

COFFEE IS THE NEW WINE : AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THIRD
WAVE COFFEE IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

COFFEE IS THE NEW WINE : AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THIRD WAVE COFFEE IN ANKARA

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Based on ethnographic research of six months in Ankara, this study investigates the institutional logics operating in the field of third wave coffee. Through employing institutional theory and the field theory of Bourdieu, the study identifies different socially constructed logics that have guided and provided meaning for the actions of marketplace actors. While the study provide a glimpse of third wave coffee market formation in Turkey, it also introduces marketplace logics as well as their interaction among them and how they change over time with the emergence of new marketplace actors. Therefore, this study claims that the field of third wave coffee which was initially guided by the logics of artisanry, anti-corporatism and social entrepreneurship, is now dominated by the logic of commerce with the efforts of entrepreneurs.

Keywords: Anthropology of Food, Coffee, Market Formation, Institutional Logics, Field

ÖZ

YENİ ŞARAP OLARAK KAHVE : ANKARA'DAKİ ÜÇÜNCÜ DALGA KAHVENİN ETNOGRAFIK BİR ÇALIŞMASI

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Ankara'da 6 aylık bir etnografik araştırmaya dayanan bu çalışma, üçüncü dalga kahve alanındaki kurumsal mantıkları incelemiştir. Kurumsal teori ve Bourdieu'nun alan teorisini kullanarak, bu çalışma pazaryeri aktörlerinin aksiyonlarını yönlendiren ve onlara anlam sağlayan sosyal olarak inşa edilmiş kurumsal mantıkları teşhis etmiştir. Çalışma Türkiye'de üçüncü dalga pazar oluşumundan bir kesit sunarken, aynı zamanda da pazaryeri mantıklarını ve yeni pazaryeri aktörlerinin ortaya çıkışıyla bu mantıkların birbirleriyle etkileşimi ve zamanla değişimi araştırılmıştır. Böylece, bu çalışma üçüncü dalga kahve pazarının başlangıç olarak sanatçılık, şirket karşıtlığı ve sosyal girişimcilik mantıkları üzerine kurulu iken girişimcilerin eforları sayesinde ticaret mantığının baskın hale geldiği bir alana dönüştüğünü iddia etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Gıda Antropolojisi, Kahve, Pazar Kurulumu, Kurumsal Mantıklar, Alan

You know we're living in a society!!

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
TABLE OF FIGURES, TABLES AND CHART.....	xi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION A COFFEETOUR WITH BUĞRA AND ŞEYDA.....	1
1.1. Seed to Cup : Third Wave Coffee Practices.....	7
1.1.1. Coffee Bean Selection.....	8
1.1.2. Harvesting.....	9
1.1.3. Processing.....	9
1.1.4. Coffee Bean Purchase Through Fair and Direct Trade.....	10
1.1.5. Roasting.....	11
1.1.6. Cupping.....	12
1.1.7. Brewing.....	15
1.1.8. Seeking Out Coffee Beans.....	17
1.1.9. Research Questions.....	19
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	21
2.1. Studies on Transformative Change.....	22
2.2. Studies on Topological Change.....	26
2.3. Studies on Distruptive Change.....	31
3. METHODOLOGY.....	34
3.1. Data Collection.....	35
3.1.1. Entering into Coffee Scene.....	37
3.1.2. Field Notes.....	41
3.2. Sampling.....	43
3.3. In-Depth Interview.....	45
3.3.1. Sample Profile.....	47
3.4. Data Analysis.....	49

3.4.1. Translation of Interviews.....	50
3.5. Ethical Considerations and Trustworthiness.....	50
3.6. Limitations and Future Research.....	51
4. LOCATING THIRD WAVE COFFEE IN GLOBAL AND LOCAL CONTEXT.....	50
4.1. Coffee in Ottoman Context.....	54
4.2. First Wave Coffee.....	55
4.3. Second Wave Coffee.....	56
4.4. Third Wave Coffee.....	57
4.5. Locating Third Wave Coffee in the Local Consumptionscapes.....	59
4.5.1. The Acquisition of Taste.....	60
4.5.2. Third Wave Coffee in Ankara.....	62
5. INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS IN THIRD WAVE COFFEE FIELD.....	66
5.1. The Logic of Artisanry.....	66
5.1.1. The Artisan Owner.....	67
5.1.2. Conundrums of Automatization.....	69
5.1.3. Craftsmanship.....	70
5.1.4. Taste Regime.....	74
5.2. The Logic of Anti-Corporatism.....	76
5.2.1. Structuring Effects of Multinational Companies on Taste.....	76
5.2.2. Direct Trade as Market Reform.....	78
5.2.3. Coffeeshop as Spaces of Freedom.....	81
5.3. The Logic of Social Entrepreneurship.....	84
5.3.1. The Bargaining Power of Farmers.....	84
5.3.2. Fair/Direct Trade as Injustice Alleviation Method.....	86
5.4. Decommodifying Practices.....	88
5.5. The Logic of Commerce.....	90
6. CONCLUSION.....	94
REFERENCES.....	98
APPENDICES	
A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS.....	107
B. PERMISSION FROM HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE.....	109
C. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	110
D. THESIS PERMISSION FORM/ TEZ İZİN FORMU.....	119

TABLE OF FIGURES, TABLES AND CHART

FIGURES

Figure 1 A Cupping Note.....	14
Figure 2 Brewing Tools.....	16
Figure 3 A Scene From Ankara Coffee Festival.....	35
Figure 4 Field Notes.....	42
Figure 5 Map of Tunalı Coffeeshops.....	65
Figure 6 Map of Ayrancı Coffeeshops.....	65
Figure 7 Map of Bahçelievler Coffeeshops.....	65
Figure 8 Deniz’s Instagram Post.....	74

TABLES

Table 1 Informant Demographics.....	48
Table 2 Categorization of Interview Materials.....	47

CHART

Chart 1 The Process of Seed to Cup.....	18
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION : A COFFEESHOP TOUR WITH BUĞRA AND ŞEYDA

It was a cold winter day when I first met with Buğra and Şeyda¹, a young couple from Istanbul coffee scene. A friend of mine from college introduced them to me over the phone when she heard my interest in coffee. It was so hard to arrange a meeting that it was only made possible by their visit to Ankara. Buğra was a roaster and running a third wave coffee shop in Balat, a gentrified region in Istanbul. His fiancé Şeyda was working as an editor in a prominent fashion magazine. They were visiting Ankara to distribute newly roasted coffee bean samples on which Buğra had an experimental roasting style. He told me over the phone a day before his visit that they will be touring a few coffeeshops in Ankara and asked if I wanted to tag along. My journey with them has begun in a coffeeshop in Bahçelievler, a neighborhood that was emerged around 1940s when the capital was expanding towards west with planned urbanization through which Bahçelievler became a center of economic and social life.

Approaching the coffeeshop with no clue on my mind how they look like, I saw a young man talking with a barista on the counter. The appearance of barista was quite intriguing with his large beard and tattoo covered arm. His stereotypical hipster look reminded me a Facebook post on which a friend of mine was complaining about paying 15 tl for a cup of coffee because hipsters made it so “cool” . While I was questioning this in my head, I was welcomed by a waiter. As I guessed, the man talking with the barista was Buğra. After a brief chat, he introduced me to the proprietors of the coffeeshop, Coffee de Matteo. Sarper and Sare, who were in their early 30s like Buğra and Şeyda, started this coffeehouse just 8 months ago after they have resigned their job to follow their dream. While we were having a small chat, I have learnt that both were writing their dissertation on third wave coffee shop. Apparently, not only starting a third wave coffee shop but also reseraching on the subject was trending. While we were deepening our conversation about coffee, Buğra and

¹All the names are pseudonyms.

the barista was discussing different coffee beans Buğra had roasted. When we were about to leave, Sare treated us with handmade sandwiches she prepared.

After leaving Coffee de Matteo, we were cruising in the snowy and narrow streets of Bahçelievler to find our next coffeeshop. Metin mentioned the burgeoning speciality coffee shop business in Ankara. “They are popping up like mushrooms in every corner. People know it’s a big business and they don’t want to miss the opportunity. But you have to do this properly. Otherwise, you will vanish.” Proceeding to our next stop, I asked him how he started to get into coffee business.

I was working as a financial advisor. We were drinking coffee at the office all day long. We were getting coffee from Starbucks or purchase coffee beans from business trips abroad and brew it at the office. I was working in finance but I also wanted to have my own place. I was developing a strong interest in coffee. Şeyda was in Italy at that time, having her master’s degree. And I was going to Milano to visit her. While I was staying in the hotel, reading something online, an ad popped up saying that a fair on coffee was happening in Milano, luckily at the time I was there. We went there to see what’s happening, drank lots of coffee. I came across a booklet that was featuring a women who came in third place in the world brewing championship, Duygu. She was also at the fair to present something. I just showed up in her presentation, told her that I want to start roasting and open a coffeehouse. We exchanged e-mails and when I decisively quit my job, I went to Russia to get my training from Duygu.

His monologue was cut off when we arrived our next coffeeshop, Viktors Coffee. Luckily, it was the first third wave coffeeshop that I visited in my life when a friend of mine took me there a couple months ago. It reminded me a mini jungle with its psychedelic wallpapers and indoor plants flowing around the walls. It had one of the most inspiring and distinctive ambiance even for a third wave coffee shop. The owner greeted Buğra and Şeyda at the door with a big smile on his face, like he bumped into an old friend after a long time. The coffeeshop was inspired from Italian cultural field, organizing Italian movie nights and offering Italian culinary products. While Buğra was ordering a tiramisu, something they are famous for, I had initiated a conversation with the owner Meriç. He was a Phd student in Italy until he returned for his girlfriend who has been living in Ankara. He told that , in a regretful manner, he was continuing his studies in Ankara.

I didn't want to stand idle during my phd and I opened up this coffeehouse." he said. "In the beginning, locals of the neighbourhood were coming, old ladies were having *gün*². We have jazz sessions on Tuesdays and movie nights on Fridays. After seeing these activities and noticing young folk became regular, they realized this is not the right place for them.

As we were having a chitchat, Buğra and a barista called Çağrı pulled a chair and joined us. And we started to talk about newly roasted coffee beans that Buğra brought with him. I spotted a coffee package in the hands of Buğra, his new roast. It was called pineapple and it was the second time I encountered a specialty coffee bag. The previous one was called something in Spanish that was named after a farm. While they were arguing on the taste profile, I was wondering why this coffee was called pineapple. I was assuming that pieces of pineapple in the coffee so that we can sense some pineapple aroma, something similar to coke with lemon. Otherwise, why would they call it pineapple? However, I was too hesitant to ask with the fear of being made fun of. Surrounded with people who has expertise on the practical and technical aspects of coffee, I was feeling insecure. Then, shockingly, I heard Buğra, like he was reading my mind, saying "people come and ask me if there is pineapple in it." I found myself uncomfortably laughing along with everybody else. Of course, there was no pieces of pineapple in it. The reason why this coffee bean was called was that it had pineapple in the cupping notes (discussed later). Conversation have kept going while Buğra was taking out other coffee bean packages. They were called Nekemte and Lilith. There was a moment of praise of taste profile of Nekemte. Çağrı took the lead. "I've never tasted something like that before. It was so clean and smooth that I just can't believe it. I like the balance. I usually like aromatic coffee and it's one of them. I didn't read the cupping notes but I think I get something fruity, peaches possibly." Buğra corrected him in a polite way. "It was nectarine. You can't find it much. It's a rare aroma." Following a few admiring comments on Lilith's taste profile, we were ready to leave for our next coffeeshop.

While we were proceeding to our next destination, I was questioning the purpose of this circuit. All they were doing in the last couple hours was to hand out a couple roasted coffee bean samples to coffee shops and have a small conversation about coffee and daily life. Why did they bother to come all the way from Istanbul to deliver 250 grams of coffee package ? I was curious but reluctant to ask this. However, I asked them why they didn't mail these packages instead of coming personally. Şeyda replied;

²A gathering of housewives, elderly or retired women.

It's not about making a sale. Coffee is not just about money. We haven't met with these guys a couple years ago. And we wouldn't meet with you if you were not interested in coffee. Coffee is something social. It brings people together. That's what we are trying to achieve in here.

Everyone in Turkey was familiar with the scene of cooking a cup of Turkish coffee when relatives, family friends or neighbors visit one's home. I was aware of the social role of coffee in our lives through these experiences. Contemplating what she meant with the word "social", we were about to reach our next stop.

It was getting colder as the day went by and we were cruising around 7th street, at the hot spot of Bahçelievler where all brand stores, pubs and restaurants clustered. Unsurprisingly, we stumbled upon a Starbucks which occupied every corner of densely populated areas in town. I was aware the tension between coffee aficionados and Starbucks. Expecting a sort of vilification, I asked Buğra what he thinks of Starbucks. His response was a surprise for me. "Starbucks taught everyone what coffee is and how to drink it. We wouldn't have coffee without Starbucks. It was a school probably for every coffee enthusiast." While he was appreciating the role of Starbucks in the diffusion of coffee culture, he admitted the low quality of their coffees. "They roast too dark."

In a narrow street with no sign of any coffeeshop, Buğra parked his car and we started to walk further. Cafe Comodo was our next stop with its unpretentious design. It was located on a street with no other commercial activity. There were six or seven tables outside the building with no customer and a couple tables located indoor occupied by a single person reading an article on his laptop. The owner, Deniz, greeted Buğra and Şeyda with a large smile by saying "I was waiting you all day. What took you so long?". She was accompanied by a rather young man called Alper with an v60 – a brewing tool- in his hands. "When did I see you last time?" he said to Buğra. "I think it was on Istanbul coffee festival." Replied in a cheerful voice. He was a senior studying medicine in Ankara and a huge coffee enthusiast. Buğra introduced me to them and mentioned them my project. Alper was quite enthusiastic about hearing this. "Finally someone studying coffee. That's what we needed in Turkey. We have abundance of coffeeshops and everyone is drinking coffee. Yet, a paucity of work was published on the subject. I'm really glad that you are doing this." Surprised by his motivation, I asked him about v60 he was holding. "I'm going to compete in the next brewing championship. I was brewing coffee". In the

meantime, Deniz was getting behind the counter to brew us a cup of Nekemte. Like Çağrı, she was also fond of this coffee bean. While Deniz was brewing coffee with v60, the man with his laptop was ready to pick up check. “It’s on me” said Deniz. Apparently, he was a close friend of hers. After a friendly argument about whether he would pay the check, Deniz agreed on to take his money.

Having brought sample brews from different coffee beans, Deniz asked them how their trip went. “It was nice to get together with old friends. I was very busy with the roasting new profiles, and we are thinking to open up a new roastery where we can have workshops as well. And you know, we’re looking for a place for the weeding. You’ll get your invitations soon.” said Buğra. After they have accepted congratulations, Buğra took coffee bean samples from his bag and presented to Deniz. “These are my roasts. I have tried differentstyle of roasting this time. Taste them.” While they were discussing new coffee beans that Deniz ordered from abroad, I initiated a conversation with Alper. While being a senior medicine student, he was also developing his skill on brewing. “I do have a Instagram page. I’m posting new coffee beans I found out from different countries and how to brew them. You should follow.” After exchanging our Instagram accounts to keep in touch, Alper mentioned how barista championships work in Turkey. Having overheard our conversation, Buğra have abruptly broken in. “Coffee competitions don’t work in Turkey. The jury is totally biased. Everybody owns a coffeeshop or provides consultancy. So, they are covering their ex-student. It is a tough job unless you know no one in the jury. I would not waste my time if I were you.” I was surprised to hear these harsh comments but Alper approved him, even called them “ a bunch of snobs”. “We need to bring a couple of foreign jury members if we want to have a fair competition.” added Buğra.

Then, the subject moved to the new coffee beans that Alper encountered in one of his orders. I could not catch the name of coffee bean, and was quite unsure to ask. “it has an unusual aroma and a story to tell. You should definitely include it in your portfolio. “ said Alper while brewing a small cup of coffee for himself. I was observing his moves in the meantime, using different coffee beans and amounts of coffee grounds and water. He was in a trial-and-error process, working up for the competition. While I don’t have particular skill to evaluate his brews, the others provided constructive comments on how to brew his next batch. Deniz have turned to me and asked about my research. I’ve told her that I have just begun this project and said that this was probably the first day that I have drunken this amount coffee in my life. “you should not set your hopes too high. Usually people who

have spent all their life with instant coffee expect something coming out of heaven. You need time to get acquainted with it. Let's make you a Nekemte and tell us how you feel."

I could not refuse her kind offer even feeling a little bit dizzy after all this coffee consumption. Buğra mentioned Nekemte as the flagship of his brand. Apparently, everyone in the industry and consumers talking with baristas and owners was complementing about its taste profile. I was sitting next to Buğra and he handed me a cup of Nekemte, looking with impatient eyes, hoping me to have the best coffee experience of all time. Taking a sip from coffee, I thought that all these compliments were righteous, that it was not only a distinctive coffee compared to the ones I have drunken before, but also it changed my perspective about what coffee is. However, with my low technical capabilities, I could not define how it tasted like, although it was something familiar. "How does it taste?" Buğra asked me. "It is really amazing but I really don't know. I'm sure it's something that had before." Buğra told me in a confident way that it was mulberry and hibiscus in addition tonectarine, which he mentioned earlier. I did not know what hibiscus was, let alone the taste of it, I nodded and hidden my lack of knowledge.

Deniz was having an intense conversation with Şeyda about a middle-aged couple who want to start their own coffeeshop. According to her narrative, they were academics in a university who will leave their post in near future and were looking for different opportunities. Following a couple remarks on being an academic in Turkey in a politically challenging times, Deniz mentioned the complications of being an *esnaf*³ in Turkey. "I know it's hard to be an academic in Turkey, but at least they have a regular income, a considerable amount more importantly. I think owning a coffee shop seems so easy and convenient that everybody asks me how to open one. It's not like they think of. We don't make tons of money in here. I'm making less than I'm used to." Everyone I met today who hold a privileged position in the society had left their well-earning jobs and started their own business, defining themselves as *esnaf*.

While we were about to leave, Alper approached to me and said, "I'm happy to meet someone to talk about coffee. As a coffee geek, we don't have much people to talk to in Turkey." After we have been seen off by Deniz and Alper, we were about to arrive our

³In Deniz's use, *Esnaf* is a craftsman with a small amount of economic capital. In addition, *esnaf* has a derogatory connotation. *Esnaf* is an economically motivated craftsman who can seduce and trick individuals for his own sake.

final stop, Dormer Coffee. Unlike the others, it was closer to the main street of Bahçelievler where all popular spots are located. The owner was rather young man, Berk, who was defined by Buğra as the best brewer in Ankara. While he was meticulously brewing coffee for us, waiter brought us a special cheesecake with berries. I was already full with all cookies and sandwiches and befuddled with caffeine. Nevertheless, I would be rude to say no to their gestures. Berk was the owner of the coffeeshop and working as a barista time to time. However, he was planning to move to Amsterdam, capital of coffee in Europe, to open his store with a few friends. Again, he launched with complimentary remarks on Buğra and his roasting. “Everyone is talking about Nekemte, but you know what? It’s Lilith, the one that is sold most in here. I think it is good with Turkish coffee. Nekemte does not go with Turkish palate. It’s too aromatic. People prefer more body and aftertaste.” Buğra agreed on his evaluation. Nekemte seemed like a coffee that only coffee aficionados admired, something appreciated once one has spent a particular time on it, like an acquired taste.

We spent a little time on Dormer Coffee as they had a flight to catch. They could not even stop by a couple coffee shops on their route. The tour we had started around noon was ended towards evening with a full stomach and a caffeinated mind. I was not a coffee drinker until that morning, only experienced standardized Starbucks coffees and instant coffee. But that day I have become a true coffee aficionado, hopping from one coffeeshop to another, experiencing different coffee beans and brewing methods. Limited by my previous experiences of coffee and lack of culinary capital, I acquired a peculiar perspective on what coffee could be and how it could taste like. We said goodbye to each other with hoping to see each other in coffee festival at Istanbul. Buğra told me while he was getting into his car, “call me when you need to talk to more coffee people. I’ll tell you the good ones.”

1.1. Seed to Cup : Third Wave Coffee Practices

I clearly recall the first time that I visited a third wave coffee shop a couple years ago. I was dragged there by a friend of mine who was saying “I have just found out a new third wave coffee shop in the neighborhood”. Equipped only with Starbucks coffee experience, I was awed by the sheer multiplicity of coffee origins, types and brewing methods, which I didn’t even aware of their existence. As I was ordering a finca de la soledad brewed in chemex, I was feeling a little tense by being in a situation that I am completely unfamiliar

with. As I delved into coffee subculture and started this research, I noticed the variety of practices involved in third wave coffee consumption. The ones that I spoke to during my regular visits on coffeeshops was so passionate to tell their story on how they started to be a home barista, or newly found out roaster from Barcelona, or the cupping workshop they attended. But who is a home barista and cupping ? What do they entail ? As Roseberry (1996) called it as the beverage of postmodernism, third wave coffee has multiple practices and modes of consumption and production which requires a great attention in order to understand its dynamics. Therefore, these questions will be answered in this section. If third wave coffee values production as well as consumption, simply put seed to cup (see chart 1), every step in this process must be explicated.

1.1.1 Coffee Bean Selection

The first practice in production is the selection of coffee beans to be planted. Although there are overwhelmingly large number of species of coffee beans in the world, these two are virtually comprise coffee market ; Arabica and Robusta. They have distinctive characteristics in terms of biological composition, growing conditions, taste and price. Arabica beans have the largest market share with 62% whereas robusta has 36% (ICO, 2017). Arabica beans are generally grown on higher altitudes and requires more attention in cultivation since they are susceptible to disease. Arabica beans are generally produced in Latin America as well as some regions on Africa and Australia. For example, Colombia is considered among the providers of high quality coffee beans. They produces only arabica beans and coffee is a source of national pride for Colombians (Tucker, 2011). Moreover, arabica beans have softer and sweeter taste with the sugary and fruity tones. As opposed to Arabica, robusta beans are stronger in taste which is partially due to the amount of caffeine it contains, which is almost twice as arabica beans (Spiller, 1984). Robusta beans are cultivated in lower altitudes and less vulnerable to weather conditions and diseases. Therefore, robusta beans are believed to be inferior in terms of quality compared to arabica beans. Consequently, due to its lesser quality and price, robusta beans are generally used in instant coffee. In short, the selection of coffee bean for cultivation requires a detailed analysis of market demand and geographical conditions.

