23–27

Kömeçoğlu, U. (2003). Örtünme pratiği ve toplumsal cinsiyete ilişkin mekânsal bir etnografi. *Doğu Batı*, (23), 37-74

Kravets, O., & Sandikci, O. (2014). Competently Ordinary: New Middle Class Consumers in the Emerging Markets. *Journal of Marketing*, 78(4), 125–140. <https://doi.org/10.1509/jm.12.0190>

Lefebvre, H. (1992). *The Production of Space*. Wiley.

Lennard, S. H. C., & Lennard, H. L. (1995). *Livable cities observed: A source book of images and ideas for city officials, community leaders, architects, planners and all other committed to making their cities livable*. Gondolier Press.

Levenstein, H. A. (1994). *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America*. Oxford University Press.

Levent Yuna, M. (2010). *A Late-Modern Story of Argentinean Tango: The Case of 21st Century Istanbul*. Theses and Dissertations, Yeditepe University.

Liu, Y. (2016). *Configuring the Qualification of Good Coffee an Ethnography on the Specialty Coffee Industry in Milwaukee*. Theses and Dissertations. Retrieved from <https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/1383>

Low, S. M. (2010). *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*. University of Texas Press.

Low, S. (2016). *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place*. Routledge.

Low, S., Taplin, D., & Scheld, S. (2009). *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity*. University of Texas Press.

Low, S., & Zuniga, D. (2003). *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*. Wiley-Blackwell

Mambocino. (2017). Retrieved December 23, 2017, from <http://www.mambocino.com.tr/mambocino>

Manzo, J. (2014). Machines, People, and Social Interaction in “Third-Wave” Coffeehouses. *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 3(8), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.18533/journal.v3i8.527>

Manzo, J. (2015). “Third-Wave” Coffeehouses as Venues for Sociality: On Encounters between Employees and Customers. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(6), 746–761.

Maton, K. (2014). Habitus. In M. J. Grenfell (Ed.), *In Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Routledge.

McCormick, B. (2006). A Feel for the Game: Bourdieu, Source Study, and the Legend. *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 28, 257-261. *The New Chaucer Society*. Retrieved August 15, 2019, from Project MUSE database.

McDonald’s Türkiye. (n.d.). Retrieved April 15, 2018, from <https://www.mcdonalds.com.tr/kurumsal/hakimizda/turkiyede-mcdonalds/turkiyede-mcdonalds-kilometre-taslari>

Melitta Company (n.d.) Retrieved August 15 from <https://www.melitta.com/en/Our-Passion-through-the-Years-628.html>

Meriç M (2017) İki Darbe Arası Müzikli Curcuna: Cazdan Saza, 60’lı Yıllarda Müzik...In Mete Kaan Kaynar (Ed.) *Türkiye'nin 1960'li Yılları* pp. 987-1007 İletişim Yayınları

Merriam Webster. (2017). *Gastronomy*. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/gastronomy>

Merriam Webster. (2019). *Gourmet*. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/gourmet>

Mikhail, A. (2007). *The Heart’s Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House*. Tauris Academic Studies.

Milliyet (1998, October 16) Dunkin’ Donuts’ Türkiye’de, pp. 2

Milliyet (1999, March 6) Gençler Aromalı Orta Yaşlılar Filtre Kahve İstiyor <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/vitrin/gencler-aromali-orta-yasli-lar-filtre-kahve-istiyor-5263992>

Milliyet (2001, August 26). Kahvenin 105 Çeşidi, pp. 13.

Milliyet (2003, August 3) Hazır Kahvede Faaliyet Gösteren Firmalar, pp. 4.

Milliyet, (2004, August 22) Starbucks Ankara'da, pp.11.

Milliyet (2009, July 31) Muhafazakar Manevra AVM'yi Karıştırdı Retrieved July 12 2017 from Milliyet website <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/pembenar/muhafazak-r-manevra-avm-yi-karistirdi-1123331>

Mills, A. (2010). *Streets of Memory: Landscape, Tolerance, and National Identity in Istanbul*. University of Georgia Press.