Once coffee seeds are planted, it usually takes three to five years for coffee trees to produce fruits. In this time period, coffee plants need to be carefully nursed in order to have a healthy growth. Coffee plants requires a rich and organic soil and frequent

irrigation. Moreover, while robusta beans can tolerate harsh weather conditions to a degree as mentioned above, a temperate weather conditions are desired. The method of cultivation may vary depending on local conditions and market demand. Traditionally, there are two methods in coffee cultivation ; sun-grown and shade grown. Sun-grown coffee requires land that has been cleared up for coffee plantation. Although it yields more compared to shade-grown coffee, the environmental impact of sun-grown coffee is significant in that coffee beans that exposed too much sun-light requires chemical inputs and clearing native plants and trees leads to deforestation. Shade-grown coffee, on the other hand, make use of an organic environment in which different types and heights of trees available. It promotes a healthier environment since no chemical herbicides and pesticides are needed for coffee cultivation. Moreover, shade-grown coffee differs in terms of taste as slower maturation process enhance flavor of coffee. Therefore, specialty coffee market promotes shade-grown coffee considering quality and environmental factors.

1.1.2 Harvesting

As long as these conditions are managed and provided, the fruit can be harvested two or three times in a year. However, harvesting is as demanding as planting and nursing. Coffee picking is a labor-intensive process. Depending on the geographical conditions and type of coffee bean, coffee fruits are picked by hand. In particular regions like Brazil where coffeetrees planted on a flat land, robusta can be collected through machinery. The downside of machine-led picking is that machinery cannot distinguish between ripe and unripe fruit. Therefore, ripe, unripe and spoiled berries are all picked by machinery, which leads to the production of low quality coffee that will be used in instant coffee. Arabica beans with their delicate nature cannot endure machinery picking and therefore, requires hand-picking.

1.1.3 Processing

Once they have been picked by hand or machinery, coffee cherries are needed to be processed. As is the case with sun-grown and shade grown, there are quality and sustainability concerns in processing methods. Although hybrid methods are available, there are two main processing methods ; dry processing and wet processing. The dry processing is much simpler and natural method. After berries are all collected and dried up

in the sun, cherries and husk will be separated by machinery. Although the dry method is usually associated with lower quality coffee beans and robusta, it's more sustainable since it's a natural process with a few inputs and lower waste generation (Tucker, 2011). The wet processing, on the other hand, requires a pulper through which coffee cherry is pulped. Once the outer layer of coffee cherry has been removed, coffee beans are fermented in water for 18 to 36 hours. Then the beans are dried. While the wet processing is used in high-quality coffee beans, it may cause water pollution and waste generation.

1.1.4 Coffee Bean Purchase through Fair and Direct Trade

Like every commodity market, coffee prices are determined in relation to supply and demand. When the balance between these variables change, the price of commodity is adjusted accordingly. Coffee prices are generally affected by the changes in the supplies of coffee. The coffee production is disturbed by unforeseeable events such as harsh weather conditions, diseases or social unrest. In addition, the period between planting and first harvest makes it difficult to predict supplies of coffee. Therefore, the unpredictable nature of coffee production can culminate in the mismatch of supply and demand, which causes low prices. The ramifications of lower coffee prices can be brutal for producers and national economies who are solely dependent on coffee production. When the supplies of coffee are so high that coffee prices cannot compensate production expenses. Producers face with poverty, malnutrition, and migration. To cope with these problems, fair trade movement gained prominence around 1970s in several commodity markets by introducing an alternative network. The aim of fair trade movement is to alleviate poverty in producing countries, to provide a fairer relations of power in the commodity chain, and to produce in an environmentally sustainable way. The products that are certified as fair trade must meet particular requirements such as minimum price paid to producers, long term contracts, and environmentally sustainable practices (FTO, 2007). As a new method for trade relations, direct trade has been employed by coffee roaster to overcome fair trade certifications. With similar practices and motivations as fair trade, coffee roasters work directly with producers. While ethical standards like high commodity prices, better working conditions and environmentally sustainable practices are preserved, they are accompanied by quality standards in the final product. While both fair and direct trade aims to cut the middlemen to enable producers receive higher prices, it's difficult in less industrialized countries such as Turkey to directly work with producers, for such collaboration requires substantial amounts of economic capital. Therefore, virtually all

roasters in Turkey works with middlemen who purchase directly from producers. Turkish roasters generally make purchases through European and American intermediaries like Nordic Approach and Cafe Imports.

1.1.5 Roasting

Once coffee beans are ready to be sold, the next step in the biography of coffee beans lies in the roastery. Before getting into roastery, one of the challenging tasks of a roaster is the selection of right coffee beans. The narratives surrounding roasters' role in coffee bean selection are glamorous, even sometimes mythologized. Roasters are attributed a great deal of artistic competence and sensory skills that guide them in the selection of coffee beans. Such a decision also entails extensive knowledge on the existing product line in order to offer blends and single-origin coffee that match with other coffee beans. Therefore, roasters continuously seek out new coffee beans either by ordering different types of coffee beans through green bean suppliers or personally visiting coffee farms. The former is more viable option for Turkish roasters since most of them cannot cover the cost of constant visits to producing countries. Some entrepreneurs who have developed a personal interest in coffee consumption started their own business in Turkey to provide specialty coffee beans. The typical way of seeking out the right coffee bean is to form close relationships with local and global green bean suppliers, make frequent visits to them to taste different coffee beans, and find the right coffee beans that will match with their offerings as well as the palate of customers. Therefore, the practice of seeking out entails economic and social capital to reach out suppliers as well as forms of cultural capital that facilitate the selection of coffee beans.

Roasting is the art of transforming a flavorless and unappealing fruit into a glamorous drink that is full of aroma and flavor. Purchased in 60-kilo bags on which a logo of the farm and the flag of producing country, roasting machine are filled up with coffee beans. The amount of coffee beans may vary depending on the capacity of the machine. As most third wave coffee shops works in small batches since they have fewer customer base compared to coffeehouse chains, they can roast 5 to 10 kilograms per session. So, what happens in the roasting process ? While roasting coffee beans bear a resemblance to roasting chicken as one of my informants humbly elaborated his work, for some, roasting is a practice where scientific prowess and artistic creativity intersect. We need to elucidate the process of roasting in order to clarify these understandings.

Like in any food, green coffee beans that are cool in the beginning turn into dark and hot beans in the roasting process during which physical and chemical changes occur. The simple resemblance between coffee and chicken may seem reasonable from this perspective. Nevertheless, such an explanation does not embrace the complexities of roasting coffee. The journey of coffee beans in the roasting machine from beginning to the end shape the aromas and flavors brought out. Their scientific prowess lies on the extensive knowledge on the psychical and chemical changes during the endothermic and exothermic processes occurring inside coffee beans and the reaction of coffee beans towards changing heat and gas. Their artistic creativity emanates from the manipulation of parameter in the roasting process. There are several stages of roasting. The flavorless and pale green coffee beans that entered the roasting machines from hopper transforms into a yellowish bean as they releasing sugars. Later on, yellow coffee beans gets darker as caramelization occurs. Then comes the first crack, the favorite moment of all roaster, when we realize that coffee beans are ready for brewing. In this stage, coffee beans starts to pop up like popcorn due to the transition from endothermic to exothermic process. There will be another moment in roasting called second crack, which is undesirable for specialty coffee roaster, for origin flavors are lost since the oils come the surface of coffee beans and cover their body. As roasting continues after second crack, coffee beans will start to burn. The time that passes between first and second crack is called development stage in which all the idiosyncrasies occurs. Even seconds spent in this stage can change the taste profile roaster can obtain from coffee beans. Therefore, they usually receive several samples as the heat goes up and identify the exact point at which roasting process will be completed. Once the taste profile is settled, roasting becomes no more than a consistent work in which same variablesutilized in every roasting session. However, roasting varies between coffee beans, and therefore, roasters must familiarize with every coffee bean in their portfolio.

1.1.6 Cupping


Cupping is one of the fanciest words in coffee vernacular and those who are good at it are recognized as an authority figure that are competent in every aspect of coffee production and consumption. Cupping is basically the practice of evaluation of different characteristics of coffee beans. The aim of cupping is to understand differences and similarities between coffee beans as well as understand the basic tastes. As one of the informants pointed out, cupping never lies in that the deficiencies in the production

process and roasting will be revealed. However, it is arduous and laborious to master at cupping. Cuppers educate their sensory skills and palate through tasting as many coffee beans as they can. It's not only about having years of experience in coffee tasting, but also a lifestyle in which one needs to carefully examine their nutrition to be able to evaluate objectively. This is partially why cuppers are venerated in the industry, not only for their extensive culinary capital that range practical and theoretical knowledge on the sphere of production and consumption of coffee to sensory skills that enables to uncover aromas and flavors, but also amount of effort put it to gain expertise.

Cupping is a professional practice due to the amount of knowledge and training it requires. A professional coffee cupper is called Q Grader who has the certification to evaluate and grade coffee beans. Unlike roasting and brewing where one has the possibility of personal touch, cupping is a universal practice in that the structure of every practice is determined. The cupping usually takes place in the morning so that the sensitivity of sensory skills of q-graders remains. The roasted coffee beans are laid out on the cupping table. Accompanied by green coffee beans as well to observe their physical characteristics, roasted coffee beans are grinded and prepared for smelling. In general, grinded coffee beans have a distinctive smell which cannot be observed after brewing. Therefore, the analysis in the first stage is based on only aromas. Once the first stage of smelling of every coffee beans has finished, 90 to 96 degrees hot water are poured over grinded coffee beans. There will a small amount of time that will let coffee cool down. In the second stage, another smelling activity occurs to examine the changes of aroma once coffee is infused with hot water. At this stage, coffee grounds will be floating on the surface of the cup. The third analysis, which is called breaking the crust, is carried out by the cupping spoon that is used for pushing coffeegrounds away the surface and smell the aroma that is coming off of the coffee. Followed by removing the crust from the cup, a taste analysis is performed in the last stage. The cupper spoon is dipped in the cup to pick up a sample of freshly brewed coffee and evaluated according to cupping standards. Cupping is a ritualistic practice and has its own social etiquette. In the last stage, coffee must be slurped so hard that it must reach out all the sensory parts of the tongue. This is the part where professional cuppers remind that there is no shame on slurping, which is a must for tasting and uncovering aromas and flavors.

The evaluation is carried out by the standards of Specialty Coffee Association which provides a form on which different characteristics of coffee is graded. These are

fragrance/aroma, acidity, aftertaste, body, flavor, sweetness and balance. Fragrance refers to the aromatic aspects of dry coffee whereas aroma is the aromatic aspects of coffee when it is infused with hot water. Acidity is the overall sourness of coffee. After taste is the duration of flavors and aromas sticking on the tongue after drinking. Body is the heaviness one feels on the surface of the tongue. Flavor is the taste one gets from coffee. Sweetness is associated with fruity and chocolate tones which arouse sweet aromas. Balance refers to the overall evaluation of coffee without prioritizing any criteria. Cuppers grade coffee beans based on these criteria and provide a final score which locates them in categories. Coffee beans are classified depending on the number of defects in a particular amount of coffee beans and the overall rating from cupping. To be classified as specialty coffee bean, 80 out of 100 overall rating is required with 5 or less defects in 300 grams (SCAA).



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El Salvador Ataco / Divisadero	PRODUCER Mauricio Salaverria	ALTITUDE 1.300 - 1.600 Meters	VARIETY Bourbon, Caturra, Pacas, Pacamara	METHOD Natural
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PINEAPPLE

Pineapple
Mango
Caramel

That's right! The name of this coffee is Pineapple! First, let's talk about the reason for that; the taste profile. We recognize pineapple from the beginning until the end. It has a strong aroma of pineapple, mango and milk chocolate. It's a full bodied coffee with long aftertaste. We feel notes of tropical fruits, pineapple and caramel.

Located in Ataco / Apaneca at the heart of the mountainous zone known as "the road of flowers", El Divisadero is a 6 hectares plot from one of the oldest farms of El Salvador: Himalaya. This plot located at 1.600 meters above sea level is mainly planted with Bourbon, Caturra, Pacas and Pacamara. Divisadero has a great clay and volcanic soil which produces coffees that are often rewarded at the Cup of Excellence.

It is not a coincidence that "Moe" as his friends call him, produces outstanding coffees, his family produces coffee for more than a century and he is very innovative in the coffees processes, very meticulous, and most importantly, always smiling. El Divisadero is also characterized by a really strong valorization of shades, and therefore trees which protects both the coffee plants and the soil.

We tasted this coffee in a coffee event took place in Europe. and loved it instantly. We hope you like it too.

Figure 1 : A Cupping Note

The preparation of cupping notes is the final step in the cupping process. Cuppers provide aromas and flavors that they acquired from coffee. From green bean suppliers to the customers, all actors in the coffee market are provided with this information in the form of cupping notes. However, it is also arguable to what extent cupping notes are generated through objective evaluation. Cupping notes are not only prepared by several coffee tasters in a particular space and time but also coffee beans may taste differently because of the interactions in grinding and brewing at another setting. In addition to these technical details in coffee consumption, cupping notes may diverge due to personal histories and culinary encounters. This conflict usually occurs when a coffee bag travels to another locality with distinctive culinary history. In such cases, cupping notes may be localized in that it should be made intelligible to the local consumers by introducing new cupping

notes that carry a touch of local palate. Therefore, cupping notes that are prepared by q-graders may only serve as reference points to which roaster may want to reach.

1.1.7. Brewing

Once coffee is roasted and packaged, it's ready to be consumed by coffee enthusiasts. However, there is a short span of time for perfect coffee experience. While contestable, freshly roasted coffee beans are rested for three days at a minimum as flavors and aromas may continue to develop. While coffee beans can stay fresh up to 6 months following roasting, coffee is at its peak within the first three weeks during which coffee flavors and aromas remain. After three weeks of time period, coffee beans starts to taste flatter.

Once coffee reaches to the skillful hands of barista, the next practices in this process are grinding and brewing. Grinding is seen as a practice of no effect by consumers, and yet, its role in the coffee experience is as substantial as the others. Depending on the brewing method, the level of grinding may range from extra coarse to extra fine. While particular levels of grinding are recommended for each brewing method, they are reference points around which one can experiment. Coffee beans are grinded just before brewing since they lost all flavor and aroma in fifteen minutes.

Brewing was seen an effortless and uncomplicated practice one or two decades ago when one can immediately have a cup of coffee at Starbucks or make an instant coffee in a second. Brewing coffee have mutated into a skillful process which must be meticulously conducted. The first time that I brew a cup of coffee was when I was attended a workshop in which participants were lectured about the process from farm to cup. At the end, baristas have hold a contest in which two volunteers were to brew coffee as a practical evaluation of what they have learnt in the workshop. I have confidently volunteered to compete with trusting my prior knowledge. A seemingly simple process have turned out to be painful and complicated. The barista has kindly commented while I was struggling with kettle : “Evenbreaking an egg is hard if you have never tried it before”. Even though I won the contest judged by a blind taste, coffee brewed by me was incomparable to a coffee brewed by a professional. Brewing process needs to be elaborated on to understand its complexities.

Brewing is basically the process during which grinded coffee beans infused with hot water. It is usually conducted in a structured way with some standards are provided by Specialty Coffee Association. Brewing a cup of coffee usually takes three minutes plus a couple minutes for cooling. In SCA standards, 22 grams of coffee is used with 400 milliliters of hot water at 94 degrees. However, as professionals inform, these are only recommendations that can be adjusted based on personal palate. Once equipments are placed on the scale, 50 ml of hot water is poured over by drawing concentric circles around the middle. At this stage, coffee enters into the blooming stage, the release of gas that occurs when coffee and hot water meet. This is the moment when every coffee aficionado examines in admiration. After allowing coffee to bloom for 30 second, the remaining hot water is slowly poured over for two to three minutes. Extraction stage in which flavors and aromas are dissolved by hot water occurs in this period. The success of extraction stage lies on the time of contact between hot water and coffee grounds. Therefore, hot water should be poured on neither the middle of brewer nor the edges but poured through circular movements which allows coffee grounds fully absorb hot water. Once the draining of coffee is finished, it is ready to be serviced. The quality of brewed coffee largely relies on the mastery of roaster as well as the manual skills of barista and their ability to harness chemistry.



Figure 2: Brewing Tools : V60-Cafetiere-Chemex–Aeropress–Syphon (from left to right)

However, the recipe for brewing told here is exclusively applicable in one brewing method which v60. A third wave coffee shop now have myriad brewing equipments and tools from paper filters on the shelves to the Belgium siphons lining on the counter, all of which create an atmosphere similar to a chemistry lab. It is not surprising though to come up with such an analogy if one delves into the history of brewing equipments. Chemex,

for instance, was designed by a chemist in the early 20th century. Likewise, v60 was invented by Hario who brought chemistry and glass products together in 1940s. The entire catalog of brewing tools and equipments were designed and invented a century ago, all of which appropriated and appreciated by specialty coffee industry. Most coffee shops today have these brewing equipment such as v6, chemex, kalita, aeropress, and siphon, all of which has different brewing techniques with significant taste outcomes.

1.1.8. Seeking Out Coffee Beans

The last phase in the biography of specialty coffee lies in the hands of consumers, who should appreciate the farmers who meticulously hand-picked coffee beans which has been roasted and brewed at the skillful hands of roasters and baristas. Such an appreciation only occurs, however, as long as customers are educated about the farm to cup process. Only these informed customers can comprehend the labor put into producing a cup of coffee and acknowledge its value. However, consumers are not passive in this process but active participants through providing feedback to professional about their roasting and brewing practices.

Returning the question of home-baristas, these are coffee enthusiasts who are brewing coffee in small-scale for personal consumption. They acquire brewing tools mentioned earlier such as scale, thermometer and grinder. Therefore, informed customers not only obtain technical and practical information from professionals, but devote some time on practical experience on coffee brewing and experiment with it. Coffee professionals value consumer feedbacks because home-baristas represent a large segment in coffee market. However, the consumer practices are not limited with home brewing.

As one of my friends who knew I was working this project come up to me and said, “ I’ve found an amazing coffee from Barcelona. It’s from Nomad coffee.” Similar to roasters, seeking out is commonly witnessed practice among coffee aficionados. There are two forms of seeking out ; online browsing and cafe flaneurship. The former refers to the act of roaming among global and local online coffee stores, examining different types of coffee beans offered and their cupping notes. This is usually preferred by home-baristas who have technical and practical knowledge in coffee brewing and can afford imported coffee beans. The latter is more locally oriented and economically viable. Resonating with the image of urban flaneurs accounted by Baudelaire, cafe flaneurship is the act of

strolling around the city and look for perfectly brewed coffee in the ever-changing landscape of the city. However, cafe flneurship is not only motivated with hedonistic consumption but also being a part of a community created in a coffee shop through interacting with baristas and proprietors, exchanging information and stories about coffee. Nevertheless, the element of ‘discovery’ is limited by the offerings of locally prominent roasters and their taste profile since most coffee shops collaborate with similar roasters. Therefore, the practice of seeking out of a cafe flneur usually pertains to the idiosyncrasy of the brewer whereas online browsers with their global engagement can find out variety of roasting profiles.

In this section, I have outlined the practices involved in third wave coffee. Coffee is perceived and presented as a totality as indicated in their slogan seed to cup. Specialty coffee industry encourages a total quality control mechanism in coffee market in which every process must be carefully examined and executed, for coffee is a product whose quality adversely affected even with a minor misconduct in this process. For carrying out such a flawless operation, every actor involved in this process - from farmers to consumers- should be informed about the fragility of production quality. Only with such a dedication and precision, an impeccable end-product emerges.

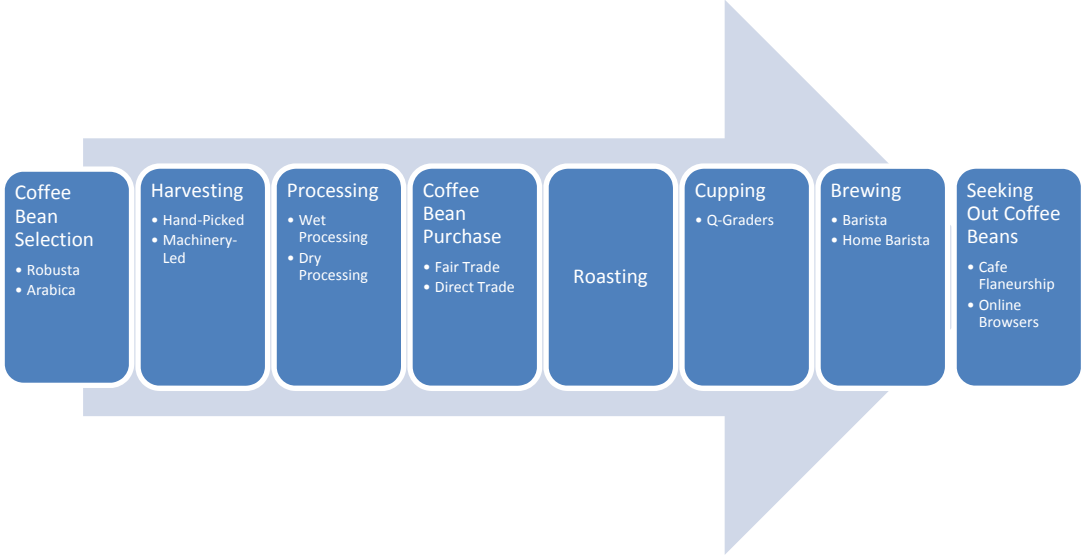


Chart 1 : The Process of Seed to Cup

1.1.9 Research Questions

The aim of the study is to uncover the process of market formation of third wave coffee market in Turkey. There is no doubt that the process of market formation is a significant research area in marketing. Various researches have been conducted on the subject in the markets of gambling (Humphreys 2010a), motorcycle (Martin and Schouten 2013) or cosmetics (Giesler, 2012). They have examined the role of consumers and brand images in the creation process. While most studies on the subject deals with the process of market creation in industrialized world, the third wave coffee formation in Turkey is an intriguing scrutiny since it touches upon the relationship between global and local and the interaction between them. While the consumption practice is imported from global consumer culture, it had produced a set of contextual meanings which shaped the market formation. The third wave coffee is also significant to study because it points out the politics of consumption by dealing with the reflexive consumers and producers who aim to change unfair trade relations through alternative marketplace practices (Arnould and Thompson 2015).

The proliferation of third wave coffee have happened so fast that coffeeshops were opening in every corner of the city. Coffee is an important product for many individuals. Most of us pick up coffee when we are at work and visit coffee shops for gathering with friends. However, as indicated in previous section, coffee consumption in third wave comprise of a set of complex practices which requires time and money. Previous studies that focused on middle-class consumption patterns in Turkey may be helpful to understand the acquisition of third wave coffee consumption (Üstüner and Holt 2009; Kravets and Sandıkçı, 2014). However, this study is significant because it explicates the process of market formation by focusing on the role of cultural capital in picking up a consumption practice as well as emphasizing the role of political ideologies at work whose repercussions make individuals appeal to entrepreneurial activity based on their passions.

The research takes an institutional perspective to examine the practices involved in third wave coffee consumption. As a change-oriented research, it will answer two broad and interrelated research questions. First, the institutional logics operating in the field of third wave coffee will be explored. Second, the modification of the hierarchy among coexisting institutional logics will be investigated. These two main research questions will be accompanied by multiple subresearch questions such as the role of new actors emerging in

the field, the significance of coffee for coffee enthusiasts, and the nature of taste formation among coffee enthusiasts.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I will provide the relevant literature on which this ethnography was based. As mentioned on the previous chapter, the subject of this study is third wave coffee market, the connoisseurial consumption of coffee. While relevant literature may touch upon the process of identity-formation, the relationship between taste and consumption, and marketplace meanings and ideologies among other equally significant subjects, this section only covers change-oriented studies in line with the research question. Drawing from earlier contributions in market system dynamics, the relevant literature will be dealt with in the following section.

Arnould and Thompson (2005) have succinctly reviewed a research stream that has focused on sociocultural aspects of consumption and called it Consumer Culture Theory (CCT). Within this stream of research, studies have focused on consumer identity formation (Holt, 2002 ; Schau and Gilly 2003), subcultures of consumption (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993; Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Thornton 1996; Kozinets 2001, 2002), class consumption (Holt 1997, Ustuner and Holt 2009). Utilizing a Geertzian understanding of culture, CCT researchers endows consumers with agentic and interpretative power while particular behaviors and actions have more potential to eventuate with the structuring effects of consumer culture (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard 2002).

Within a subcategory in consumer culture theory and marketing research, market system dynamics employ a change-oriented perspective to answer the emergence, formation, development and dissipation of markets and market-related actors through the interactions of various actors. On the contrary to previous scholarship in marketing, Giesler and Fischer (2016) called for an augmentation in the types of marketplace actors that researchers examine in their study, focus on macro-level forces as well as the relationship between macro and micro-levels, and focus on change and development in market and marketplace actors. Giesler and Thompson (2016) provide a theoretical framework for

studies who are concerned with change. Equipped with specific methodological tools to scrutinize processes in marketplace and consumption practices, these researchers present different characteristics of change and the role of consumers in these processes. Change in these studies has been conceptualized in three levels; transformative change occurs in a coherent and continuous way, topological in which power relations alter among marketplace actors, and disruptive change pertains to discontinuity and shifting power relations that culminates in structural change (Giesler and Thompson 2016). Therefore, this section presents an outline of previous scholarship that has studied change in the marketplace and consumption practices.

2.1. Studies on Transformative Change

Previous accounts of market formation have examined these processes from a firm-centric position. While a few studies which have focused on the role of consumers as active participants of market creation, such as the formation of parallel taste structures of stigmatized consumers (Sandıkçı and Ger 2010) or creation of ephemeral marketplaces to avoid market logics in Burning Man (Kozinets 2002). However, market creation in these narratives is induced by conflictual motives in which institutional market logics are resisted through alternative modes of exchange (Kozinets 2002), sharing (Giesler 2008) and forms of ethical consumption groups (Thompson and Coskuner Ballı 2007). Therefore, none of these accounts have explicated the market formation process in which there is no resistance towards market logics. Martin and Schouten (2014) have filled this gap in marketing research literature by offering consumption-driven market emergence which has taken consumer and consumption activities in compliance with market logics as the focal point of market creation. Through employing actor-network theory into market formation, authors portray a three-stage process in which different forms of translations occur among human and nonhuman actors. The emergence of market is prompted by consumer innovators who have necessary cultural, social and economic capital. The process is followed by a community formation which is enabled by different actors spreading practices and attracting potential consumers. Market formation is finalized by market catalysts who have stabilizing effects on market relations and their legitimizing and institutionalizing practices. Therefore, consumption-driven market emergence has theorized a consumer and community-led formation with no active participation by industry actors.

Schau et al. (2009) examines elderly people who are in pursuit of identity project through consumption driven practices. While physical and cognitive decline is mostly associated by previous studies of elderly people, Schau et al. (2009) examines what they called consumer identity renaissance during which identity-oriented consumption practices resurge in the wake of a life transition such as retirement. Retirement is perceived as a cultural field in which retirees enter a life stage where production sphere of life has been abandoned and replaced by consumption practices motivated by missed opportunities of the past or newly acquired aspirations. Therefore, elderly people in this narrative strongly oppose age stereotypes that present older population in corporeal and cognitive decline through engaging in consumption-oriented identity construction. Consumer agency of older consumers who have detached themselves from stereotypical understandings, however, can be hindered by dependence on others to consume. Barnhart and Penaloza (2009) studies older consumers who are in need of assistance for their consumption practices.. While ascribing different meanings to their consumption practices to negotiate old identity, these consumers are in a constant struggle with family members or service providers who ascribe them old subject positioning. Therefore, consumer agency of older consumers in identity construction is confined to the extent that ascribed meanings of a consumption practices align with the subject positioning.

While Barnhart and Penaloza's (2013) study examines the restrictive effects of marketers on consumer agency, Cayla and Eckhardt (2008) investigate the role of brand managers in cultural production of an imagined Asianness. By looking at the activities of institutional actors, they attempt to understand how consumer perceptions are shaped by the narratives and branding strategies of marketers. In their account, brands can function as facilitators of transnational imagined community which can be achieved through subverting the association of brands with specific localities and attributing a pan-asian identity, establishing cultural proximity with different locations through narratives of globalization, and infusing brands with cultural referents that presents Asia as a cultural hybridity as well as creating a cosmopolitan brand image. Therefore, their study focuses on the role of marketing managers in constructing brand meanings as well as market formation. West (2012), also, has investigated the role of marketing managers as well as political economic ideologies shaping the marketplace on her study of specialty coffee market in the US. According to West, marketing managers are responsible for the production of images of primitive producers who are conducting laborious work for insufficient income and fighting to preserve environment. On the other hand, consumer production enacted

through dividing consumers along generational lines with distinctive values and consumption practices. However, specialty coffee consumers have no political and social intentions when consuming sustainable and fairly traded coffee. West (2012) concludes that all these actors in the specialty coffee industry have a place in the marketplace due to neoliberal restructuring which enabled ethical consumption practices and the entry of small scale producers. In a similar vein, Roseberry (1996) argues that termination of International coffee agreement which can also be perceived as a ramification of neoliberal structuring led to market segmentation in which market is imagined along class and generational lines.

Neoliberal reforms enabled new market formations through privatization and dismantling the regulatory role of state institutions on the marketplace as well as the formation of new subjectivities which required more entrepreneurial and managerial orientation towards the self. Kravets and Sandıkçı (2014) investigated how taste dynamics of new middle class was shaped in the wake of neoliberal reforms. Consumption practices are informed by a managerial outlook towards consumption that not only provides efficiency but also increase one's marketability through creating "one's best self". While consumption decision are shaped by the narratives of good life and global influx of products and images, these consumers aspire to "stand out" through minor adjustments in a prescriptive model, which allow them to achieve self-expression as well as alignment with imagined global middle class. Kravets and Sandıkçı (2014) call this mode of consumption as formulaic creativity defined by "working with a standard set of products and rules to achieve individualized and competently ordinary outcomes".

Celsi et al. 's (1993) study on skydiving community also investigates the role of macro level influences on shaping consumption practices. They argue that the mass media disseminate an infinite behavioral options while it also cultivate and foster dramatic worldview that is immanent in the enculturation of western society. In addition to the effects of mass media, technological advancements that make skydiving more secure activity and specialized social forms that deprive individuals of autonomy created a context that facilitates high risk consumption practice. However, individual motivations are significant for engaging in skydiving as well. They argue that most skydivers initially got involved in the practice through interpersonal influences. Individuals not only create new identities through their consumption practices but also share transcendental experiences and language structures that allow bonding among group members. They

conclude that outcomes of motives are realized to the extent that individuals are acculturated to risk. Their study, therefore, is valuable in consumer research in that it deals with macro-level questions that examines structures that shape consumption practices as well as micro-level questions that address individual motivations.

Bernthal et al.'s (2005) study also investigates the motivations of credit card users while locating them in the marketplace in which consumers can act creatively within the boundaries of market offerings. By developing a practice-based approach and utilizing analytical constructs such as achieving lifestyle and debtor's prison, they argue that credit card practices are significant in lifestyle regulation. Drawing from previous studies on the structuring role of cultural capital on consumption and taste (Bourdieu 1984; Holt 1998), credit card consumer with varying amounts of cultural capital engage in distinctive consumption practices. While low cultural capital user utilize credit cards as a protective force from financial crisis and as an indicator of raw purchasing power, high cultural capital users utilize credit cards to purchase lifestyle markers and to consolidate their position in social space. They claim that consumers in debtor's prison rationalize their excessive amount of debt rationalize their credit card practices through normalization and gifting. However, movement between these spaces can be achieved through mechanisms of self-control and ideologies of entitlement and frugality.

Another stream of research that scrutinize change have studied the role of material culture and possession in identity projects. Drawing from Kopyroff's (1996) theory of singularization, Epp and Price (2010) have examined the cultural biography of a family table that is associated with family values and identity practices, all of which bestow the table with object agency in a network of individuals, objects and practices. They argue that although previous scholarship claims that singularized objects with indexical and iconic cues are not replaced, the presence of these signs do not eliminate the possibility of irreplaceability of objects. Nevertheless, object agency can enable displaced objects to be incorporated to the network by the individual attempts whose success is dependent on the alignment between family identity practices and subgroup practices and absence of other objects' biographies. Therefore, their study expands the theory of singularization by explicating that object agency in the network is a determinative force in the process of singularization and displacement.

Epp and Price's (2010) study examines the strong attachments between objects and individuals whereas Bardhi et al. (2012) contemplate loosely constructed object-consumer relationship in the context of global nomadism. Global nomads who do not attach themselves to a locality form a distinctive relationship with possessions. Personal experiences drawn from global nomadism has taught these consumers to detach themselves from possessions, even from the objects that hold sacred status. Their study differs from the previous studies focused on the irreplaceability of sacred possession such as a family table (Epp and Price 2010) or family heirlooms (Price et al. 2000). Bardhi et al. (2012) claims that the detachment from possession manifests itself in three interrelated properties. Firstly, The global nomads value objects for their situatedness, "the value provided by an object but only in the particular cultural context in which it is deployed". Secondly, global nomads privileges use-value of an objects rather than its symbolic value. Lastly, immaterial properties of possessions are valued with their emphasis on flexibility and mobility. Therefore, Bardhi et al. theorized a model that explicated consumer-object relations in the conditions of deterritorialization and permanent mobility.

2.2. Studies on Topological Change

While studies mentioned above conceptualize change in continuity, another stream of research theorize change as topological (Giesler, 2016). That is, marketplace institutions and logics are shaped through struggles and conflicts between institutional actors. While some examine the role of marginalized consumers (Martin et al. 2006, Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013) and engaged consumers (Dolbec and Fischer, 2015), others explicated legitimation processes of markets and consumer practices (Humphreys, 2010a).

While previous studies have examined the role of uncontended consumer in market-level changes (Giesler 2008, Scaraboto and Fischer 2013, Martin and Schouten 2014), Dolbec and Fischer (2015) investigated how the actions of engaged and contended consumers shape fashion field and logics operating in the field. They argued that the participation of engaged consumers, enthusiast with shared interest on fashion who are sharing their feelings and opinion through blogging, had a profound impact on the fashion industry. While these new actors such as bloggers and photographers have expanded the number of institutional works conducted in the field, they have also shared some of these works with traditional actors. However, as new actors obtained more power in the field, new and traditional actors have conflicted in terms of legitimacy of the former. Moreover, Dolbec

and Fischer (2015) claims that the emergence of new actors also shaped the institutional logics operating in the field. While the logic of art and commerce have prevailed the fashion industry, engaged consumers also introduced a new institutional logic - logic of accessibility - as well as reinforcing existing logics. Therefore, their study highlighted the market level effects of engaged consumers whose indeliberate actions have shaped the fashion industry.

The role of consumers in changing markets is an extensively studied area in market research. Although legitimacy of consumer segments in a market varies, consumers have an active role in forming and shaping markets. Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) have explored the strategies through which marginalized consumers in fashion industry get access to more market offerings and the motivations of more market inclusion. They argued that plus-size woman who lacked legitimacy in the fashion market formed a collective identity based on their wants and needs, identified with institutional actor who have supposedly more agency in the field and establish new institutional logics such as logic of human rights while reinforcing existing institutional logics. Motivated with these factors, these consumers have publicized their need through blogging, appealed to the coexisting institutional logics of art and commerce, and formed alliances with institutional actor who will provide visibility to these marginalized consumers. Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) conclude that the effects of consumers on market dynamics may vary depending on the legitimacy of consumer segment and their aspirations.

Sandıkçı and Ger (2010) also demonstrate how practices of a group of marginalized consumers have generated a significant change in fashion market. They have studied veiled middle class consumers who had intentionally chosen a stigmatized consumption practice that is also associated with lower classes. They contend that these consumers were seeking stability from globally and locally induced anxieties as well as forming an asexual femininity. With the efforts of these consumers, stigmatized status of the consumption practice were routinized through personalization and aestheticization of veiling, which led to formation of a parallel taste structure. Sandıkçı and Ger assert that significant changes in the market are enabled by the communal efforts of covered consumers as well as changing social and political landscape of Turkey.

Thompson and Coskuner Ballı's (2007) research on community supported agriculture (CSA), on the other hand, examines the role of uncontended and motivated consumers that

contribute to significant market change. They claim that countervailing market responses may emerge in the wake of co-optation of counterculture by global capitalism. They study organic food movement which has been associated with countercultural values and practices but co-opted by commercial marketplace by stripping off their political and ideological underpinnings. However, motivated consumers who align with countercultural values and ideals of organic food movement practice in community supported agriculture. The ideology of CSA community consist of three distinctive practices ; romanticization and idealization of preindustrial life, decommodification through bridging production and consumption and rejecting commodity logic of marketplace, and collectively forming an artisan culture that is conceptually antithetical standardized and mechanized commercial farming. They conclude by claiming that CSA community and their consumption practices are located in market relationships that promotes global consumer culture even though consumption community and its practices embrace countercultural values and symbols.

Two interrelated studies touch upon both subcultural practices and within-group dynamics in consumption communities. Schouten and McAlexander's (1995) original work studies Harley Davidson motorcycle community. They demonstrated that Harley Davidson community has an informal in group hierarchy based on knowledge and experience. The male-dominated community has formed around a set of values such as personal freedom, patriotism and machismo. While motorcycle community consists of several subgroups with different identities, a stereotypical Harley Davidson rider has an image of an outlaw which has been expropriated by the Harley Davidson Company. A decade later, Martin et al. (2006) reexamines the hyper-masculine subculture of Harley Davidson motorcycle owners through the lens of feminist theory. Their inquiry has pertained to the motivations of female riders engaging in a male-dominated subculture. Previously dominated by white male individuals, the demographics of consumption community has changed since the original study conducted and become more inclusive towards female and ethnic minorities. They claim that while diminishing, the outlaw image associated with hegemonic masculinity prevails in the subculture, which limits women's upward mobility in the in-group hierarchy. The formation of sisterhoods have made places for female riders in a male dominated community. The meaning of personal freedom on which the subculture was built upon was subverted by female riders as well. Personal freedom denotes freedom over their bodies and sexuality for female riders. Moreover, Martin et al. (2006) argue that initially attracted by hyper-masculine practices of biker community,

female riders resist and co-opt these practices while they can redefine their femininity. While the original study examined a subculture formed around a brand and a set of values and practices, its reexamination investigated the in-group dynamics as power relations in the community has shifted.

These studies demonstrated that brand and product meanings are generated by the collective efforts of their consumers. The role of marketing managers in the formation of brand image for Harley Davidson bikes are limited with the infusion of outlaw culture into brand community since consumers have formed a community around the product with varying values and meanings that transcend the proposed significations. While brands managers' authority in branding is limited by agency of consumers, they may also face with doppelganger brand images (Thompson et al. 2006) , derogatory narratives and images about the original brand image created by other stakeholders. They argued that while practices of emotional branding may establish lasting relationship with consumers, it can also lead to generation of doppelganger brand images. Being a cultural phenomenon, Starbucks has faced with images that undermine brand's authenticity through demonstrating the contradictions in the story that the original brand image embedded in. They contend that anti-brand consumers favor local coffee shop alternatives over standardized and calculated business model of Starbucks since these alternatives enables a cosmopolitan consumption practices based on anti-capitalism and passion for new experiences, and an affectionate relationship with an artisan owner who shapes coffee shop through his/her values as well as cultivate the palette of consumers with his/her crafting skills. While Thompson et al. (2006) has claim that doppelganger brand images has managerial implications to ameliorate the vulnerabilities in their original brand image, Giesler examines the effects of doppelganger brand images in the early stage of market creation. The theoretical framework offered by Giesler defines market creation as "a progressive sequence of brand image contestations among opposing groups of stakeholders through which their divergent interests are aligned and concrete exchange structures between producers and consumers are established." (Giesler, 2012) Botox cosmetics that generated brand images which position product as performative and corporeal enhancer faced with doppelganger brand images that emphasize deadly and addictive aspect of the product. Giesler asserts that a new brand image should be generated, enacted and circulated to rejuvenate the brand image with the assistance of alliances formed with actors that share contesting images and narratives.

Similar to Giesler's (2012) work who studied competing logics in the marketplace, a group of studies examined the process of market change through modifications in the institutional logics affected by exogenous factors as well as marketplace dynamics. For instance, Ertimur and Coskuner Ballı (2015) investigate U.S yoga market which manifests the coexistence of logics of spirituality, fitness and medical. They claimed that the role of logic of spirituality has de-escalated gradually whereas the logics of fitness and medical have gained prominence. They tracked down factors that have contributed to these shift in the institutional logics and concluded that acquisition of different forms of cultural capital by market actors, varying degrees of cultural-normative legitimacy of institutional logics, emergence of businesses that combine multiple logics with distinctive motivations, and clashes between institutional logics have caused the generation of asymmetry between institutional logics. Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) explore the institutional changes in auditing sector which had a transition from single profession services to multidisciplinary. Contrary to the higher degree of embeddedness of elite actors in the organizational field, a new organizational form has been introduced to the field. Various reasons were provided to clarify organizational change : (1) economic motivations of actors to increase growth and profit, (2) interaction between different organizational fields which have demanded a multifaceted consultancy services, (3) regulatory structures that cannot satisfy the demands of expanding businesses, and (4) hegemony of audit firms over resources that unable legal structures to respond. While these two studies examined the changes in the institutional logic through interactions between different marketplace actors, Sine and David (2003) demonstrate how exogenous factors affect existing market logics. Their analysis covers U.S electric industry which has a monopolistic organizational structure that contradicts with the logic of free enterprise but legitimized through the actions of various actors. The taken-for-grantedness and inefficiency of industry structure remain unquestioned until environmental factor influenced operations of the industry. Sine and David (2003) claimed that environmental factors that affect organizational field bring scrutiny and criticism towards existing industry structure and practices. These search processes culminate in, with the inclusion of hitherto peripheral actors and alternatives, changes in the institutional logics.

2.3. Studies on Disruptive Change

Although classical scholars have argued that the role of religion in regulating daily life of individuals will diminish with modernization process (Weber 1904), transgressive practices that undermine the authority of religion as well as other structures can be located in previous periods. In their seminal examination of coffee houses in Ottoman era, Karababa and Ger (2011) demonstrated that consumer subjects with self-defined moral codes have formed an alliance with marketers such as coffee house owners and have engaged in transgressive consumption practices that thwart state and religious authorities. The coffeehouse practices of consumers are organized around four different discourses ; pleasure, Orthodox Islam, Sufi Islam, and health. While Orthodox Islam discourse restricts individuals from engaging in excessive pleasure seeking such as coffee consumption, consumer subjects have drawn from other available discourses Islam to legitimize their consumption practices. The market creation process not only occurred between the interplay of consumers and market actors, it also encompasses the state and the religious actors. Therefore, they demonstrated the political and moral aspects of market creation process as well as sociocultural. Contrary to arguments of classical scholars, postmodernists assert that religion will as individuals suffer from alienation. Izberk-Bilgin (2012) provides an examination of how religious ideology shapes consumption practices. She coins the term consumer jihad, the practices of consumer resistance toward global brands that are perceived as a threat to Islamic values. For these Islamist consumers, global brands that are symbols of consumer culture precipitate social problems by encouraging envy and social rivalry among individuals and aim to subjugate Islamic faith through financially supporting wars on Middle East. She claims that these consumers intended to morally shape marketplace and hinder social fragmentation as well as protecting Islamic lifestyle from corrupting effects of Western ideologies and consumer culture. Therefore, Islamic consumers brand attitudes are shaped by perspectives drawn from religious ideology, consumer culture and myths. While consumption practices are shaped by religious ideologies in Islamist consumers, the role of religious institutions may loses its power to regulate individual's identity. McAlexander et al. (2014) investigates the experiences and Post-Mormon identity construction processes of individuals who are disaffected with Mormon ideology. They claim that the authority of religious institutions on their adherents has shaken in the wake of marketization and detraditionalization of these institutions. Socialized through norms and values of religious institutions, individuals are bestowed with particular field-specific capital. When these individuals

break free from the binding principles of religious institutions, a new identity is forged through the acquisition of consumption practices that were once restricted by religious institutions and through establishing social and cultural capital in other fields. Contrary to the previous scholarship that proposed the dominance of ideology over consumption practices, McAlexander et al (2014) emphasized the co-constitutive aspect of consumption and ideology.

Wong and King (2008) investigate women with breast cancer and their treatment decision processes. Despite the availability of softer treatment methods, women with breast cancer engage in more severe form of treatment with similar chance of survival. They claim that while having an active role in the process of construction of risk, these women are culturally informed by different illness narratives with distinctive emotional approaches towards illness. Coherent with Anglo Western societies, their risk understandings are shaped by restitution stories that emphasize personal agency and control. Restitution stories promote early detection, mastectomy, and reconstruction through articulating that individuals have the authority to exercise power over their bodies and illness can be overcome only through aggressive treatments. They contend that the risk understandings of these consumers are influenced by restitution narratives in the presence of scientific report incompatible with these narratives. While consumer agency is enacted through selecting a particular form of illness narrative in the construction of risk understanding, Humphreys and Thompson (2014) examine the institutional structures that shape the risk understandings of consumers. Through utilizing mythical narratives which have “naturalizing power”, they argue that containment of the systemic risks in the expert systems are achieved through disaster myths. After examining the media representation of oil spills, Humphreys and Thompson (2014) assert that disaster myths present the accidents as exceptions in the system that ideally functions perfectly. While disaster myths provide an escape from institutional accountability by implying the role of individual error in the network, the following stages in the narratives focus on the punishment of responsible actors in the network rather than scrutinizing the system as a whole and recovering the damage caused by the accident. Therefore, disaster myths that are disseminated through media coverage work for shaping the risk understandings of consumers as well as redressing loss of trust engendered by systemic risks.