Mills, C. W. (1951). *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*. Oxford. UK: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, D. (2002). Cultural landscapes: the dialectical landscape – recent landscape research in human geography. *Progress in Human Geography*, 26(3), 381–389. <https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132502ph376pr>

Moskowitz, M. L. (2015). Drinking Modernity: Sexuality and the Sanitation of Space in Taiwan's Coffee Shops. In *Japanese Taiwan Colonial Rule and Its Contested Legacy*.

Nestle. (2017). Nestlé acquires majority interest in Blue Bottle Coffee. Retrieved December 23, 2017, from <https://www.nestle.com> website: <https://www.nestle.com/media/pressreleases/allpressreleases/nestle-acquires-majority-interest-blue-bottle-coffee>

Nestlé - Invest in Turkey. (n.d.). Retrieved December 23, 2017, from <http://www.invest.gov.tr/tr-TR/successstories/Pages/Nestle.aspx>

Newman, J, W. (1966). *On Knowing the Consumer*. John Wiley and Sons.

Oldenburg, Ramon, & Brissett, D. (1982). The third place. *Qualitative Sociology*, 5(4), 265–284. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00986754>

Oldenburg, Ray. (1989). *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*. Hachette Books.

O'Hare, M. (2016, June 23). Why we all need to drink like Norwegians. Retrieved February 26, 2018, from CNN Travel website: <https://www.cnn.com/travel/article/norway-coffee-culture/index.html>

Onaran, B. (2016). *MutfakTarih: Yemeğin Politik Serüvenleri*. İletişim Yayınları.



Ors, A. (2005, November 5). Alafranga pastacılıkta 82 yıl. Retrieved April 24, 2019, from Sabah website: [https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/cumartesi/ors/2005/11/05/alafranga\\_pastacilik\\_ta\\_82\\_yi](https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/cumartesi/ors/2005/11/05/alafranga_pastacilik_ta_82_yi)

Ozbek, M. (2004). *Kamusal Alan*. Hil Yayınları

Ozdemir, K. (1998). *Beyoğlu: Kısa Geçmişi, Argosu*. İletişim Yayınları

Olmez, Y. (1977) Istanbul'da Kacak Malın Her Türüsü Var, *Hayat*,39 (Eylül) 9-11.

Parrish, S (2018 )She's a Lady: The Creation and Maintenance of Gendered Divisions Among American Specialty Coffee Baristas. *Standard Mag* (11) 72-81.

Par. K. (2009) *Bobos in Turkey: Manifestations of the Bourgeois Bohemian Lifestyle in Istanbul*, Thesis and Dissertations, The Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History, Bogazici University.

Paulle, B., van Heerikhuizen, B., & Emirbayer, M. (2012). Elias and Bourdieu. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 12(1), 69–93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X11433708>

Pendergrast, M. (2010a). *Uncommon Grounds: The History of Coffee and How It Transformed Our World (Revised edition)*. New York: Basic Books.

Pendergrast, M. (2010b). *Uncommon Grounds: The History of Coffee and How It Transformed Our World*. Hachette UK.

Perfect Daily Grind (2017, April 16) Bucharest's Growing Third Wave Is All About Coffee Education. (2017, April 13). Retrieved February 26, 2018, from Perfect Daily Grind website: <https://www.perfectdailygrind.com/2017/04/bucharests-growing-third-wave-coffee-education/>

Perfect Daily Grind (2017, May 24). What Is The Q Grader Program & Should You Do It? Retrieved January 30, 2018, from Perfect Daily Grind website: <https://www.perfectdailygrind.com/2017/05/q-grader-program/>

Perfect Daily Grind (2015, October 23) Specialty Coffee in Portugal: Without Sugar, Please!). Retrieved February 26, 2018, from Perfect Daily Grind website: <https://www.perfectdailygrind.com/2015/10/specialty-coffee-in-portugal-without-sugar-please/>

Radikal. (2003, February 1). Kent Fısıltıları. Retrieved April 25, 2019, from Radikal website: [http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/kent\\_fisiltilari-862468/](http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/kent_fisiltilari-862468/)