While previous accounts of market formation mentioned in this section have delineated consumers as active participant in the process, another theoretical approach to the subject

is to examine it as “a political and social process”. Humphreys (2010a) argues that market formation in the gambling industry has occurred through the efforts of managers who have coordinated various stakeholders in the industry. Drawing from the institutional theory, they contend that the practice of gambling should be legitimized on the regulatory, normative and cultural cognitive levels. While gambling was previously associated with frames of crime and regulation that aim to generate consumer trust, business frame that represents casinos as equal with other legitimate organizations and social issues frame that focus on more local issues created by gambling have gained more popularity in the media coverage. She argues that marketers and executives have legitimized casino gambling through embellishing and emphasizing positive aspects of the practice and extending it to hospitality and entertainment category. Therefore, the market creation in gambling industry is a process that has been shaped by regulatory structure as well as changing public perception . In another study on gambling industry, Humphreys (2010b) examines how stigmatized practices are legitimized through shaping meaning structures. She demonstrates that casino and practices of gambling are associated with two complementary cultural binaries ; purity/filth and wealth/poverty. The media coverages on gambling convey particular meanings through utilizing these semantic concepts. While gambling was initially associated with crime, prostitution, and poverty, later media coverages provide an optimistic portrayal of casino gambling that includes narratives of disillusionment and renewal. She argues that cultural legitimacy is achieved through associating gambling with “coolness” while normative legitimacy is managed with corporate taxation and decreasing crime rates. She extend the three types of legitimacy mentioned earlier by introducing territorial legitimacy, that is, the physical presence of an organization. Therefore, the process of legitimation of a stigmatized practice is enabled through structural changes as well as discursive shifts facilitated by media that shaped meaning structures.

Overall, the literature on marketplace change deals with consumer identity construction, market formation, class consumption, subject-object relations and value creation. These studies locate consumers with agency as well as individuals whose subjectivities are shaped through institutions. While the role of consumers as both subject and object of change varies in these studies, the nature of change is also uncertain. While individuals whose consumption practices were religiously informed may abandon their religion and cause disruptive changes in the marketplace (McAlexander et al. 2014), consumer

perceptions and practices can be transformed by neoliberal reforms (Kravets and Sandıkçı, 2014) and the efforts of marketers (Cayla and Eckhardt, 2008).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will explain the methodological approach that I utilized to understand the practices and logics present in the third wave coffee field. I have adopted a qualitative research technique and design to be able to answer my research questions. To this end, I have conducted ethnography and semi - structured interviews with people involved in third wave coffee industry. First I provide an overview of study. Then, I will move on to the ethnographic parts. It will be followed by data collection and sampling processes.

Selecting third wave coffee as the subject of study has multiple reasons. Firstly, as an outsider who has never interested coffee consumption, I was interested in food in general. It was a significant part of my life that my limited tv consumption only consists of cooking programs. I love to eat, cook, experiment with it. Also, throughout my undergraduate years, I've been to different countries with particular reasons and this enabled me to taste local cuisines and to understand the relationship between culture and food. Therefore, food as a personal interest and as a subject that touches upon politics, culture, environment is a intriguing field of study. Secondly, I have a particular reason to pick coffee among all alternatives in the study of food. I was taking a course from one of the faculties that focused on cross-cultural consumption practices. In one of the classes, we were shown a documentary called *Black Gold* (2006) that traces down a union manager who visits different coffee companies in the world to get a better price for his coffee. I still remember the scene where a farmer was taking down all his crops because he's not making any money out of it. The documentary has ended with a note on screen, saying "Managers of Starbucks and Nestle have refused to be interviewed". I was freezed for a moment and tried to fight back tears. That was the moment when I decided to make my research on third wave coffee. Therefore, food was a subject that I personally interested in and politically committed to.

3.1. Data Collection

The food is , as Appadurai (1981) says,“a highly condensed social fact “ and “a marvelously plastic kind of collective representation”. While consuming food necessitates particular forms of practices and material details, food itself has social messages along with these practices and materialities. Although we can appreciate the practical and material details of food itself, one needs to explore the social conditions in which food is produced and consumed (Johnston and Bauman, 2015). Therefore, this study is aims to investigate and unpack the institutional logics in the field of third wave coffee and how these institutional logics interact and shape each other. Ethnographic research is conducted to understand the dynamics of third wave coffee as well as the practices and ideologies involved pertaining to being a coffee aficionado and coffee shop owner.

I have started my research in October 2017 at a Coffee festival organized by a large event company. It was a 4-day festival in which coffee shop owners and roasters from all around Turkey came to Ankara to introduce their coffee beans, advertise their coffeshop and make it to new people who have no idea or deep interest about coffee. It was not a festival that emphasized the quality of coffee per se as we understood in third wave coffee culture. However, most of the participants consisted of second wave coffee companies like Starbucks, Tchibo.



Figure 3 : A Scene from Ankara Coffee Festival

I took my ticket for Saturday as I was expecting that it would be the most crowded day and I can reach to as many people as I can since it could represent the general consumer profile. I bought my ticket a month in advance since one of my friends who attended previous year told me that there was a large crowd. It cost me 40 TL for a one day pass, which was not a bad deal for a weekend activity. The festival took place in an upper middle class neighborhood called Bilkent. The grounds of a shopping mall was chosen for the festival where people can reach to fancy restaurants and stores. When I got there, I have encountered one of the most surprising scenes in my life ; hundreds of people were waiting in line to get into the festival area. It just seemed so bizarre to me that so many people were waiting for drinking coffee because I have never been a coffee person. Nevertheless, as I have spent a considerable time waiting in line, I have started casual conversations with people around me. When I finally got into the festival area, I have strived to experience, make connections, dig for information, experiment with coffee as much as I can. However, the festival conflated forms of consumption practices around coffee. Having lied and relaxed on a large and smooth cushions, people were watching a jazz concert while taking a sip from their coffee. Handmade woodworks and jewelry booths scattered around coffee booths. In the meantime, coffee experts were having workshops on brewing methods, history of coffee, and latte art. In addition to that, ambassador of Venezuela have come to the festival to make a presentation about Venezuelan coffee beans, fair and direct trade coffee and the significance of coffee trade for Venezuelan national economy.

This festival was a pilot research before starting my extended field work which would take place on December 2017. However, it helped me to connect with consumers, make connections among specialty coffee industry and understand the internal dynamics of coffee consumption. At that time, I was planning to conduct my research for this thesis about the consumption practice of coffee aficionados in terms of class taste through a Bourdieusian analysis. However, as I delved into the subject, I switched my focus to the institutional logics in third wave coffee culture.

3.1.1 Entering into Coffee Scene

The first step in my fieldwork was to understand how coffee was consumed in third wave coffeeshops. To understand the dynamics of a community, one needs to examine their practices. Therefore, I needed to participate coffee-related activities as much as possible to

familiarize with their practices. However, gaining entry to a field which is not familiar for the researcher can be difficult. Schatzmann and Strauss (1973) suggest researchers to have strategies to operate in the particular field and make an assessment on the number of people they are familiar with and how many people needed to complete their study. While I had tested my strategies on coffee festival, I had no one in the setting that I know of. Berg (2001) mentions the significance of gatekeepers, individuals that help researcher to gain access, for research that help them to examine individuals and the setting. My first gatekeeper was a classmate who heard my research topic and suggested to arrange a meeting with one of her friends who own a coffeeshop in Istanbul. The coffee tour that I mentioned in the first chapter with Buğra and Şeyda was through the efforts of my gatekeeper. The second was Buğra himself who introduced me coffeeshop owners and baristas during coffee tour and later on when I called him when I visited Istanbul to make interview with roasters.

Before starting my research, I was not a coffee drinker myself. My parents usually drink Turkish coffee after dinner and I am familiar with the practice of fortune telling sessions from my grandmothers and mother. I do get look askances quite often when I am offered Turkish coffee and I politely reject them by mentioning that I don't fancy Turkish coffee. All my sympathy with coffee as a soft drink was through white chocolate mocha or latte that I got from Starbucks, which consist of mostly milk and syrups rather than coffee. While I was about to start my research, I was questioning my distaste for coffee and reached to the conclusion that something I consume for pleasure should not be that bitter. It was this very moment in my journey with Buğra and Şeyda that I have mentioned in the first part of the thesis that enlightened me how coffee could taste differently. Therefore, I have started to visit coffeeshops regularly.

One has to know the language, concepts, practices and rules of the group if one is going to write an ethnography about them (Van Maanen, 2011). Therefore, I paid my first visit to a coffeeshop in Tunalı where a group of third wave coffee shops clustered and I stepped in one of them to try out. It was hard to get rid of old habits and I ordered a cortado which is an equally mixed milk and espresso. While I was drinking my coffee and looking over the interior design, a middle aged man with a suit on and young lady came in and asked for help from the barista. I pulled out a book from backpack. However, I was about to lose my interest in the book as I was overhearing their conversation. The man and woman were planning to open up a coffeeshop and the barista were mentoring them on the finances,

equipment and location. After they left, I made my official entrance to the field and had a conversation with the barista on coffee, third wave, equipments, and coffee shops.

After that point, I regularly visited coffeeshops and had casual conversations with coffee shop owners, enthusiast and baristas. This can get economically burdensome since having drinking a couple coffee every day in a month could cost you around a minimum wage. Moreover, coffee shops organize workshops on different subject from brewery to cupping to educate people on different forms of practice on coffee consumption. While content of workshops depend on the subject, almost all start with a brief history of coffee where we can have a moment of national pride with a commodity that spread around the world through Ottoman Empire. These workshops helped me to understand, experience and grasp different practices that are necessary to master coffee drinking. They have also helped me to have casual conversations with the consumers on how they become interested in coffee, and which coffee beans and coffeeshops they like.

The first phase of the data collection was conducted between December 2017 and February 2018 in the coffee shops in Ankara. In this phase, cultivation of particular knowledge on coffee consumption was significant for me as I was going to get into more interaction with people. Therefore, I have talked to baristas about coffee beans, types, espresso machines and manual brewery techniques. The second phase of data collection was conducted between March 2018 and June 2018. In this phase, I have started to attend workshops on home brewing and cupping. These workshop were mostly consist of 5-15 people. During workshops I had casual conversations with baristas and owners as well as consumers. It is important to note that attendees of every workshop I have participated had similar profile with 18-30 aged urban youth, college student or white collar.

The workshops had multiple benefits for me. First of all, I had the possibility to locate individuals for future interviews. As a consumer and coffee enthusiast who participates workshops, baristas and coffee shop owners were easy to approach. Moreover, since we had met earlier and casual conversation, it both helped me to build relationship and secure an interview. The casual conversations that I have during first and second phase of my data collection is significant in that as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) also posits that the relationship between researcher and informant can be facilitated through having conversations since interviews can be more formal.

Moreover, as a new coffee enthusiast, I have gone through the same process, in the first phase of my data collection, of acquiring a taste that my informants had. Therefore, participant observation enable me as a researcher to be involved similar experiences that informants had. (Bernard, 1995)

During data collection phases, I was accompanied by a Nikon digital camera and an Iphone that helped me to take photographs of coffee shops, which will be mentioned later on, and helped me to build rapport with informants. I have shared the photos I have taken during the coffee festival with the organizers. In addition to that, home brewing workshops are full of new experiences for people who were taking their first step in coffee scene. Therefore, they were posting their brewing skills on Instagram. It was another chance for me to initiate and build connection.

During these two phases of ethnographic inquiry, I have attended three coffee festivals, one day for each and stayed for 12 hours in total. I have made participant observation and casual conversations with coffee enthusiast, baristas, roasters and coffee shop owners. In addition to coffee festivals, I've participated 6 workshops on third wave coffee, 5 home brewing and 1 cupping. Third wave coffee workshops provided mostly theoretical explanations on roasting, brewing, cupping and involve some industry details like information on the Specialty Coffee Association⁴. Home brewing workshops are more practical in that participants are thought basic brewing methods like v60 and chemex while historical and theoretical materials are shared. Occasionally, instructor held a brewery contest among participants on who will make the best coffee and it is decided through blind tasting. I happened to win a contest as the best barista in one of the workshops. In cupping workshops, lastly, a protocol that has been applied by coffee professionals to determine cupping notes executed in an amateurish way. I also had small chats with baristas in coffee shops during I was looking for help in coffee bean selection. The advantage of having a research on coffee is that coffee enthusiast were never tired of talking about coffee. I have noticed that not only with me but they were ambitious about talking with everyone who shown a slightest interest in coffee about giving more details about beans and brewing. The passage demonstrates their motivation ;

⁴Specialty Coffee Association is a non-profit organization and the representative of coffee professionals. For further information visit sca.coffee

We are trying to impose coffee drinking because we love what we do. We tell them about coffee, whether they want or not. If they don't, we ask them to watch while we are brewing. And start telling, in the meantime, that this coffee has orange aroma, the other has strawberry. I think customers enjoy this type of communication. Who doesn't? There is someone in the store that tells you everything about the product even if you don't ask for it. I think that's why coffee shop business is growing, we forged a great and sincere relationship with customers. (Atilla)

In addition to primary data acquired through participant observation and interviews, I have also conducted ethnography (Kozinets, 2009). For this purpose, I have been regularly checking Perfect Daily Grind, an online magazine on coffee, to follow global trends, and Coffee Digital which is also an online magazine but based on local subjects. Moreover, I am a member of Kahveler.net which is an online discussion forum where one can find coffee bean suggestions, brewing methods and coffee shop reviews. It's also a virtual space where customers and professional come together and evaluate their roasted coffee beans. Lastly, I have been following coffee shops in Ankara and Istanbul and significant figures in third wave coffee market on Instagram. The social media, especially Instagram, is a significant marketing tool for coffee. Therefore, it was one of the richest secondary data sources.

3.1.2 Field Notes

During participant observation, I consistently find myself slipping off to somewhere quiet to take notes about my observation. These notes varied from jotted notes to logs (Bernard, 2005). While I have witnessed lots of people who were taking notes with for future use, some people gave me inquisitive looks which made me feel awkward. Jotted notes were organized later to be used as field notes. They have helped me to recall other information that were not written down in detail during participant observation. I usually took notes during workshops about the practical and technical details of coffee consumption and brewing. While some of these information can be found online, it was useful since every barista and coffee shop owner brought their perspective in specific subjects.

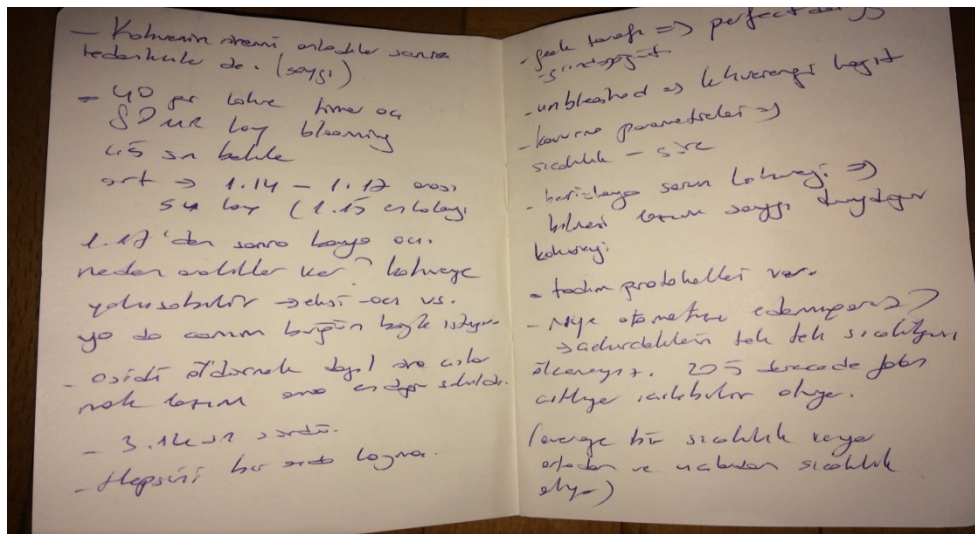


Figure 4 : Field Notes

I have prepared a field guide before starting my participant observation. The field guide I prepared for coffee festival consisted of date and place the festival occurred, the spatial dimensions like the machinery coffee shops used, food offerings, given concerts and music played in the festival area, consumer profiles, and other events that took place in the festival. The other field guide I prepared was for workshops. It contained similar information but also the interior design of coffeeshops, the interaction between baristas and consumers and baristas and coffee shop owners were added to field guide. I have took my notes considering the details in the field guides.

A smart phone and a notebook assisted me during my participant observation. Both were useful for note taking but my smart phone's built in camera brought me the advantage of recording during coffee brewing. It would be hard to watch and write all the details. Moreover, it was quite common in a coffee workshop to take videos and post it as an Instagram story. Therefore, almost half of the class were taking videos during brewing sessions, which would be used as a material to share on social media and to remember how to prepare coffee at home.

The workshops also had theoretical parts as I have mentioned before. They were rather easy for notetaking since most of it were text book material regarding the history of coffee, first and second wave coffee and manual brewery methods. However, in the practical parts that I could not record, it was hard to take note since I was learning brewing

with different method and had to keep alert about the questions of other participants and their interaction with baristas. Therefore, while some are full descriptions of the events, some notes were undetailed but kept my memory awake. These notes were later collected in a Google Drive document in which everything is organized according to date and place and rewritten in a proper format to be used as field notes.

3.2. Sampling

During my time, I had met with a quite number of people from Ankara coffee scene. I knew lots of baristas and coffee enthusiasts. However, sometimes it was hard to reach coffeeshop owners. Most of them were quite busy with working as a counselor for people who were considering starting their own coffeeshop or with providing SCA certified brewing and roasting classes. Therefore, I have started to decide on with whom to interview among baristas.

McCracken (1988) says the difference between qualitative and quantitative study is that the former does not have a claim on generalization, and therefore, can work with “less is more” strategy to detect cultural categories. I have picked a couple coffeeshops that I had visited regularly during my participant observation and that has been in the industry for a while. The workshops helped me to make connection and decide on baristas to be interviewed later on.

Except the ones I met during participant observation, I have directly contacted with interviewees by showing up at their coffee shop and introducing myself. I have told them that I was doing a thesis project on Third wave coffee and asked them if they were interested in participating. Moreover, I have called a couple industry leaders for an interview but rejected or not responded. The rest accepted to be interviewed. I have noticed that they were already been a part of other projects on coffee. Therefore, it was a familiar request for them. We have usually agreed on a later date to conduct the interview. However, I sometimes had difficulties on arranging date and time since some of the roasters and trainers were mostly out of town. I have waited for an individual that I have met in a workshop for three months. But I did not want to be pushy and cause distress. After a while, he called me when he is available.

Although coffee shops were located in Ankara, I have made a weekend trip to İstanbul and interviewed with major coffee roasters. The coffee scene in İstanbul is much more vibrant

and productive than Ankara's. They were in coffee business for a long time and most coffee shops in Ankara were purchasing their roasted coffee from them and trained by them.

Moreover, the roles in the coffee industry can be flexible meaning that someone who was trained as a barista can open up a coffee shop and get a certificate on roasting and become a trainer in the end. Most of the people I have interviewed with, therefore, had multiple roles in the industry. While it was fruitful for me to reach people loaded with information, it was troublesome to categorize them in the sampling process.

I have used a couple sampling methods in order to organize my interviews. One of the sampling strategy used in this research was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a sampling method in which the researchers add individuals to interview by using their knowledge (Berg, 2001). Before starting on my participant observation, I conducted a small research on the individuals involved in third wave coffee market in Turkey. Moreover, my trip with Buğra and the first coffee festival I attended help me to decide on people I want to interview. Purposive sampling have generalizability disadvantage in a research. However, since this research has no such aim, there is no problem in utilizing purposive sampling strategy.

In addition to purposive sampling, snowball sampling was adopted to reach out new informants. Snowball sampling occurs when a subject recommend a potential individual for the study (Neuman, 2014). The informants I got through snowball sampling was often based on the informants from purposive sampling. After the workshops or interviews, I asked them if they had anybody to recommend who would like to participate in the research. Generally, they provide me with names which I paid a phone call afterwards. Contacting with someone who you never knew was much easier than I expected. For example, after an interview, an informant delivered me a ex-colleague of his, which I called immediately. And he responded in such a amiable manner that he invited me in his house in the same day for the interview.

The last sampling method I used was opportunity sampling that was decided on the spot decision to interview (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) which spontaneously occurs. As I was rambling around Bahçelievler where a myriad of coffeeshops were kept opening, I was looking for stores if I missed anything. There I saw a small coffee shop that was also used

as a workshop for roasting. I stepped in right away and started to talk with the owner, Okan. He told me that they will be having a cupping next week with his friend Yunus and invited me to their coffee shop. Then I mentioned him that I was doing a research on Third wave coffee and asked him if he was interested in having an interview about coffee. Luckily, he had a free time and agreed to be interviewed.

The three technique of sampling, purposive, snowball, and opportunity, provided me with people who portrayed the multiple aspects of Third wave coffee scene. Especially, snowball sampling enabled me to reach people that I could not reach on my own. Therefore, I have conducted interviews with wide array of coffee enthusiasts, from micro roasters that only roast coffee for their shops to people who has been internationally acknowledged coffee gurus. Opportunity sampling brought some economic and time-wise advantages while providing rich amount of data. The sample, in the end, consisted of people with diverse backgrounds and different roles in the coffee market that provide distinctive insights and information. However, as I mentioned before, this study does not aim to make a generalization. As in qualitative researches, my aim was to extract different logics existent in Third wave coffee market, informants' experiences with coffee consumption, not to identify how many people utilize these logics. Therefore, these three sampling methods utilized in the research provided me with the best sample profile to fulfil the purpose of the study.

3.3. In-depth Interviews

Qualitative research has benefited from the notion of reflexivity proposed by Bourdieu. Both interviewer and interviewees are provided with an opportunity to consider their actions (Hamel, 1998). The informants were asked to be reflexive in the interview sessions to fully express their understanding third wave coffee and coffee consumption patterns.

The third phase of the research took place between June 2018 and July 2018. During this stage, I have conducted 15 interviews with coffee professionals. I have made the contacts personally and exchanged numbers or e-mail. Later on, We have arranged time and place. All interviews are conducted in the informant's coffee house or roastery. These interviews lasted almost one and a half hour for each. The interviews were conducted in semi-structured nature. I had a interview guide consisting 10 questions to be asked. However, as

the interview proceeds, informants felt more relaxed and had more chance to express themselves as fully as possible. They often turned on to another subject that was not asked and yet become worthwhile. For instance, I don't request from informants their favorite coffee shops, their opinion about the owners and their coffee shops, and yet, as they afforded me with this, I have noticed that they were enriching and elaborating their previous answers.

Interviews were enriching experiences for me in that not only that I have met many interesting people, but also I was amazed their relationship with coffee and their perspectives. I was nervous when I first starting interviewing with people since this was the first time for me but they were so welcoming and sincere that my tension was lost after a couple interviews. Some informants were also interested in with the project and asked me send the thesis once it is finished. They have also told me to keep in touch and shared their number if I need any help in future. Almost all interviews ended with a question by them, asking me "what do you think now ? will you get into coffee business?".

I have also faced some challenges during these interviews. Even though informants were considerably eager to talk about coffee and give me more information, they often departed from the subject. I usually found myself smoothly rerouting the conversation as it went to unrelated directions. Moreover, since most informants knew each other personally, they sometimes hesitated to mentioned other people in the industry. In a couple interviews, there were bad remarks about other informants who have conflicting perspectives about the nature of the industry. Some informants have lowered their voices or joked by saying "I'm telling you this off the record" However, they were relaxed when I told them that I wouldn't use their actual name. These concerns were overcome with using pseudonyms.

The interview guide that was employed in the interviews were based on three main subtopics. While every interview started with a grand tour question (McCracken, 1988) on some auto biographical details and views on coffee consumption, it later proceed to research questions regarding the informant's coffee house, third wave coffee, and the technical details of coffee consumption and production. They were all open-ended question that generates more in depth responses and gave room for elaboration. As a researcher, I had to probe informants to provide details and exemplifications when necessary.

I was aware that my presence as a researcher can undeliberately create symbolic violence on the informants since power asymmetry exists between researcher and informant. Familiarity with the informant can be one of the conditions to reach an ideal limit for the interview in order to conduct a nonviolent communication (Bourdieu, 1996). Snowball sampling assisted me in this respect as I have directed to the informant by someone they already knew. Moreover, in the initial phases of participant observation where I built rapport with baristas and coffee shop owners, close ties with the informants helped me to overcome researcher and informant asymmetry.

3.3.1. Sample Profile

Research sample consisted of 15 people, two of which are baristas, six of the which are roasters and the rest are coffee shop owners. Some of them coffee shop owners are also micro roaster, meaning that they purchase green beans from importers and roast to cover the needs of their own coffee shop. While most roasters and coffee shop owners have a middle class background with high-paying occupations and attendance to elite universities in Turkey, barista are from lower classes with high school education and working class families.

Table 1 : Informants Demographics

Informants	Father's Occupation	Education	Occupation/Prev. Occupation	Gender
Firat	State Officer	B.S.	Roaster / Naval Engineer	Male
İlhan	State Officer	B.A.	Roaster / Interpreter	Male
Okan	Sales Man.	High Sch.	Roaster /	Male
Volkan	State Officer	B.A. (ou)	Roaster / IT	Male
Yunus	Plumber	High Sch.	Barista / Waiter	Male
Berkay	-	High Sch.	Coffee Shop Own. / Salesman	Male
Atilla	-	B.A.	Coffee Shop Own. / Marketing	Male
Sarper	Laborer	High Sch.	Barista / Waiter	Male
Caner	State Officer	B.A.	Coffee Shop Own. / Sales Man.	Male
Deniz	Financial Advisor	B.S.	Coffee Shop Own. / Food Eng.	Female
Onur	Military Doctor	M.A. (Phd Drop)	Coffee Shop Own./ Advisory	Male
Ceyda	Importer	M.A.	Roaster / Importer - Exporter	Female
Sevinç	State Officer	B.A.	Roaster / Public Relations	Female
Mustafa	-	M.A.	Coffee Shop Own. / -	Male
Fatih	-	B.A.	Roaster / -	Male

One of the informants located in İzmir but regularly visited Ankara for training purposes. Four of the informants located in İstanbul, which I paid a flying visit, and they have provided roasted coffee beans and training to coffee shop owners and roasters in Ankara. The rest of the informants were located in Ankara. Informants were consisted of 12 male and 3 female. While the sample may seem biased in terms of gender, the nature of third wave coffee market in Turkey substantially male dominated. In addition, the ages of the respondents varied in between 24 to 42. Most of the respondents were college graduates have worked in a high level position with high salaries.

3.4. Data Analysis

During the ethnographic part of the study, field notes were taken in every attendance to coffee related activities such as workshops and festivals. These field notes were later transcribed in the same day since notes included personal observations as well as technical details about coffee which would be hard to remember otherwise. In the interviewing part of the study, all interviews are recorded with the permission of informants. Once all interviews have been conducted, they have been transcribed. The number of transcribed pages reached to approximately 250 pages.

Once every data gathered through participant observation and interviews are transcribed, data analysis conducted through coding. Transcribed data categorized under various subtopics such as metaphors, practices and dichotomies. Themes are generated from frequently occurring materials. While codes used for ethnographic part are drawn from material characteristics, quality of different consumption practices, actions and behaviors of individuals, and market actors, codes used for interviews are drawn from practices, personal narratives and life stories, perceptions, meanings and ideologies. Table 2 demonstrates a part of categorization of interview materials.

Table 2 Categorization of Interview Materials

Metaphor	Logic 1	Logic 2	Logic 3	Logic 4	Meaning	Practices	Dichotomy
Red vs Blue pill	Traffic accident	Social aspect of coffee	Different day same thing	Potential in Coffee	Create a profile	Purchase equipments	Instant vs 3rd wave
Ferrari vs Skoda	Coffee in SF	Poor farmers, no water and electricity	Corporate world too competitive and corrupt	Know coffee	Boutique	Roast by himself	Milk vs without milk
Seed to Cup	Coffeeshop in Amsterdam	Farmer education	Don't eat from Sütaş		Routine lives	Tell story of coffee	Coffee and tea
Tarsus grapes and mango			No Starbucks		Discovery	Ankara Coffee Club	Starbucks and others

With the research question in mind, I have conducted thematic analysis both interview and ethnographic materials and located each individual practice into different logics. The metaphors and dichotomies were helpful to understand meaning structures formed around third wave coffee. For example, one recurrent metaphor was red pill vs blue pill referencing The Matrix, which was indicating the awakening that individuals have gone through the first time they have tasted specialty coffee. Table 2 consists of only a group of practices drawn from different individuals.

3.4.1. Translation of Interviews

Since all interviews are conducted in Turkish, they were later translated into English by the researcher. While some Turkish words do not have correspondence in English, they were not translated but a definition was provided. The rest of the interviews are verbatim translations.

3.5. Ethical Considerations and Trustworthiness

While this research does not pose any threats to individuals by the very nature of its subject matter, some ethical considerations have taken place. First of all, informants are signed an informed consent paper showing that they are voluntarily participating the project. All the details about subject were shared with the informant and received approval.

Secondly, researcher respect the privacy of informants Diener and Crandall (1978) provide three issues , which are (1) the location or the setting of the research (2) the disclosure of study findings, and (3) sensitivity of information. Research setting and location did not cause any problems since any public or private site is breached. Whereas the researcher kept all the informants anonymous for the disclosure issue, informants were free to not answer the questions that they were disturbed. Anonymity was particularly significant since I had casual conversations during my participant observation and informants occasionally named names that would harm the other individuals. I provided pseudonyms for the respondents and the coffee shops as they cannot be associated with each other. Therefore, any information that can provided a clue on the real identities of the

informants or the actual names of the coffee shops where participant observations and interviews conducted has been eliminated.

For the trustworthiness, the primary data which were collected by the researcher through participant observation and semi-structured interviews are supported by secondary data that is collected through data mining. The triangulation efforts the research ensures the trustworthiness of the research.

3.6. Limitations and Future Research

One of the limitations that I have during this research is the inability to reach potential informants. While I have interviewed almost all of informants that I picked in the initial selection, there were a couple of potential informants who have not responded my calls or were quite busy with their programs. These individuals were high profile coffeeshop owners and roaster who are providing training as well as coffee equipments. Their inclusion may be helpful to elaborate particular aspects of the research. Therefore, access to particular prestigious individuals in the industry is limited.

Moreover, as someone with no background on coffee drinking, it was hard to initiate or participate in conversations related with coffee in the beginning. The first phase of datacollection in which I have cultivated coffee knowledge was more observational rather than conversational. Also, I was aware that I did not possess coffee related knowledge in the first phase. Therefore, I was quite hesitant because of my reflexive thinking.

Gender can also create an issue as most of my informants are male. While such a gender representation is quite normal since there is a lack of female roasters and coffeeshop owners in Turkish market, this could be overcome by including more female barista in the sample profile.

While all informants are coffee consumers, their primary role in the market is production-oriented. Therefore, this research is studied through data collected from producers. Consumers are intentionally not included into this research. While their understandings may parallel with the informants, future research can be conducted on third wave coffee consumers.

CHAPTER 4

LOCATING THIRD WAVE COFFEE IN THE GLOBAL AND LOCAL CONTEXTS

At the end of September 2017, Ankara has played host to the very first coffee festival in the city. İstanbul had its first coffee festival a couple years before and Ankara was lagging behind as usual. It was organized in a upper middle class neighborhood called Bilkent in which one of the most prestigious private universities in Turkey and a couple of gated communities were located. The parking lot of a shopping mall had been arranged for the occasion. It was a three-day festival and each day was divided into two sessions. I had bought my ticket for Saturday by considering the number of workshops and seminars, and the attendance of consumers would be relatively high compared to other visiting days.

I had a full-day pass so I arrived to the festival area around noon. I was not aware until that day that so many people were interested in coffee. I have waited in line, which was almost 50 meters long, around an hour until I finally got in. Commercials and billboards that promoted coffee festival were highlighting the quality of coffee that will be served in the festival. The slogan was “for a good cup of coffee”. When I passed the entrance, the first coffee brand that drew my eyes was Starbucks. This was quite perplexing considering that Starbucks coffee was never tasted “good” for a coffee connoisseur. Ironically, Starbucks booth was the largest among other coffee brands and their baristas were approaching visitors and asking whether they would be interested in listening the story of coffee beans. From the moment of coffee seed planted, they were narrating the whole transformation coffee beans have gone through. I kept wandering around the booths and have tasted distinctive coffee beans from different roasters. Most participants were local coffeeshops from Ankara and İstanbul, all of which were roasting their own coffee beans as well as selling in bulk. People were waiting in line almost half an hour to get a cup of coffee.

Elsewhere, seminars and workshops were delivered by the pioneers of specialty coffee industry. Seminars were oral lectures in which coffee enthusiasts were delivered theoretical and technical information about coffee consumption and production. While a master barista of a major coffee brand lectured on how to pick coffee beans for home consumption, a roaster from a global green bean supplier has expounded the subtleties of cupping. However, these seminars were not limited to coffee consumption, but also enhancing one's skills on how to present oneself as a coffee connoisseur on social media. The seminar I had attended to was on how to take better coffee photographs to post on Instagram. I was only aware of the image of a coffee cup on Instagram because there was a pervasive mockery on social media, mostly purveyed by male users, about women who were posting their picture, having a cup of coffee while reading a book with a cat on their lap. The lecturer was an Instagram figure who had turned her artistic skills into a business model in which she was offering individuals and companies professional photography services as well as roasting and brewing trainings. Workshops, on the other hand, were more practical for participants. Ranging from cupping to brewing, baristas and cuppers who had participated in world coffee championships observed and evaluated the craft of participants.

However, the festival was not all about coffee. It has also celebrated the value of handcraft as well as high quality chocolate. However, they were complementary in that the priority of coffee has not been undermined by other products. Some local stores participated in the festival to introduce their hand-made bags and wood work while some were serving cheesecake and brownies to eat with a cup of coffee. In addition, a second-hand bookseller was also available who has brought only rare comic books. Several local music bands as well as globally appreciated indie and jazz groups have accompanied coffee consumers. The festival has constituted a constellation of cultural products that have organized around coffee.

I have participated in three festivals during my fieldwork, all of which had the same flamboyance as this festival. The whole organization reminded me something from Fitzgerald, an extravagant party in which women and men in fancy dresses were enjoying coffee - instead of wine or champagne - accompanied by the rhythms of jazz. As a hitherto working class drink, what historical processes did coffee go through and associated with middle class? How did coffee become a beverage which has its own festival to celebrate its quality? How do particular neighborhoods in the city have cluster

of coffeeshops ? In this section, I'll elaborate on the third wave coffee - or specialty coffee - by locating it on global and local context.

4.1. Coffee In Ottoman Context

One day, a shepherd called Kaldi have found that their goats were eating red berries of a particular shrub. He noticed that his goats were getting more energetic afterwards. Intrigued by the effects of the plant, Kaldi has cut off a branch of the plant and taken some berries to his monastery. He has eaten raw beans with his fellow devotees but it didn't taste well. After attempting boiling it down and crushing it into pieces, they have decided to roast the plant and made a liquid out of it. After tasting this bitter drink which they used honey later on to make it more sweet, they felt as energized as the goats. They couldn't sleep that night and their heart was beating very fast. So, this was the story of how coffee was found out by a shepherd. (Sarper)

This vignette comprises the opening of every workshop on coffee. While the myth of Kaldi the shepherd is disseminated through coffee workshops and shapes public perceptions on the origins of coffee, academic accounts on the history of coffee has demonstrated that the first encounter with coffee occurred around 15th century which contradicts with the myth on the basis of time and location. The first use of coffee bean as a beverage associated with Sufi orders located in Yemen (Hattox, 1996). Similar to the effects shown in the myth, men of Sufi orders have used coffee for its energizing effects through which one can stay awake all night and conduct his devotional duties. Coffee consumption was not limited in the domain of religion within a particular locality but spread with the efforts of Sufi orders who were active in everyday life and had close contact with public, unlike particular religious orders that isolate themselves from everyday affairs (Hattox, 1996). However, its introduction to general consumption has bred a new form of sociality around which a new social institution, coffee house, was formed.

Originated in Mecca, coffeehouses were spread to the rest of Ottoman Empire with the endeavors of entrepreneurs. While in a context where the culture of eating out is limited to family or friend visits (Mikhail 2007), coffeehouses has become a gathering spot where proprietors spent their most of their time. However, coffeehouses were limited to particular segment of the society. They were male-dominated spaces in which literary and gaming activities were carried out. As a site for socialization and interaction with others, Ottoman coffeehouses can be considered as third places. While Karababa and Ger (2010)

argues that they were fourth places since mosques, or any religious institutions in general, also possess these characteristics, Mikhail (2007) claims that there was no sharp separation between public and private realms in Ottoman context since coffee houses were the extension of private space in which men have accommodated their guests in the coffeehouse.

However, as coffeehouses have gained popularity among every strata of society, they have faced with political backlash from the state and religious authorities. Similar to contemporary comparison with wine, coffee consumption was associated with it by articulating intoxicating effects of coffee drinking. Moreover, coffeehouses have encountered with a greater amount of opposition since they were sites in which political discussions that were critical towards authorities were held. They were not only “taverns without wine” where the patrons consume a intoxicating product that has banned by Islamic law (Hattox, 1996) and a center for immoral activities such as drug use and prostitution, but also a source of intellectual production that may lead to political upheaval. Contrary to the great efforts of political and religious institutions to prohibit coffee consumption, it remained as a viable consumption practice and spread to other parts of the world.

If third wave coffee affords a specific form of consumption practice that ruptures from past forms, how does it differ ? What was first and second wave ? Fast-forwarding a few centuries from Ottoman Empire to North America, these movements will be detailed in this section. What happened in the meantime i.e. how did it spread to Europe and America and power relations in the production process - is not in the scope of this thesis. Nor was it in the unofficial history of coffee provided by third wave coffee. The political engagement of third wave coffee, if there are any, is limited with the consumption of fair/direct trade products and privileging quality of craftsmanship over mass-produced coffee, but not articulating the historical conditions and the experiences of slavery and colonialism into the history of coffee. Therefore, there are blank pages in the coffee history writings of third wavers, which were totally ignored or received less attention.

4.2. The First Wave of Coffee

The categorization of coffee consumption into waves was based mostly on the quality of coffee. The first wave coffee was associated with the mass adoption of coffee

consumption in North America. This have occurred through the efforts of companies like Folgers and Maxwell House. Both companies commenced their operation in the late 19th century and popularized coffee through commercials with effective company slogans. While every household in the United States were familiar with the ground coffee provided by these companies, instant coffee was introduced later by these companies as well as Nestle. Unsurprisingly, instant coffee had no particular roasting profile. It promoted convenience by not demanding any brewing technologies while compromising from taste and quality. While there is no particular time period associated with the first wave coffee, it usually refers to time between late 1800s to 1980 in the third waver timeline.

4.3. Second Wave Coffee

The advantages that have been brought by instant coffee, however, was turned down for the sake of taste and quality. The first wave coffee provided consumer convenience by offering a product that is ready to go by pouring only water on the already prepared coffee beans. New product types such as latte, espresso, Americano have been introduced into coffee vernacular. Second wave coffee provided coffee from different origins while enabling distinctive roasting styles compared to first wave.

The epitome of second wave coffee was Starbucks. As a small coffee shop founded in 1971 in Seattle, Starbucks has become the third largest fast-food restaurant chain with 27.339 stores in the world (Starbucks Corporation 2017, p. 3). Started as a small specialty coffee shop, it transformed into a global corporation which operates in 76 countries. Starbucks's revenue reached to 22.4 billion dollars in 2017 and a 2-3 points of revenue growth is expected for the next fiscal year (Starbucks Corporation 2017, p.22). The financial success of Starbucks was accompanied by transformative role in consumption practices. While first wave coffee brought coffee into every household, second wave coffee invited individuals to coffeeshops to drink. Starbucks has offered a "cool" place to hang out for many individuals. The interior decoration of a Starbucks conveys a sense of authenticity through claims of naturalness (Dickinson 2002) which is achieved through product offerings such as latte which are forms of cultural capital and through association with European coffee shops. Starbucks stores, then, become a venue for cosmopolitan consumers who enjoy the social experience of a coffeeshop which bears iconic authenticity (Grayson and Martinec 2004) and coffee beans from different localities.

In terms of quality of coffee offered by second wave coffee shops, they have started to offer standardized products in every store as their operations have expanded to other locations. Therefore, one could drink the same cup of coffee from Beijing to New York. This was achieved, on the one hand, through the technique of dark roasting which ensures coffee beans to have similar flavors - usually chocolate and caramel. On the other hand, these coffee shops offer a high degree of personalization through adding milk, syrup and sugar into coffee which not only undermines the taste of coffee but also constitutes a unhealthy combination for consumers.

However, primarily motivated by higher quality and taste, second wave coffee have turned into a social experience as it was in the 15th century Ottoman coffee house. People were gathering in coffee houses and they have become study and meeting spots for many. As previous CEO of Starbucks Orin Smith said “We changed the way people live their lives, what they do when they get up in the morning, how they reward themselves, and where they meet.” Therefore, coffee consumption have become a subordinate activity. In the meantime, coffee houses has mushroomed with the efforts of entrepreneurs who followed Starbucks model. The marketing success of Starbucks coupled with the social experience provided have led to diminishing emphasis on coffee consumption and quality.

4.4. Third Wave Coffee

The term third wave coffee first coined by a roaster called Trish Rodegeb. Similar to the process that led the emergence of second wave coffee, it was an interrogation of good coffee as well as the rejection of bad coffee promoted by second wave. While first wave companies made coffee commonplace through technological developments in packaging and mass production, second wave coffee revolutionized coffee consumption and turned it into a social experience through marketing efforts. Third wave coffee, on the other hand, emphasize the product itself. Standardized coffee offered in homogenous servicescapes of global companies have been displaced by small roaster and coffee shops who roast coffee beans for themselves. Of course, third wave coffee didn't dethrone first and second wave coffee. We still have Starbucks in every shopping mall and in every populous neighborhood and instant coffee of Nestle is still an option for many coffee consumers.

Third wave coffee differentiates itself from previous movements by appreciating coffee itself by understanding the historical and biological complexities of coffee beans and

being involved in production process. The appreciation of coffee has multiple signification for coffee enthusiast. On the one hand, it refers to the labor processes of producers who engage in hard work in poor conditions through hand picking every coffee bean to preserve its quality. On the other hand, coffee is a complex plant that has more than 800 aromas that is acquired from the terroir on which coffee bean has grown. Therefore, coffee should be treated with “respect” in the understanding of third wave.

Coffee is understood as an artisanal product in third wave. Unlike first and second wave, coffee is roasted in different styles and technique that enables distinctive taste profiles to come out. Coffee connoisseurship not only requires to detect different taste profiles of coffee beans but also competence for various brewing techniques. These are all achieved through years of training and practice that necessitate myriad tools and equipments as well as interaction between coffee enthusiast that share knowledge among each other. However, coffee is not limited to consumption in third wave but expands to all stages of production which also shapes consumption experience. Roaster and coffeeshop owners form a close relationship with farmers and cooperatives which enables them directly trade coffee beans from growers as well as coordinate production processes when necessary. The interaction between growers and roasters also facilitates traceability of coffee, that not only operates as supply chain mechanism which expresses the origin of product and methods used in the production process, but also functions as a form of social responsibility in which the amount paid to producers exposed to every actor in the value chain.

While emphasizing the relationship between coffee and coffee enthusiast, third wave coffee also fosters a specific form of sociality, that is, one in between barista and consumer. Barista as the individual bestowed with the necessary cultural capital to “properly” consumer a cup of coffee is responsible to transfer relevant knowledge to consumers. This is not a unilateral communication, however, in which barista educates consumers by providing product details and helping in the selection of coffee bean and brewing method. Consumers as well, especially “good consumers” who, in coffee professionals’ categorization, are knowledgeable about as well as enthusiastic to share their knowledge with others, can bring new material barista are not aware of. A third wave coffee shop also designed in a way to socially include customers. Therefore, third wave coffee encourages a bilateral communication between customers and baristas in which both parties educate each other on the subject.

In sum, third wave coffee endows consumers with the storied life of coffee by providing information from the history of a particular coffee bean, i.e. the life of producers. The consumption and production process have intertwined as opposed to previous forms of coffee consumption. By constituting a hierarchy of taste, first and second wave coffee was established as “bad coffee” since all they offer is “burned beans”.

4. 5. Locating Third Wave in the Local Consumptionscapes

The 1980s were a time period when sociocultural, economic, political transformation has occurred at global and local level. The neoliberal restructuring has shaped the landscape of Turkey. Until 1980s, import substitution was believed to be the suitable model for economic development by Turkish state (Keyder, 1997). During the administration of Turgut Özal, Turkish market opened its doors to global capital thanks to neoliberal policies that led to market liberalization. During the later period, Turkish market witnessed an influx of foreign products and brands that had not penetrated to this market before. The first private tv channel was founded during 90s with the name of Star 1 through the privatization of media. Moreover, market liberalization led to the emergence of a distinctive class that have “culturalised lifestyle choices” through which the members of this class can differentiate themselves from Islamic middle classes (Ayata, 2002).