Rath, J. (2018, December 5). From Kahvehane to Coffee Bar: Urban Life in Istanbul. Retrieved June 16, 2019, from TheProtoCity.com website: <http://theprotocity.com/from-kahvehane-to-coffee-bar-urban-life-in-istanbul/>

Rhinehart, R. (2009). What is Specialty Coffee? Retrieved December 22, 2017, from <http://scaa.org/?page=RicArtp1>

Rhinehart, R. (2017, March 17). What is Specialty Coffee? Retrieved December 20, 2017, from Specialty Coffee Association News website: <http://www.scanews.coffee/2017/03/17/what-is-specialty-coffee/>

Ritzer, G. (2008). *The McDonaldization of Society* 5. Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G. (2013). *The McDonaldization of Society: 20th Anniversary Edition*. SAGE

Ritzer, G., & Dean, P. (2014). *Globalization: A Basic Text*. John Wiley & Sons.

Rocamora, A. (2002). Fields of Fashion: Critical insights into Bourdieu's sociology of culture. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2(3), 341–362. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146954050200200303>

Roseberry, W. (1996). The Rise of Yuppie Coffees and the Reimagination of Class in the United States. *American Anthropologist*, 98(4), 762–775. Retrieved from JSTOR.

Rosenthal, S. T. (1980). *The Politics of Dependency: Urban Reform in Istanbul*. Greenwood Press.

Rothgeb, T. (2003). Norway and Coffee. *The Flamekeeper Newsletter of the Roaster Guild*, Spring. Retrieved from [https://web.archive.org/web/20031011091223/http://roastersguild.org:80/052003\\_norway.shtml](https://web.archive.org/web/20031011091223/http://roastersguild.org:80/052003_norway.shtml)

Rutz, H. J., Balkan, E. A., & Balkan, E. M. (2009). *Reproducing class: Education, neoliberalism, and the rise of the new middle class in Istanbul*. Berghahn Books.

Sabah (2009). Anadolu ne zaman espresso içerse oraya Yargıcı açarız - Ekonomi Haberleri. Retrieved from [https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2009/06/06/anadolu\\_ne\\_zaman\\_espresso\\_icerse\\_oraya\\_yargici\\_acariz](https://www.sabah.com.tr/ekonomi/2009/06/06/anadolu_ne_zaman_espresso_icerse_oraya_yargici_acariz)

Samancı, O. (2010). 19. Yüzyılın Sonlarında İstanbul Sokak Lezzetleri. *Yemek ve Kültür*, Yaz (21).

Samancı, O. (2016). Pilaf and Bouchées: The Modernization of Official Banquets at the Ottoman Palace in the Nineteenth Century. In D. D. Vooght (Ed.), *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789*. Routledge.

Samancı, Ö. (2006). 19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı Elitinin Yeme-İçme Alışkanlıkları. In S. Faruqhi (Ed.), & Z. Yelçe (Trans.), *Soframız Nur, Hanemiz Mamur: Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Yemek ve Barınak*. Kitap Yayınevi.

Samancı, Ö. (2014). Osmanlı-Türk Mutfağı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme: Yemek Kitaplarında Alaturka Alafranga İkilemi. *Yemek ve Kültür*, Kış(35), 22–27.

Savoy Pastanesi. (n.d.). Retrieved May 13, 2019, from Savoy Pastanesi website: <http://www.savoypastanesi.com/tarihce-2.html>

SCA National Chapters. (n.d.). Retrieved June 9, 2019, from Specialty Coffee Association website: <https://sca.coffee/membership/chapters>

SCA News (2017) Coffee Culture in Turkey Retrieved February 26, 2018, from <http://www.scanews.coffee/2017/08/24/coffee-culture-turkey>

Shore, E. (2007). Dining Out: The Development of Restaurants. In P. Freedman (Ed.), *Food: The History of Taste* (pp. 301–326). University of California Press.