From 1980s onwards, Turkey has come up against the products of global consumer culture through the proliferation of transnational companies in the market (Ger and Belk, 1996). In this context, Starbucks has entered into Turkish market during early 2000s. Opened its first store in Bağdat Street in Istanbul, where upper-scale brands and restaurants are located, the number of Starbucks stores now reached to more than 400 as of 2018. They are located in almost every shopping malls as well as on the hotspots of the city. Starbucks has shortly been embraced by Turkish middle and upper classes. Starbucks has facilitated the feelings of status and become a symbol of modernity and Westernization. However, the middle class structure is heterogeneous not only in terms of capital composition but also ideologically. While a particular segment of the society who hold relatively high cultural capital have been embedded in global culture and embraced a secularized and Western outlook, those with lower cultural capital have reject this understanding (Üstüner and Holt, 2009). Moreover, a new Islamist middle class who repudiate the effects of Western culture in their lives has emerged in the wake of changing political landscape of Turkey (Rankin et al. 2013). Starbucks, in this context, has faced

with cultural backlash from a particular segment of society who were motivated by anti-globalization discourse (Izberk Bilgin 2008)

Dominated by second wave coffee companies like Starbucks, Cafe Nero, Gloria Jeans, the landscape of coffee consumption has drastically changed. Kronotrop, the first third wave coffee shop in Turkey, started its business on a small street next to Galatasaray High School in 2012. Sold after two years from its inception, Kronotrop has brought a new business model as well a novel form of cultural consumption. Since then, many third wave coffee shops has been opened up in every city that no one in the industry keep track of them. In this section, I will elaborate on how third wave coffee has been embraced by Turkish consumers and provide the details of research context.

4.5.1 The Acquisiton of Taste

Dressed in a cargo shorts, a T-shirt, and slippers, İlhan met me in his roastery in Istanbul. My first impression about him was that he was quite confident and formal. As a coffee guru, he brewed me a cup of coffee and unenthusiastically shared little details about his personal life. As a former translator and editor who have graduated from an elite university, he was barely making a living in the publishing industry. Complaining about the exploitative nature of the industry, he told me how he started Kronotrop ;

I didn't like coffee before and I didn't drink it as well. Well, let's say on occasion. Because it's too milky, you can't tolerate industrial coffee, it's really bad. There was minor endeavors in Turkey but they sold industrial coffee as well. SO there was no difference. We didn't have a drinkable coffee. Bad coffee is physically tiring. If it is robusta, it contains too much caffeine. you can't drink it because of caffeine. If it's roasted dark, then you can't drink again because of its burned taste. It ruins your stomach. I couldn't drink to be honest but when I read it, third wave I mean, I said why not ? and I started to drink after I roasted. Actually, I saw a potential in this, a commercial one. I could be the first in the market, I can use social media to promote it. But I saw the coffee type on abroad. They are really tough guys. It's not like in here. The are all *kabzimals*⁵ in here. But there, they are blogging, know about music, literature. They have beautiful writings. I jumped into it when I saw this is the coffee profile. Secondly, I saw something that I can intellectually adopt myself. It was not like opening a flower shop. That tempted me.

⁵*Kabzimal* is the middleman in fruit and vegetables. They purchase products from producers and distribute to sellers.

İlhan' narrative highlights two equally significant aspects in the process of market creation of third wave coffee. Firstly, İlhan represented a group of consumers, even though he does not fond of coffee, who were dissatisfied with the current dynamic of coffee market in Turkey. At that time, coffee market was dominated by first and second wave coffee brands. These brands offered not only “dreadful” coffee beans in terms of taste since they are dark roasted, but also they had harmful effects on consumers' health. Therefore, his dissatisfaction is not towards coffee as such, but towards a particular type of coffee that is harmful and distasteful. İlhan, in this sense, can be considered as a profit oriented institutional entrepreneur who were intended to change the market through introducing a novel consumption practice that he has picked up from global consumer culture.

However, economic benefits granted by a third wave coffee shop was inadequate. Secondly, İlhan has aligned with the product as well as with the community formed around it. Coffee furnished him with a consumption practice that involves complexity and creativeself-expression. One needed to develop skills and obtain knowledge in order to achieve not only in consumption but in work as well. The analogy of opening a flower shop is significant to comprehend his approach to work. Owning a coffee shop and roasting is a knowledge-driven business in which one can form a cosmopolitan self through engaging in global consumption community (Holt 1998) whereas running a jewelry store is an unfulfilling alternative that does not require any form of cultural capital. The involvement in coffee industry is not only propelled by the “artistic” nature of coffee but also class-mediated identification with global community. Coffee enthusiast, roasters and brewers, and coffee shop owners organized around a product and they also possess particular forms of cultural capital. He affirms his class position by partaking in the community with shared tastes and sensibilities as well as being not a *kabzımal* who does not hold legitimate taste.

However, İlhan's taste of coffee is not a product of early socialization or have ascribed characteristics but it is an acquisition (Manzo 2010). He has acquired a taste in coffee consumption by online sources that bestowed him with information about a consumption practice that is not available in the local context. The acquisition is enabled through his prior formal education in an elite university that granted him a particular form of cultural capital, that of foreign language. The acquisition of taste not only occurs through online sources but also frequent visits to Western countries. Informants with higher cultural

capital have first encountered with third wave coffee on their family and business trips abroad.

I was travelling abroad very frequently for business trips. There is a monitor fair in Netherlands in every year, the other is in the US. There are three big companies in Turkey, one of which is my company. So, I keep going there, coming back. Then, I had a coffee in Amsterdam and I said “what is this?” and we had a chat with the barista. This is espresso, this is aeropress, bla bla. I said this is nice and I got my equipments and started brewing at home. (Caner)

We (Sevinç and Ceyda) were travelling to different places very often and following Ceyda to every coffee shop. We didn't know much back then. We had our first cup of coffee in New York, I think, it was 8-10 years ago. That was a really quality coffee bean. And we (Sevinç and her husband) have been to places without Ceyda and she was asking for staff - coffee equipments, coffee beans - and I find myself visiting every coffee shop in my trips. Then, I started to buy coffee beans for myself. I had a cup of coffee in US, I'm not really exaggerating it, I had a cup of coffee in US, in a coffee shop in the West coast San Francisco, that espresso made me feel like I should do this business. Because I have never tasted something like that, I had no clue that espresso could be something like that. (Sevinç)

These two narratives encapsulates the process how Turkish middle classes embrace third wave coffee. As individuals who have attained Westernized college education and worked in a cosmopolitan work environment that provide them high economic capital, they weredrawing their consumption practices from Western context. Ustuner and Holt (2010) argued that Turkish middle class with higher cultural capital tends to have deterritorialized cultural capital that is acquired through importing Western consumption practices. A part of the motivation of the acquisition of coffee consumption is that it is an identity project that leads to constituting a cosmopolitan and Western-focused self. Therefore, initial introduction of third wave coffee is materialized through the efforts of new middle class who were drawing information from various sources on consumption practices in Western context.

4.5.2 Third Wave Coffee in Ankara

While the proliferation of third wave coffee houses started in İstanbul around 2012, it has emerged in the consumptionscapes of Ankara in 2015. It is a frequently seen phenomenon that every novel form of cultural production, local or global, is disseminated from Istanbul to other cities. Although Ankara is the capital of Turkey, it had lost its superiority over

Istanbul. Dichotomy formed between İstanbul and Ankara can be traced back to early years of the Republic.

As a city that has been used as an administrative center in the War of Independence and later announced as the capital of the Republic, Ankara become the spatial representation of newly established nation state. The selection of Ankara as the new capital instead of Istanbul was significant in that it provided the homogeneity that facilitates nationalistic sensibilities (Tekeli 2006) Therefore, cosmopolitan structure of Istanbul was an obstacle for the founding figures of nation state. Transformation of landscape of Ankara can a manifestation of the identity project of nation state, its aspirations and “allergies”. The city has expanded towards west and south by ignoring the cosmopolitan past of the city , which not only implied formation of a new country but also a defiance to the old order by establishing dominance of new order (Aydın 2012). Ankara has expanded in its early years towards Çankaya where Atatürk resided. New neighborhoods were formed during the modernization process of Ankara. For instance, the cooperative of Bahçelievler have started in 1930s with Jensen plan. With market liberalization in 1980s, Istanbul gained prominence as new industries emerged. İstanbul ash become “place to work” whereas Ankara was “the place to study” (Aydın 2012). Ankara is associated with boredom and homogeneity while Istanbul was more cosmopolitan. Therefore, İstanbul is the center of global consumer culture for Turkish consumers. Ankara has less colorful consumptionscapes compared to İstanbul and it always lags behind. Istanbul owes its cosmopolitan structure to being the new economic center as well as the touristic hotspot while Ankara is the home of bureaucracy and military officials.

The historical transformation of cityscapes is significant in that third wave coffee shops in Ankara emerged in the parts where Ankara had expanded towards. During the time period ethnography conducted, there were more than 40 third wave coffee shops in Ankara. These coffee shops have clustered in four neighborhoods, which are Bahçelievler, Tunalı, Ayrancı and Çayyolu. Bahçelievler have 16 coffee shops at the time of study whereas Tunalı and Ayrancı have 10 for each. Çayyolu, while being the largest among these neighborhoods, have 8 coffeeshops. While these clusters comprise most of the coffee shops in Ankara, particular regions such as Yıldız-Oran and Bilkent also have a few popular coffee shops.

The first coffee shops in Ankara were established in Bahçelievler and Tunalı. Bahçelievler was formed around 1930s and gained prominence after 1950s. The cooperative of

Bahçelievler was built for low ranking government official (Kansu 2012). The residents were urban elite of the time but as they left the neighborhood or passed away, Bahçelievler become a cluster of business centers (Aydın 2012). While the contemporary demographics of the neighborhood mostly consists of college students and retired, it is also a part of the city where local and global brand stores, pubs and restaurants are located. Most active part of the neighborhood is called 7th street, and most third wave coffee shops are located on its parallel street.

Tunalı and Ayrancı is separated by Atatürk Boulevard which connects old Ankara to the new (Tunçer 2012). Located on the south of Ankara, part of these two districts were consigned to embassies in the early period of the republic. Karum, as the first Western-style shopping mall of Ankara, is located in Tunalı, providing urban population a place to “hang out” (Sargın 2012). However, it have fallen from grace with the proliferation of shopping malls in early 2000s. However, Tunalı preserved its status among middle class by providing spaces of cultural consumption. On the other hand, Ayrancı, while being less crowded, is a place for niche consumers with its Irish bars and clubs. The residents are more educated compared to Bahçelievler. Many are embassy officers and academics as well as retired individuals. As one of my informants said “this is a place for tender people, not for fierce”.

Çayyolu, on the other hand, is a newly established district of the city compared to the others. It is built as the city expanded towards West and luxury villas and residential apartments as well as gated communities were inhabited by urban upper middle class. While city was dirty and threatening, gated communities provided their residents safety and comfort. (Ayata 2002) The inhabitants were highly educated but not necessarily from economically rewarding occupations (Tarhan 2006). Therefore, Çayyolu is an contemporary example of spatial segregation in the city. Surrounded by fancy restaurants and shopping malls, Çayyolu is the next spot for third wave coffee shops after Bahçelievler and Tunalı.

In this section, I have provided the historical processes that led to the emergence of third wave coffee. In the global context, quest for taste and quality contributed to modification of practices in coffee consumption. While consumers are attributed a significant role in this process, third wave coffee also represents a social and cultural shift that signified changing production processes and the hierarchy of marketplace actors (Roseberry 1996).

In the local context, market liberalization occurred during 1980s have enabled Turkey to integrate with global consumer culture, which culminated in flows of capital and goods (Appadurai 1996). Middle classes with Western outlook have picked up third wave coffee among a plethora of consumption practices and third wave coffee shops, starting from Istanbul, have proliferated in Turkey.

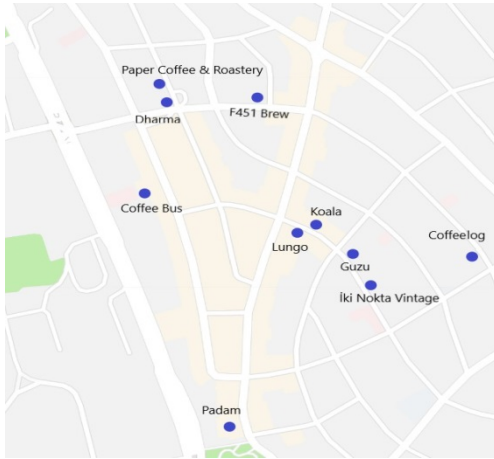


Figure 5 : Map of Tunalı Coffeeshops



Figure 6 : Map of Ayrancı Coffeeshops

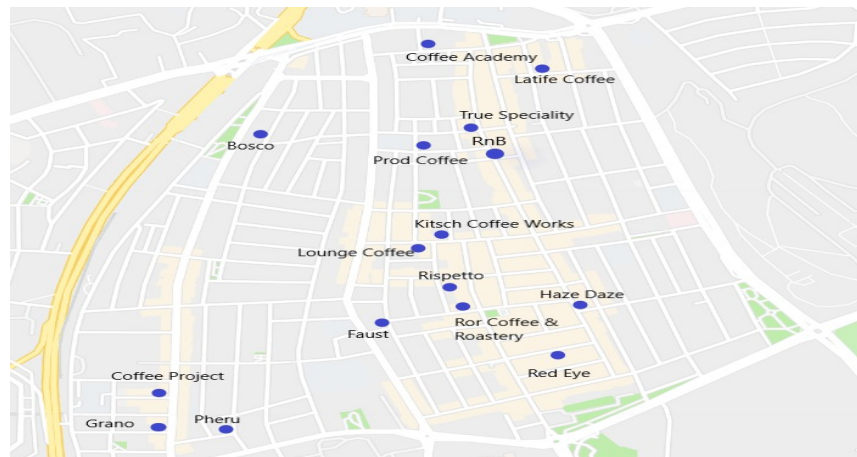


Figure 7 : Map of Bahçelievler Coffeeshops

CHAPTER 5

INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS IN THIRD WAVE COFFEE FIELD

Previous studies on market level changes have examined these processes through utilizing two theoretical lenses, which are institutional theory and field theory borrowed from Bourdieu. In these studies, market is identified as an organizational field comprised of institutions and actors whose actions are guided by institutional logics (Humphreys 2010a, 2010b; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013; Dolbec and Fischer 2015). Previous studies have investigated market level changes in the field of fashion (Scaraboto and Fischer 2013; Bourdieu 1993), accounting (Greenwood and Suddaby 2005), cricket (Wright and Zammuto 2013). These two theoretical lenses are suitable for this study. The field of third wave coffee will be examined by studying the institutional logics and how the hierarchy among these logics have changed over time. The actors in the field of third wave coffee are coffee shop owners, roasters, baristas, trainers, and consumers. However, informants in this study have multiple roles in the industry and therefore, they are not bounded with one role. Four institutional logics have been identified operating in the field of third wave coffee, which are the logic of artisanry, the logic of anti-corporatism, the logic of social entrepreneurship and the logic of commerce. The institutional logic will be elaborated in this section.

5.1. The Logic of Artisanry

When we examine the consumptionscapes that is dominated by multinational companies, the logic of artisanry works antithetical to mechanical and standardized culture of consumption and production of global coffee chains, especially for Starbucks. As opposed to standardized and mass produced coffee that was offered in global coffee chains, Third wave coffee shops provide specialized, consumer-oriented coffee in line with the post-fordist market dynamics (Harvey, 1990; West, 2012). Therefore, we are going to elaborate the antagonism between global coffee chains, which we can refer as second

wave coffee, and third wave coffee through the logic of artisanry in terms of four components.

5.1.1. The Artisan Owner

On a quite busy street next to Tunali, a popular avenue for night life and decadent shopping area, one of the first third wave coffee shops was located. We were having a casual conversation with the owner, Caner. He was an ex-sales manager for a big tech company but resigned three years ago to open up a coffee shop. He first met third wave coffee in Amsterdam during a business trip. When he was questioning the price of coffee, which was more expensive than a usual cup of latte, he started to chat with barista and learn why the coffee bean he was drinking was more “special” than others. He, then, became a home-brewer which led him to start his own business.

Our conversation was interrupted as a friend of his entered the coffee shop and immediately telling the story of some sort of garage sale he attended and how he was astonished by the wardrobe from early-republican era. In attempt to include me in the conversation, a subject that I have no clue, he turned to me and said “of course you would know that, right ?” Surprised by the unexpected question, I have mumbled in a nonsensical way. He left as he got his take-away coffee that Caner brewed. Within a couple hours, a dozen people visited the coffee shop - owner of an art gallery, yoga instructor, photographer, a literature student -, all of which knew each other and the proprietor Caner. What was surprising for me that day was that not a single one missed the modification in the resigned price chart on the wall. It was just a minor decoration and yet, patron had noticed it. He told me the community in his coffee shop when I mentioned people noticing decorational change ;

We have met with Yunus in the coffee shop. I have started yoga thanks to him, and it totally changed my life. We had a seminar in Kabak, and workshops for yoga, jujitsu and dance. He was going there for these workshops and asked me if I would be interested in giving a seminar. Of course I said. I was going to prepare and talk about coffee and do some yoga. He had yoga classes in his apartment but now has a studio. We started to go to Devrim and then to Seğmenler. He helps me in here, then I help him. He brings his gang, and I bring mine. This is the best part of having a coffee shop, we have a connection somehow. Look at this guy for example, he is a photographer and the other is an artist. I ask him if you have someone to make videos and we call him. Gavurlar call this a hub, a meeting

point. This coffee shop is a hub for me and I love it. I'm glad that neighborhood has gained a place like this, all by me. I sometimes say that I glad to have this job.

Caner's portrayal of his coffee shop has parallels with Oldenberg's (1997) concept of third place and Thompson et al.'s (2006) artisan owner motif. Coffee shop as a third place provides an environment that is neither home or workplace. As opposed to third place experience in second wave coffee shops, third wave coffee shops usually accommodate anartisan motif that shapes the coffee shop through his or her personal values and taste and has profound relationship with clientele and neighborhood (Thompson et al., 2006). These artisan owners develop intimate relationships with customers over time, and coffee shop turns into a hub where a community, whose members share similar cultural capital, is formed around the owner. Beyond their community building effects, they also possess a great amount of subcultural capital (Thornton, 1996). As the proprietor and barista, they acquired certain skill and competences over time in brewery, cupping and coffee bean selection. Therefore, they have the ability to educate consumers in their coffee preferences, not as a business owner that have financial benefits but as a coffee enthusiast who values coffee bean and propagates about it. This sincere connection between consumers and barista and owner is absent in the servicescapes of coffee shops who offer commercial coffee.

In every street, we have tons of coffee shops and all do well in terms of finances. I'm visiting them, talking with them, meeting with them. People started to love this coffee business and coffee. They love the "neighborhood coffee shop" concept. Because it can be interiorized. Because when you visit a coffee shop that prepares commercial coffee, a big company, you are just a client for them. But when you go to the neighborhood coffee shop, they know your name, your coffee, your taste. You know the people who visit there, you can chat with them that was initiated through coffee. That's why people inclined towards more boutique coffee shops, more authenticity. For example, the coffee shops are roasting their own coffee. They are trying to create their own style. I know this means, for some, efforts of branding. But for others, it's their standards, their style. And this makes people to go there. This is why we have so many coffee shops right now.

In the passage above, Yunus's account is based on a classic contrast between coffee chain in which a standardized coffee is consumed in an inauthentic environment and third wave coffee shops where one can enjoy not just a manually brewed coffee but also a social

intimacy between customers and baristas. However, there can be a challenge to the sociality between consumers and barista. Technological advancements in coffee-related equipments may minimize the efforts of barista, which may transform it into a simple form of human labor from craftsmanship.

5.1.2. Conundrums of Automatization

Another theme to be discussed under the logic of artisanry is how technological advancements impinge on coffee consumption and brewery. The challenge in here is the level of automation and how it will shape consumption and production practices. Third wave coffee had its reputation through manual brewing methods as well as the quality of coffee bean. While these brewing methods are helpful to fulfil the potential of coffee bean, they are threatened by the systems of automatization. On the one side, an stereotypical image of hipster barista who refuses automatization for the sake of craft and values human effort. On the other side, full automated brewing techniques that can achieve the taste profile performed through manual brewery.

Third Wave Coffee consumers appreciate the human effort that goes into the production of coffee in the brewing process. It is completely the opposite of coffee chains like Starbucks in which full automatic espresso machines are utilized. Moreover, a third wave coffee shop also encourages consumers to interact with baristas or the other way around, which leads to a conversation about coffee in which consumers and baristas educate each other. In such a context, one would expect that automation in third wave coffee is unwelcomed. However, it is not the case here. In the following excerpt, Sarper illustrates the general attitude towards automation ;

It's not a good news for us of course (laughs) but we have time until someone brings it to Turkey. Joking aside, it's a good thing. The issue in third wave is the standard. As I said earlier, it's one in a million to brew in the same way and get the same taste if I brew two cups of coffee. But the machinery will provide you with this. Because when I'm brewing, I pour water from 10 cm high and in another brew, I pour 8 cm high. But it's significant to have a standard. That's what customers expect from you. When they come here, drink a Guatemala and like it. In the next time, they want the same cup of coffee. But it's too hard to have the same exact taste if barista prepares the coffee. Customers usually are happy with the coffee we prepare but if someone comes with a palate Vedat Milor has, s/he directly says this is not the same coffee I had last week. That's why i think automation is good, for we can have some standard. But it depends on your viewpoint, of course. Some can say that I want to taste different flavor with

barista's brewery. But if you get different flavors in every brewery while you are supposed to get specific taste, it does not fit right in the third wave. Robots eliminated this variation. They brew in the same way and with a standard. That's a good thing, i believe. Because if I like a cup of coffee, I want to drink the same next time.

Previous studies were conducted on the effects of technological improvements in production in craft. As Spooners (1986) study indicates personal touches of the producers in oriental rugs makes the oriental carpet special. Moreover, oriental carperts become more exotic due to their production process in the age of industrialization. However, as Sarper indicates, the idiosyncrasy involved in coffee brewery does not make coffee a special production. The immediacy of consumption and production of coffee, compared to oriental rugs, shrink the value of human effort. Coffee enthusiast does favor a technical virtuoso that remotes himself from the amateur with his perfect prowess rather than a Ruskinian craftsman who is neither a virtuoso nor an amateur (Sennett, 2009). However, the subtletyof practices in brewery does not allow a technical virtuoso to come out. Human labor, then, becomes an obstacle to reach out the potential of coffee bean since it is not possible for a barista to standardize his efforts in brewery. Therefore, in the logic of artistry, it is not the human effort put in the production process during brewery but the quality of the outcome is prioritized. The role of barista is, then, not to perform a craftsmanship in an automated environment but to function as a communicative tool to convey the story of coffee bean. Although full automatization is embraced by the members of the community, craftsmanship of barista and roaster is a required in the process of roasting and brewing to provide best sensory experience.

5.1.3 Craftsmanship

Third wave coffee culture does not only consists of social interactions between clientele and barista/owner or people and commodity. It also necessitates another form of relationship, that is between human and machine. If we were to define third wave coffee, in a limited way, as farm to cup process that facilitates the burgeoning of a more nuanced end-product, each step in the production requires a thorough application of methods. If we are to "extend craftsmanship to all sorts of labor" (Sennett, 2009), every individual working in the making of high quality coffee should be considered as a craftsman. However, only roasters will be detailed in here.