Spaces of Community: Exploring dynamics of the UK (n.d.). Retrieved March 18, 2018, from [/research/research-directories/current-projects/2015/spaces-of-community-exploring-dynamics-of-the-uk-cafe-industry-/](#)

Spang, R. L. (2000). *The Invention of the Restaurant*. Retrieved from <http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674006850>

Spradley, J. P., & Mann, B. E. (1975). *The Cocktail Waitress: Woman's Work in a Man's World*. Waveland Press.

Starbucks Coffee Company (n.d.) 1st & Pike Store. (n.d.). Retrieved March 25, 2019, from Starbucks Coffee Company website: <https://www.starbucks.com/coffeehouse/store-design/1st-and-pike>

Starbucks Reserve. (n.d.). Retrieved June 19, 2019, from <https://www.starbucksreserve.com/en-us/about>

Sunderland, S. (2012). Trading the Happy Object: Coffee, Colonialism, and Friendly Feeling. *M/C Journal*, 15(2), 473–481.

Üstüner, T., Holt, D., & David Mick served as editor and Eric Arnould served as associate editor for this article. (2010). Toward a Theory of Status Consumption in Less Industrialized Countries. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(1), 37-56. doi:10.1086/649759

Tanyeli, U., Derviş, P., & Tanju, B. (2008). Arabesque Istanbul. In *Becoming Istanbul* (pp. 43–45).

Tatbak Restaurant – Nişantaşı. (n.d.). Retrieved July 3, 2019, from <https://www.tatbak.com/>

Terrio, S. J. (2000). *Crafting the culture and history of French chocolate*. [electronic resource]. University of California Press. Retrieved from <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat03601a&AN=isu.EBC224216&site=eds-live>

Thompson, C. J., & Arsel, Z. (2004). The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers' (Anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(3), 631–642. <https://doi.org/10.1086/425098>

TimeOut. (2013). Çekirdek. Retrieved December 23, 2017, from <https://www.timeout.com/istanbul/tr/restoranlar/cekirdek>

Turhan, C. (2016, February 11). Ezberleri bozan adam: Raffi Bışar. Retrieved April 24, 2019, from <http://www.candanturhan.com/index.php/2016/02/11/ezberleri-bozan-adam-raffi-bisar/>

Vatan. (2004). Starbucks Türkiye yatırımını sadece 6 ayda amorti etti. Retrieved April 26, 2019, from <http://www.gazetevatan.com/starbucks-turkiye-yatirimini-sadece-6-ayda-amorti-etti-22900-ekonomi/>

Vesela, V. G. (2016, August 25). Italian Third Wave Coffee Scene - Does Anyone Know About It? Retrieved February 26, 2018, from European Coffee Trip website: <https://europeancoffeetrip.com/italian-third-wave-coffee-scene/>

Veseth, M. (2005). *Globaloney: Unraveling the Myths of Globalization*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Ward, H. (2017). The 2017 Western European Coffee Market Size Report. Retrieved June 9, 2019, from SCA News website: <https://scanews.coffee/2017/11/28/2017-western-european-coffee-market-size-report/>

Warde, A., & Martens, L. (2000). *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption and Pleasure*. Cambridge University Press.

Warner, W. L., & Lunt, P. S. (1941). *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. Retrieved from <https://www.amazon.com/Social-Life-Modern-Community-Yankee/dp/0837169585>

Washburne, R. F. (1978). Black under-participation in wildland recreation: Alternative explanations. *Leisure Sciences*, 1(2), 175–189. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01490407809512880>

Wohl, S. (2017). The Turkish Tea Garden: Exploring a “Third Space” With Cultural Resonances. *Space and Culture*, 20(1), 56–67. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331216646058>

Wong, N. C. W. (2015). Starbuckization. In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Consumption and Consumer Studies*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118989463.wbeccs218>

Yargici. (n.d.). Retrieved March 2, 2018, from  
<http://shop.yargici.com.tr/t/hakkimizda>

Yavuzer, G. (2015). *Istanbul Wine-Taverns As Public Spaces In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Bogazici University.

Yenal, Z., & Kubiena, M. (2016). Culinary Work at the Crossroads in Istanbul. *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies*, 16(1), 63–78.  
<https://doi.org/10.1525/gfc.2016.16.1.63>

Zukin, S. (1991) *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press