While baristas and their brewery are also acknowledged for their efforts in enhancing coffee drinking experience by explicating the story of the coffee bean, applying “right” methods, it’s agreed by all members of the community that the role of the roaster is of foremost importance for defining the quality of coffee. While Specialty Coffee Association put some standards for brewing and cupping, most of which works as reference points that one can play around, roasters are granted absolute freedom. However, this does not suggest that roasters are bestowed with full creativity and there are no expectations or limits in order to achieve a desirable taste. If you ask any coffee aficionado what they think about a cup of coffee from Starbucks, you will get exact same response : “they roast too dark”. Without getting too technical, Starbucks burn coffee beans so company get to serve the same cup of coffee all around the world. One does not need to have craftsman skills to burn the beans. However, in third wave discourse, roasting becomes a scientific experiment in which roaster uncover a taste profile through trial and error.

Sennett (2009) loosely defines craftsmanship as “the desire to do something well for its own sake”. His definition resonates with the motto of coffee aficionados, respect the bean. The symbolic connection with coffee requires a meticulously conducted operations in every step. In the initial phase, the roaster should reach out to the right coffee bean, which is a form of craftsmanship in its own right. This is a performance of taste in which certain beans are selected among others for particular qualities. Then, roaster as a craftsman should perform certain practices to discover the aromas of the coffee bean that s/he reveres. The process described below by the roaster of a major coffee shop ;

I am actually trying to reach and find out the point where coffee achieve its potential. It’s a little bit try-and-error process and a little bit experience. When I believe that I found the point coffee achieved its potential, I save that point to the roasting machine and try to repeat the same process. The rest is a race of consistency, all I’m trying to do is to produce a consistent coffee. I try to repeat the same process which produces a coffee that I like. What we call as the potential of coffee is this ; in the roasting process, a couple chemical reactions occur, actually a lot of process but anyway. But in general, it gets more bitter, acidity increases to a certain point and then starts to decrease, sugars are caramelized at a particular point and you can get sugary tastes. However, after a certain point, it burns and starts to carbonize. Caffeine do not get lost but as we roast, coffee gets more bittery tastes as the other aromas are lost. My job in here is to find the point where all these flavors and variables are in balance. I mean, it should not be so bitter to drink or so sour to drink, of course sourness result from the fruit acidity. Or sugars in coffee are too burned or caramelized. I mean, I try to find the point where this 3-4 tastes are in balance. And when I find it, I say this coffee is

balanced and delicious and has a smooth drinking. After that, I usually repeat the same process. Sometimes when we have new coffee bean, I make five different roasting sessions, all of which has different approach in terms of parameters. I do the cupping and plan the production roasting accordingly.

If “craftsmanship is founded on skill developed to a high degree” (Sennett, 2008 :20), then one way to acquire a particular skill, if it’s not an endowment or innate, is practice. The process of roasting requires certain technical skills and competences which could be acquired through certifications and training. However, these programs provides particular knowledge that can only work in the early stages. As Firat’s detailed descriptions, roasting demand sensorial and cupping skills, machine control and tampering with parameters to find the optimum point, all of which are developed through practice.

5.1.4 Taste Regime

It was a rainy weekend evening when I visited Stoltz Coffee in Gaziosmanpaşa, a upper middle class neighborhood in Çankaya. This was my second time in Stoltz since Fatih held a third wave coffee workshop in there. It was not a third wave coffee in “traditional” sense since it had borrowed from the elements of Starbucksified consumptionscapes. Nevertheless, they were committed to offer high quality coffee, mostly purchased from Fatih’s brands. I have visited Stoltz for a different purpose than tasting their coffee. They were hosting a comedy night in the coffeehouse. I bought my ticket – a cup of coffee included – to the show. I had no expectations from the show since the group comprised of amateur individuals working in banking and defense industry and testing their limits in another field. However, this was the first time I’ve seen a comedy show in Ankara and I was curious how it pans out. The audience were mostly urban professionals who have just gone out work. The jokes were funnier than I expected. As individuals from lower-middle class background, they were quite critical about their habitus. The jokes were satirical representations of lower class family life and moments of pride as they reach a higher position in the social space through their educational attainment. Sometimes it got political as they criticized political right in Turkey with connotations of religious law and dictatorship. This was of course happening through the comfort of performing in front of a highly secular audience. The night went on with laughters accompanied by a cup of coffee. The comedy show was a regular event in Stoltz Coffee, which I have attended a couple more times. Stoltz had picked a comedy show among myriad alternatives of cultural consumption. As I had mentioned earlier in Chapter 4, coffee is an organizing

product around which a taste regime is created for cultural consumption. Coffee shops are spaces for comedy shows like in Stoltz Coffee, or theatrical plays or clay workshops.

Taste regimes were defined as “a discursive system that links aesthetics to practice” (Arsel and Bean, 2013). They provide shared meanings which are disseminated through various actors to the practitioners and govern an individual’s practices (Arsel and Bean, 2013). The role of taste regimes have been examined in different fields such as domestic consumption (Arsel and Bean 2013) and religious communities (McAlexander et al. 2014). In the field of third wave coffee, taste regime can be observed in three categories. On the one hand, third wave coffee provides the guidelines what constitutes a “good” coffee by excluding particular types. On the other hand, side products that are offered in the coffeeshop fosters an organic food consumption. Moreover, coffeeshops become venues for particular cultural consumption practice as mentioned earlier.

My second visit to Stoltz Coffee was for a special occasion. Fatih was giving a third wave coffee workshop with a barista working in his coffeeshop. Fatih was a prominent roaster located in İzmir and providing training and roasted coffee beans to coffeeshop. This particular workshop was about the history of coffee, specifically what third wave coffee is. Elaborating on the second wave coffee, he moved on the third wave ;

What we are trying to achieve in third wave coffee is to offer right coffee, to tell right coffee and provide the taste of what we afford. How did we move away from second wave coffee ? Because they got too commercial. What was the main product have become the side product. People were serving pizza and spaghetti in so-called coffeeshops. They lost respect to coffee bean. So, third wave coffee does not mean these brewing tools, kalita or v60. Third wave coffee is an ideology. It is quality coffee, the way that coffee is served, the knowledge of barista. A good third wave coffee shop serve high quality beans, presents it well and possess a particular kind of knowledge about coffee. It is more ideological and yes, they earn less compared to other coffeeshops. Nevertheless, it has better servicescapes.

The third wave coffee draws a sharp distinction between second and third wave coffee movements. Third wave coffee taste regime favors coffeeshops that have devoted themselves to coffee by engaging in particular consumption practice, such as picking high quality coffee beans, as well as acquiring coffee related knowledge and its transfer to consumers. This dedication also necessitates forsaking the commercial benefits, at least to a certain degree, for not to lose their respect for coffee. The third wave coffee taste regime offer shared meaning that govern the practices of individuals (Arsel and Bean, 2013). The

meaning of respect constitutes a common ground for these individuals which leads to particular actions such as light roasted coffee and restrict others such as dark roasted coffee. However, the taste regime that favors “quality” in coffee is extended to other product lines that are offered in these coffeeshops.

There is a growing tendency towards organic food consumption (Locki et al., 2002; Vindigni et al. 2002). Individual motivated with health and safety concerns or political and environmental reasons are drawn to organic food consumption. While this can be a form of ethical consumption in which one performs the ideals of citizenship and consumerism, a rather paradoxical one that prioritizes consumerism (Johnston, 2008), organic food consumption can also be motivated with convenience and simplicity (Hartman and Wright, 1999). The second component of taste regime in third wave coffee is the encouragement of organic food consumption. While coffee is the main product in third wave coffee shop, consisting almost 80% of the menu, side products such as cheesecakes or brownies are also offered. Similar to coffee, artisan nature of these products are indicated. All coffeeshops manufacture their side products in-house with an emphasis on healthy and organic food.

The consumption of organic food is an extension of third wave coffee regime in which coffee is produced in line with the artisan logic. That is, the production method as well as the ingredients used in these products positioned in contrast to mass-produced and industrialized food. Berkay’s description encapsulates how third wave coffeeshops develop their menu ;

Personally, I’m trying to serve the best quality coffee beans and food under this roof. For instance, we produce all our desserts in-house with no additives, everything is daily manufactured. No gelatin, no crystallizer. It’s the same way when your mom makes a cake for you.



Figure 7 : Deniz’s Instagram Post

The analogy proposed in Berkay's narrative that their menu resembles mom's cooking is quite prevalent among informants. Another example can be seen in Deniz's Instagram post (see Figure 7) in which she says "pumpkin sauce by the hands of mom". The implication through constructing such an analogy is that the side products offered in the coffeehouses are prepared contain natural ingredients that is not harmful to one's body. Therefore, the organic food consumption is related with the process (Locki et al. 2002) through which end-products are produced. These consumers are motivated with health and safety concerns and choose to not consume mass-produced products. While taste regime covers particular types of consumption practices related to food, it also touch upon other domains of cultural consumption.

As discussed earlier, third wave coffee shops are shaped by the values of artisan owner motif (Thomson et al, 2006). Artisan owner is also the articulator of a taste regime that governs the consumption practices performed in the coffeehouse. The taste regime is disseminated through particular events organized in the coffeehouse, which are shaped by the taste of artisan owner. Therefore, one needs to understand the dynamics of taste in order to grasp the arrangement of consumption practices around coffee. The role of cultural capital in shaping consumption practices has long been examined (Bourdieu 1984, Holt 1998). As individuals with high cultural capital, these artisan owners in third wave coffee shops select particular practices through which they can perform self-exploration and creative activities (Holt, 1998). Most artisan owners organize specific activities such as clay workshop or theatrical plays in their coffeeshops. They also possess cosmopolitan taste (Holt 1998) such as arranging a jazz concert in the coffee shop one night in every week. The taste regime in third wave coffee disseminated through artisan owner is not only a way of transforming taste into practice but also a way of distinction (Arsel and Bean 2013). İlhan's comments are quite illustrative how consumption practices that he performs and are organized in his place create symbolic hierarchies among individuals ;

Aesthetic is a part of our lives, you cannot live without it. Our roastery, for instance. We listen to music, or watch movies. You should have this kind of feelings in life. But they are all *esnaf* out there. You can't communicate with them. Whatever you do, you should have some kind of elegance. Why do you think Uber got so popular here ? Because taxi drivers are jerks. You get into a taxi and they insult you. He is a rude man. No aesthetics, no kindness in their lives. We don't have these in Turkey. Why ? Because they don't read, don't follow the world. There should be something in life that touches you. That's what I mean. You can read novels, or listen music. But no, nothing! They watch tv, waste their lives in cafes. Rude and shallow.

İlhan's roasters which he later turned into a part-time coffeeshop is a material representation of particular pattern of taste. He now covered the wall of history with jazz musicians and organizing movie nights, record days, and second hand sale along with cupping. Coffee consumption was accompanied by a constellation of cultural consumption practices. Therefore, artisan owners who have high cultural capital favors third wave coffee which possess authenticity with its artisan nature and forms a cultural consumption pattern that enables self-expression and self-actualization, and constructing cosmopolitan self (Holt, 1998). İlhan's narrative also manifest how social boundaries are generated through taste. He differentiates himself from an *esnaf* by possessing aesthetic sensibilities that *esnaf* does not have. Overall, third wave coffee itself becomes a taste regime in which certain kinds of coffee are favored and others are rejected. The artisan owner who has a particular taste in coffee as well as in the other domains in cultural consumption construct a taste regime which shape practices performed in and around coffee.

5.2. The Logic of Anti-Corporatism

5.2.1. Structuring Effects of Multinational Companies on Taste

In every interview or during the workshops, I asked everyone this question “ Why do we have third wave coffee and such an emphasis on quality ?” Sitting in the garden of a coffee shop with a minimalistically designed architecture, people were enjoying themselves as they were taking a sip of freshly brewed coffee. Sarper and I were having a conversation with coffee that he brewed for us. I asked this question to him and he replied;

Why specialty coffee ? We have been sold something as coffee that does not make sense at all. Especially Starbucks and Nestle. I'm just going to give you an example from Starbucks, the way they roast. During roasting, all the sugar burns and chocolate and caramel aromas come out. If you roast coffee bean to a certain degree, it's all the same then. You can't find any difference between coffee beans. No apple, lemon, orange aromas, it's all gone. All you can get is chocolate and nuts. That's what Starbucks do. That's where the quality coffee steps in. It says this is not coffee, it's not something bitter that we can only taste chocolate and nuts. It has variety in it. SCA has flavor wheel, they compared it to wine mostly. Wine has around 800 aromas while coffee has 2000. So, coffee is not something like that.

Sarper voices the same concern that all informants share. The emphasis of quality in third wave coffee is based on a questioning the structuring effects of transnational corporations on taste. The roasting process of Starbucks, or second-wave coffee in general, is a McDonaldized process (Ritzer, 1998) in which coffee is produced through rational and controllable procedures where the end-product is predictable. On the contrary, roasting and brewing in third wave coffee is perceived as an artisan process in which coffee is roasted through trial and error method to find the optimum profile that provides the best sensory experience. In this sense, coffee consumption in third wave becomes a struggle for consumer subjectivity that is positioned at the exact opposite of second wave. The excerpt from Ceyda's interview illustrates this antagonism ;

People were bored, a world without specialty coffee is very boring. A world with commercial and conventional coffee is boring. It's just already grinded coffee bean with chocolate and nuts flavor, maybe an Ethiopian with a little acidity and floral notes, but that's all. There is no element of exploration. You don't have that opportunity in commercial coffee. But specialty coffee is not something like that, it's colorful with its pictures and story. You can sit and talk with the barista for hours like a bartender. Of course, with a good barista.

The interpretation of specialty coffee as an exploration activity and commercial coffee as boring was a common theme in the informants. As in Arsel and Thompson's case (2004), commercial coffee is identified as boring and humdrum experience in which a standardized taste is offered throughout the world whereas specialty coffee enables a sensory experience that can change with brewing methods, the prowess of barista and roaster, and the biography of coffee bean. The exploration of different aromas also paves the way for more experimentation in brewery.

Based on brewing, we can have really different profiles. I was watching a contest lately, I guess it was 2015 or 2016 Aeropress world championship. Usually, the degree of grinding in aeropress is approximately between the ones in espresso and v60. It leaves slimmer granules. But the guy in the contest grinds in french press standards, a very thick one. He uses 30 grams instead of 14-16 grams. And A liquid coffee comes out from aeropress but he diluted coffee by adding water. However, this is a completely different profile. If a barista or a coffee shop owner in the coffee shop prepare coffee with this profile as the customer watch, he would be lynched. "What kind of a coffee shop owner or a barista are you ?" they would say. Because we have some norms that people do not want to break. You should use 16grams coffee with 250 grams of water in V60. Ok, we have standards in here but there are also different profiles. We don't have the same profile in every coffee bean, all have specific features. This is what makes specialty coffee lively. Because you get to know every coffee bean in a different way.

While Specialty Coffee Association, competitions organized by SCA, trainings and workshop organized at the local level are sources of information flow for future baristas and roaster or coffee enthusiast. While these organizations and activities have structuring effects on coffee consumption and production as well, they stay at the level of recommendations. These standards may or may not optimize the sensory experience, and yet provides a quantitative guidelines for brewing. The experimental and explorative nature of coffee is achieved through the rupture from the taste structuring effects of corporations which is initiated by an ontological questioning on what coffee is and what it should be. However, anti-corporate discourse does not remain limited with taste but also extends to trade relations between producing countries and corporations and their effects on these locations.

5.2.2. Direct Trade as Market Reform

Anti-corporate movements have resurged with the dawn of new millennium. Multinational corporations have been targeted by social activists with political, economic, social and environmental motivations. Crossley (2002) provides a framework to understand anti-corporate movement by examining the actors and actions involved. His protest iceberg consists of two protest categories varies in terms of visibility and two actors, which are social movement organizations and adherents and constituents. The last category, that is useful in our case, were defined as people who are sympathetic of anti-corporate movement that support the cause through different forms of practices. In this sense, these consumers adherents of anti-corporatism through engaging in consumption and production practices that present an alternative to the existing system of relations.

Coffee industry has no distinctive trade and production relations than other commodity markets. It is highly dominated by multinational food corporations and trading companies located in the global north who has the authority in the management of production, processing and distribution (Smith, 2013) As Clairmonte and Cavanagh (1990) noted, in specific markets, coffee market has concentrated in the hands of Nestle and Philip Morris/General Foods who controls the most of the instant coffee market. The anti-corporate discourse of third wave coffee market actors are manifested in consideration of market concentration and dominance among a handful of corporations.

A descriptive video titled as “What’s coffee?” was posted on one of the most clicked Youtube channels in Turkey. A barista with long hair and beret on elucidated third wave coffee as follows;

We hear everywhere that there is a brand new movement called third wave coffee. It was born out of resistance towards second wave. And direct trade is the best exemplification of this. I mean, purchasing coffee directly from the producer, roasting and make it to the cup, I mean this is something very valuable. I think I call this a revolutionary process in which we can take this business from the hands of some cartels. Third wave steps in at this point, “fuck the system”. Because it does not matter how many stores you have, to serve with quality coffee is enough I think.

In his narrative, a counter cultural movement was being formed around an idea of monopolizing strategies of global corporation in coffee trade and emphasis on quality over quantity. While such an optimistic and passionate description of the objective of third wave coffee may or may not represent the position of all market actors, it would be helpful to trace specific anti-corporate discourses in third wave coffee and its stance on the nature of trade relations. anti-corporate discourse emerges in the trade relations between multinational corporations and producing countries. Ethical consumption and commerce become an expression of anti-corporatism. In the following passage, İlhan, as a directly traded coffee distributor, frames how third wave coffee has a distinct operation compared to conventional coffees;

Cafe Zamunda, for example, works with direct trade and if you get your coffee beans from me, it si like working with direct trade. At least, you don’t get it from big industrial and international companies. We have big food in coffee as well, Nestle is a big food company, Lavazza, Tchibo as well. These companies are big coffee importers, they sell green beans. Nestle gets almost 20% of the market, People get coffee beans from this large coffee importers and become a part of how they do business.

Direct trade, in İlhan’s vision, functions as a market-reform (Jaffee, 2007) to provide better conditions to the producers for conducting business while operating within capitalist system. Direct trade and ethical commerce, then, become antipode of corporate way of doing business that is associated with low prices paid coffee producers, exploitation and predatory business practices. A concrete example of how transnational corporations are perceived by these consumers comes from İlhan’s Instagram post in which he shared a documentary about dispossession of Ugandan coffee producers who were living there for

generations and have a claim in the land but evicted by a giant Germany coffee company who wanted to build a coffee plantation in the area. İlhan noted that ;

Aren't we too late to understand that specialty coffee is not just a matter of quality ? Besides, all roasters and coffee shops should confess themselves that they have failed in terms of quality as well. But it's time to be involved in an ethical and more humane commercial activity, in addition to our search for flavor. They are dependent to each other. Maybe the solution is not the concrete steps of roasters but end users should be more conscious on the subject and put some pressure on the roasters. After all, roasters and coffee shop owners are happy with the surplus value through selling coffee for high prices, which they paid a dollar to the producer. It's a matter of moral consciousness to take part in this crime by purchasing coffee beans from companies like Neumann group or its counterpart in here, Interamerican coffees. What you have seen in this video does not only occur in Uganda but also in Rwanda, Burundi, or somewhere else. Don't be a mere spectator I would say.

Roasters as individuals and coffeeshops as brands represent a constellation of values as corporations like Starbucks do. In his account, transnational corporations are associated with predatory practices that vandalizing producing countries to pursue more profit. However, ideological incompatibility (Lee et al.,2009) and questioning of capitalistic system (Penaloza and Price, 1993) led him to perform consumer resistance towards transnational food companies. This occurs both at level of anti-consumption and denouncing their business practices and opting for direct trade as an alternative form of trade. Internet, in this respect, works as a mechanism to convey anti-corporate messages and mobilize people. However, Internet is not the only site used for such purposes. Another venue to propagate anti-corporate discourse is workshops organized by roasters. In a third wave coffee workshop I attended in Kızılay, which is an another hub for coffee, a question come up regarding the prices of coffee beans and why particular coffee beans are more expensive.

It's not always about quality. It does not mean that a 34 TL coffee bean is better than 20 TL coffee bean. One of the reasons is that farmers are paid more and they should be.

As the workshop continues, operation of direct trade and other forms were elaborated by comparing the benefits of direct trade and ills of corporate production relations. In this view, workshops, then, do not solely function as a consumer education tool in which new consumption practices are made, but also morally shaping experiences where distinction between “the good” and “the evil” are created. However, while these adherents were

perceived as vital sources for global anti-corporate movements (Crossley, 2002), anti-corporatism of the actors involved in third wave coffee is contradictory in itself. None of the informants showed particular resistance towards Starbucks but appreciated its market-creating role. Their negative attitude against Starbucks is based on a distaste for their standardized and low-quality products. The passage below illustrates how Starbucks is perceived among coffee aficionados ;

We have them fortunately because if we haven't, especially for Turkey but also in the world, we didn't have coffee as we know it. They have a significant part in the story of coffee. We are a tea drinking country, 6 kilos per person. Coffee was around 400-500 grams but now reached to a kilo, I guess. But If we didn't have Starbucks, coffee would not be so widespread. However, I have to say that they make bad coffees, nothing can be done. I'm glad we have them, especially for countries like Turkey, third world countries I mean, to make coffee culture more popular. But their coffee is bad and other beverages are too unhealthy.

As Deniz strikingly voices, third wave coffee appreciates Starbucks and perceives it as a school that formed a coffee market, taught its customers how to drink coffee and paved the way for further development in coffee consumption. The company is seen as a pioneer and a step in the evolutionary process of coffee consumption. As in Deniz's case, Starbucks is criticized for its poor quality coffee whereas its marketing strategy is not questioned, even approved.

5.2.3. Coffeeshop as Spaces of Freedom

Anti-corporate discourses are not only limited to the field of consumption but prevalent in the other fields of social life. Already politicized through their consumption practices, they were politicized about the effects of corporate life in their personal lives. The last common theme in the anti-corporate discourse is the erosive and delimiting effects of corporate life and perception of unconventional entrepreneurship as a panacea.

If we are to examine the sample profile of coffee shop owners and roaster, all biographies intertwined in a single moment in life when they decide on quitting their corporate jobs and follow their dreams, opening up a coffee shop. However, this dream should be analyzed in relation to political and economic context. Only such an inquiry would be helpful to comprehend the attractiveness of entrepreneurship.

In a warehouse located at the outskirts of Istanbul, I was surrounded by roasting machines with various capacities, brewing tools and sacks of coffee beans waiting to be transferred. Accompanied by the smell of freshly roasted coffee beans, Sevinç was telling me the story of how she decided quitting her marketing and public relations job and got into coffee business ;

I had a cup of coffee in US, I'm not really exaggerating it, I had a cup of coffee in US, in a coffee shop in the West coast San Francisco, that espresso mad me feel like I should do this business. Because I have never tasted something like that, I had no clue that espresso could be something like that. After we get back, I decided to, like in a second, end my corporate life and I left everything, all my career, and started to work for peanuts as a barista. After a while, I had partnered with a roaster but we couldn't make it. The reason was that I had some moral resolutions when I was leaving corporate life, like, it was about being more human by getting away the brutality of corporate life. I decided not talk with anyone that I don't want to, for example. I don't have to do that, to talk to someone or be in a relationship because I have to.

Can you elaborate on the brutality of corporate life ?

I always say this, I started working in 2002 in a full time position . I guess we caught the last period when business life was more decent. When I first started, I was in marketing and public relations as I said. When I first started, when you do your job in a decent way, I mean, with the right product in the right time with a right marketing and public relations strategy, you could find yourself a place in the market and you would be successful. But business changed as Turkey changed. The conditions of business life has changed, we have more competition now. Because a new generation of graduates has arrived, new global companies entered the market, and the companies that we call multinational are acquired by funds. And now, people have to struggle to stay where they are now. Because it is not considered as reasonable to start in a company and stay there for 20-30 years and then, retire. My husband works in human resources and when he's reviewing resumes, he says like it's frowned upon if you are in the same company for 10 years. In this environment, as world and Turkey changes, people change as well. They become more cruel and merciless. We have companies and business people that take shape with the political conjuncture. Therefore, you are put in a position where you have to stick by some actions that you would not do personally. For example, Gezi protests was a huge turning point for me as it made me question my position. I said like I'm here and I'm there but what am I doing ? The things you serve and stand against is the same thing and you are a part of this system. When all things add up, corporate life transformed into something that cruel people were hurting each other on purpose, they were shedding blood looking in my eyes. Because the only way to be more successful, to make more money, to be better is through hurting people, clean the floor up with and crush more people. Being successful or performing a decent job does not make you good. You have to respond the attack coming towards you in the same degree and tone. If you don't do this, you get hurt. At this point, you have to decide. You can stay in the system

and become one of its parts. Or you can protect and pull yourself in here. I didn't want to be on the other side because it makes you more cruel and corrupt as time goes by. I mean, you can't feel anymore. Someone attacks you and you respond in the same way and you find yourself doing it in a moment. This, if you have something on your left side of your body, harms you and makes you physically sick.

In Sevinç's account where one can detect the effects of global and local contexts, a pattern emerges that is common among informants. On the one hand, these consumers develop a strong interest in coffee through a business trip abroad or a YouTube video on brewing methods. The encounter with specialty coffee was followed by purchasing necessary tools for home brewing and ordering coffee beans from different roasters. As they get passionate about coffee, competencies and knowledge are developed (Guercini and Cova, 2018), which leads to innovation (Martin and Schouten, 2014). On the other hand, informants get critical about ruthless conditions of work life, which should be investigated under the hegemony of neoliberalism.

With an average age of 40, these people launched their careers around a time in which neoliberal policies have resurged with the newly elected government. In a global political context in which bureaucratic organization structure of past century were replaced by more flexible and short-term oriented corporations who does not provide long-term job security and trust among employees and between organization and employee (Sennett, 1998), they were disappointed with what they faced. As Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (2000) contend "neoliberalism aspires in its ideology and practice, to intensify the abstractions inherent in capitalism itself; to separate labor power from its human context, to replace society with the market, to build a universe out of aggregated transactions". In a context where the actions of individuals become market transactions, these individuals challenge the alienation and potential of moral degradation caused by neoliberal discourse.

As people who are passionate about coffee and disgusted by the effects of these ideologies on them, they embarked on an unconventional entrepreneurship that connects professional and personal lives by embedding passion that makes personal life more meaningful into professional life (Guercini and Cova, 2018). They have created spaces of freedom in these coffee shops where they perform and create something valuable for them, have autonomy in their lives and avoid the ramifications of work life shaped by

neoliberal discourse. Therefore, they have broken their routine by quitting their corporate jobs as well as the routine in the practices of consumption that was brought by Starbucks.

5.3. The Logic of Social Entrepreneurship

The literature on social entrepreneurship has provided plethora of definitions the concept within the last two decades. While the social entrepreneurship literature focused on how to define the concept (Peredo & McLean, 2006) and how it distinguishes itself from other forms of entrepreneurship, a consensus could not be reached except that social entrepreneurship has “an ability to leverage resources that address social problems” (Dacin et al., 2010) While some definitions recognize the non-profit aspect of social entrepreneurship (Lasprogata & Cotten, 2003 ; Dart, 2004), these definitions neglect the economical resources that are necessary for creating social value. In the light of these discussions, the definition of Hibbert et al. (2005) prove useful ;

Social entrepreneurship can be loosely defined as the use of entrepreneurial behavior for social ends rather than for profit objectives, or alternatively, that the profits generated are used for the benefit of a specific disadvantaged group.

Their definition emphasizes generating economic resources to utilize these resources in pursuing social motivations. In other words, social entrepreneurship sets itself apart from conventional entrepreneurship by promoting social change as its primary goal while utilizing business principles (Dacin et al.,2010). Within the actors involved in Third wave coffee market, there are two different themes that resonate with the logic of social entrepreneurship. The first one is leveraging bargaining power of farmers through agricultural education, and the second is fair/direct trade as injustice alleviation.

5.3.1. The Bargaining Power of Farmers

To comprehend the role of farmer education in coffee industry, we need to understand the quality coffee itself, how coffee trade occurs and the relationship between coffee and farmers in the first place. First of all, the quality of coffee implies the significance of particular inherent and external factors that shape the material attributes of coffee (Daviron & Ponte, 2005). These attributes consist of coffee bean type (Arabica and Robusta), climatic and geographical conditions, labor procedures (harvesting and processing) and packaging. The inherent quality of specific coffee beans are protected

through these external procedures like harvesting and processing. These material attributes also generate the difference between commercial and specialty coffee.

Secondly, while the efforts of fair and direct trade bestow farmers a commercial advantage in terms of coffee prices, an asymmetry in power relations producers and institutional actors. Roasters in specialty coffee sector makes small scale purchases in line with their business operation whereas most of the coffee beans are sold to big food companies and coffee importers. Even though direct trade is a trending form of sourcing, coffee roasters, except the ones with considerable economic capital, purchase green beans from global north coffee importers that use direct trade as a method of transaction.

Finally, Hopkins and Wallerstein (1986) define commodity chains as “a network of labor and production processes whose result in a finished commodity”. However, there is a discrepancy in knowledge as the commodity partake in complex, long-distance flows (Appadurai, 1986). Production and consumption are the two categories of knowledge (Appadurai, 1986). Third Wave coffee brings together the knowledge of production and knowledge of consumption, particularly for roasters. However, since coffee is not consumed by most of the producers (Daviron & Ponte, 2005), there is a discrepancy in knowledge of production and knowledge of consumption. Therefore, producers don't have much information about the transformation that coffee beans go through after they are sold off. As green bean buyers, roasters, trainers hold both these sorts of knowledge, coffee producers should be informed about how production and harvesting processes could affect consumption.

Ceyda and Sevinç, two roasters located in İstanbul, frequently visit coffee origins. While these visits can be related to coffee bean selection, it is also about education of farmers. In May 2018, Ceyda posted a photograph on Instagram with Ethiopian farmers saying that “As being AST (authorized trainer) and Q Grader, I also believe that we can help and improve the skills of the producers, cuppers and our coffee partners by bringing the right knowledge to the origin.”. Sevinç, her business partner, elaborates how these trainings function in the interview ;

So what are we doing ? We try to go coffee origins as much as we can, with the money we made from coffee, to the extent that we can afford. We train producers and farmers about harvesting and methods of processing. I always give the same example to everyone. You can't explain a farmer in Turkey how to harvest. If he

is producing nuts, he knows them much more than we do. He is the best. But in Rwanda, this is not the case because they don't drink coffee up there. Because he has no idea what that product turn out to be in the hands of others. He doesn't know what coffee eventually will be. So, he just collects the product and sell them to dealers. It is the white man who does the commercial business in Africa. It's not the villagers (...) They sell the coffee beans – pay like 30 cents per kilo and sell them sometimes more than a couple hundred dollars if it's a nice coffee bean. But if you go there, to the farmers, and teach them the right way of harvesting and right way of processing, you can increase their income. Indirectly, of course. (...) So, if you can get good quality coffee bean, you can get better prices.

In a business environment in which specialty coffee is more expansive than commercial coffee, producers lack knowledge of consumption and power in the conduct of business, these trainings are crucial for social and economic well-being of producers as they increase their earnings. However, such practices does not pose a threat to the existing modes of trade relationships, nor does it embody a capacity for resistance. Nevertheless, these people struggle to enact change through providing complimentary agricultural education.

5.3.2. Fair / Direct Trade as Injustice Alleviation Method

Fair trade is an alternative approach through which producers are empowered by being paid fair prices for their products and communities of these producers are socially, economically and environmentally ameliorated (FLO, 2005). The formation of international fair tradecoffee is brought on by the termination of International Coffee Agreement⁶, which was called as neoliberalization of coffee by West (2010), formation of oligopolies and loss of control of exporting countries (Lyon, 2006). While fair trade is seen as a failure by some to bring social justice, direct trade proposed another mode of relationship in which roasteries built direct relationships with farmers by eliminating middlemen and certification systems that fair trade brought. Nevertheless, both methods favor to pay higher prices to producers that will benefit the socioeconomic conditions in these countries.

Most of the roasters and coffeeshop owners that I interviewed with work through direct trade relations. These people visit coffee origins, build relationships with farmers and engage in coffee selection process. However, as many have noted, direct trade necessitates

⁶International Coffee Agreement is signed first on 1962 between producing and consuming countries to arrange coffee prices and national quotas.

a considerable amount of economic capital. Roasters and coffeeshops that work through direct trade makes regular visits to the origins and purchases in large batches. As a small coffeeshop owner or a micro-roaster, direct trade is economically impossible for various reasons. They usually make small scale purchases around 1 or 2 kilos per month and can't afford to visit geographically dispersed coffee origins. This does not mean that the logics of commerce superseded the logics of social entrepreneurship. These individuals, on principle, work with importers and roasters that obtain coffee through direct trade. Creating a social value through direct trade relations, or at least opt in by purchasing and selling direct trade coffee, is the core principle. İlhan's point on the role of third wave coffee on the amelioration of social conditions provides a good example on the subject ;

I mean, if you are going to get industrial coffee beans, paying producers a dollar for a kilo, defected, full of bugs, an unethical coffee, and if you are going to package it in here, adding value to a dollar worth coffee bean and sell them for 200 dollars, this is commercial corruption. What we are trying to do in here is to contribute the tragic conditions on producing countries. To pay it back in the first place, and increase the quality of their life. (İlhan)

In İlhan's narrative, ethical commerce is the pillar of third wave coffee. In this sense, third wave coffee itself becomes a form of social entrepreneurship in which social value is generated through business principles. Specialty coffee, then, becomes a commodity that satisfies consumer demands and through which one can make a difference in producers' lives. Therefore, direct trade coffee becomes an expression of political and ethical judgments that is positioned against conventional business practices. Social value is generated through engaging in direct trade relations aiming at improving poor conditions of producing countries. However, the images of producing countries are created for those who are not capable of directly experiencing these conditions. These images achieved through "the particularization and personification of 'the producer'; text which highlights names, locales and specific practices; and the support of close-up images of individuals and their apparent domestic and/or working environments." (Adams and Raisborough, 2008). The following passage illustrates the role these images on mobilizing consumers who are motivated through "psychic landscape of social class" (Reay, 2005) ;

If a farmer can earn 10 dollars more in the end, this is an important thing for me. I'd prefer to purchase from someone that pays more. But I am not sure If I can know that, right ? This is the reason probably why I work with these roasters in the first place. I know there are roaster who get coffee beans from big importers with big amounts and then roast them. But I prefer roaster with micro business

operations. This is because they work with fair trade. I want farmer to earn more. Ceyda makes frequent visits to coffee origins, for instance. They have just gone to Rwanda, they've gone South America. She posted a video on Instagram, a video with kids, which was amazing. They are so hungry and so poor that I couldn't believe it. So, I prefer to purchase coffee beans from these people and make business with them.

The portrayal Deniz shares here is what Paige West (2012) called the virtual image of primitive farmers which suggest that as she involved in a direct trade relation with producers, more equitable living standards will be provided through engaging in political consumption. Therefore, these consumers undertake a social mission whose objective is to "dismantle the abuses of capitalism" through market breaking strategy (Hartmann, 2011) and emancipatory political projects (Giddens, 1991) through utilizing direct trade relations.

5.4. Decommodifying Practices

Third wave coffee embodies practices of decommodification through the discourses of artisanry, social entrepreneurship and anti-corporatism. These coffee aficionados form a symbolic relationship with coffee and reverse the commodity logic of mainstream coffeeshop in which coffee turned into fetishized commodity, in classical Marxian sense, that conceals human labor required to produce it . These practices involve (1) forming a connection with the food over their relationship with the farmers and (2) making coffee an extension of him/herself.

Third wave coffee share some similarities with community supported agriculture (CSA) consumers studies by Coskuner-Balli (2007) and Thompson in terms of practices of decommodification. In their account, the most significant aspect of transaction, which is encouraged by CSA ideology, is the relationship between customers, farms and farmers.

While such an application would be impossible or limited in scope since a regular visit to coffee farm would require a considerable amount of economic and cultural capital, coffee roasters can act as customer proxies (Lyon, 2007) to build this kind of connection between consumers and farmers. This does not mean that every coffee roaster is dedicated to form that relationship. In the following passage, Firat describes his relationship with food in general ;

You witness the progress of coffee in some ways. I mean, through one-to-one relationships. We enjoy forming a direct relationship. It is not only about coffee, you can also do that for the things you purchase in the market. If you know the producer of cheese, if you know the woman or men milking the cow, if you know processes that cheese gone through, how it become cheese, how it is packaged and delivered to you, then you can connect with the product or food. It will become more than just food you consume. This gives me a great pleasure in everything that I eat or drink. That's what I'm trying to do in coffee, and all people in the pursuit of quality coffee actually do this in a way.

Besides financially elevating farmers, direct trade has the advantage of eliminating the separation of production and consumption. It can be in the form of visiting coffee origins, contacting with farmers or cooperatives, and working with large green bean importers who works through direct trade. Therefore, being familiar with the producers and how coffee is produced in the farmyard makes coffee more than a commodity and facilitate a profound relationship with the food one is consuming.

While direct trade from the producers facilitates the decommodification of coffee by familiarizing consumers with the production side, identification tags on coffee packages makes them emotionally attached to the producers. All specialty coffee packages involves material information like country name, region, farm, name of the farmer, variety, processing method, and cupping notes. However, some coffee roasters share the story of the farmer and coffee bean with their clientele. The identification tag can show the picture of the farmers and their story, in which conditions they are living in, family life, etc., which makes consumers and coffee shop owners establish an emotional attachment to the producers through identification tags.

Third wave tells you a story actually. Look, this coffee is produced in that farm in this decare by joe and his sons. And you are in this business and in a way you can picture these images. For instance, probador gives with the cupping notes, photographs of farmers and families. This is amazing, you can feel that so much labor involved in this process. And when you think about trade relations in that regions, especially exploitation in Africa, in what conditions they produce coffee. I'm impressed with these images since I'm in the business, as someone who drinkscoffee. But I don't know how the others think. I'm sure roaster feel it as well, but the importer must be impressed.

While familiarity with the producer and emotional attachment with them are the practices of decommodification that are conducted over their relationship with farmers, another practice of decommodification making coffee one's own through transforming purchase into production. While coffee beans obviously collected and harvested by farmers,

craftsmanship in roasting and brewing transform coffee bean into something else that makes it distinctive from commercially produced coffee. Roasted coffee becomes an embodiment of the knowledge, skills and previous experiences of the craftsman. Therefore, it is detached from its commodity phase. This does not mean that the commercial value of coffee is disregarded. It basically highlights the relationship between roaster and coffee. As this relationship grows stronger, the quality of the outcome can get better as the roaster put more effort, which reflects the economic value of coffee as it reaches its potential. The recurrent metaphor that I came across in interviews I conduct and workshops I attended that roasters embrace coffee like their babies. The following passage illustrates this relationship ;

For example, when I get coffee as green bean, and turn it into something drinkable, brew it in a cup, when I brew the coffee that I roasted, it's an ineffable joy for me. It's like this ; let's suppose you have something like a plantation, you have planted some seed, harvested, etc. And you get your crops and eat them or cook some food with them. Now, would it be the same if you get some packaged food from the market ? That gives me pleasure.

5.5. The Logic of Commerce

A customer confused by the availability of coffee types. A coffee shop that opens at 11 am. An overpriced coffee and a muffin. “fly high with your dreams” as a Wi-Fi code. A brewing session that takes too long. These were the images of McDonalds commercial that caricatured third wave coffee shops. Hebdige (1979) asserts that the style of subcultures celebrated and ridiculed. However, psychic mechanisms are not the only responses to subcultures as they poses significant threat to hegemonic practices.

Third wave coffee movement initially formed around the logics of artisanry, anti-corporatism and social entrepreneurship, and therefore, ideologically challenged standardized and mass-produced coffee which was acquired through exploitative production relations. However, this does not mean that there are no challenging logics and practices at work. As Polanyi argued economic relations are disembedded through concealing the social relations in which products are produced. Third wave coffee, however, disembedded through introducing fair and direct trade. While the logics embedded in third wave coffee led to decommodification, a process of commodification followed as the movement become popular. Therefore, the change in the third wave coffee market will be analyzed in this section.

Kronotrop began its career as small coffee shop on a side street in one of the historical districts in Istanbul. The owner was performing one man show as he was roasting and brewing. In a short period of time, the first specialty coffee of Turkey enjoyed a great success and become “an essential Mecca for coffee enthusiast”. As an epitome of third wave coffee shop where one can get unique coffee beans and taste profiles from a barista who provides the story of the coffee bean, it would be unusual for Kronotrop not to be noticed by entrepreneurs and investors. In a couple years after its inception, Kronotrop was, first, partnered by Istanbul Food and Beverage Group and then fully acquired. After 4 years of its acquisition, Kronotrop transformed into a coffee shop with 8 branches located in upscale neighborhoods and shopping malls and continue to expand its operations through franchising and opening new stores in various cities.

Acquisition of Kronotrop and transforming it into a coffee shop chain is basically the co-optation of third wave coffee movement. Co-optation theory proposes that countercultures are symbolic forms of resistances that challenged the dominant culture and they are incorporated into the mainstream by commodifying their practices (Hebdige, 1979, Clark, 2003). Rebellious meanings are stripped away through commodifications and co-opted symbols that are depoliticized and trendy are left to be consumed (Clark, 2003 ; Schiele and Venkatesh, 2016). İlhan’s comments on the transformation of Kronotrop are as follows ;

You see what happened to Kronotrop ? It’s like another Starbucks. They are opening stores in shopping malls. It’s not something like that. They have franchise system. It would be better to stick a bullet in my head to give franchises in Turkey. This is an artisan business and you should stay small. As you grow, the quality drops. You cannot control it. It is not an end-product for god’s sake, the quality of barista determine everything. You should have the best barista and equipment, but this is impossible. I assume the franchise model would be like this ; they will provide cheaper and less quality beans. They don’t want to get expensive beans anyway, the guy who buys franchise. They are already roasting bad coffee beans, and lots of industrial coffee beans. They will do the same in the franchise system. And what ? People identify kronotrop with quality bean, that’s what I’m angry about. They will ruin it. It’s a different and big brand in Turkey. They could have grown in a different way. I don’t say you shouldn’t earn some money but it should not be grown as a culture that was pushed into the shopping malls. So, I’m against to have so many branches, to give franchise, and to open them in the shopping malls. For instance, the small kronotrop was a historical place. They closed it immediately. It should have stayed but they don’t respect it anyway. Let it stay there for 50-60 years, that’s the problem. They always want to grow in a minute and they lose their quality. I don’t expect something like a Japanese state of mind but it’s very bad in here.

The cooptation of Kronotrop violated the logics of third wave coffee at multiple levels. On the one hand, Franchise and branching are controversial issues in specialty coffee market as one has to keep hold of ownership in order not to gain corporate identity and maintain the standards offered in the original store. However, those who are acquiring franchise coffee shops are financially motivated, which culminates in increasing side product categories. Therefore, The quality of coffee was forsaken through engaging in franchise relationships and offering low-quality beans by acting with the logic of commerce. On the other hand, decommodified with the efforts of coffee aficionados, coffee once again recommodified through situating it into shopping malls where third wave coffee shops abstain from. Therefore, closing the original store, a small coffee shop located in an alley where one can directly interact with the barista and roaster, becomes a symbolic attack to the values and practices of third wave coffee. Yet another tenet of third wave coffee eroded as the movement popularized.

I think quality coffee is much more accurate and agreeable description. Because it is really coffee with quality. And the term comes from this ; when you say quality, it actually describe the quality of the product. Because you get a quality product from farm. It also define the commercial relationship between farmer and roaster. They engage in farming in a quality manner, like in the processing methods, and a great product is delivered to us. Also, the method of transaction has changed. We have direct trade now, like paying more to the farmers. Some concepts of ethical commerce come into play. That's what it is more or less.

Ilhan provided me with this answer when I asked him a very generic question ; “How would you define third wave coffee ? “ The response afforded two basic pillars of third wave coffee ; (1) the quality of coffee bean that is produced through “proper” agricultural methods, and (2) ethical commerce which enables consumers/producers to enact social change through their business and consumption activities. The practices and logics of third wave coffee bear a resemblance to slow food movement, which, for Labelle, would be a start for delving into social issues and corporate resistance. In this sense, third wave coffee possess countercultural values in its emphasis on artisanal and anti-corporate practices. As mentioned before, these countercultural values are the rejection of mainstream and perceived as a threat mainstream values. Therefore, countercultural values get through a depoliticisation process. In the following passage, how the definition of third wave coffee has changed can be seen ;

Coffee has indeed a culture, aroma from the earth and nature. And these are all nice tastes and aromas. To uncover these aromas, these brewery methods come out, what they called as third wave coffee. How do we penetrate these aromas into the water ? that's how they found new techniques. New method in pouring water, or brewing units like v60, chemex, aeropress. These are all about transferring aromas to the water. They call this process third wave coffee.

Berkay's portrayal of third wave coffee is quite unsettling in that the role of direct trade as a practice of citizen-consumer has been eliminated from its objectives. It is not the nature of trade relations but the attitude towards direct trade has changed. Direct trade lost its significance as a sociopolitical method and transformed into "the most expensive way of purchasing". Therefore, the political and social discourses in third wave coffee have been undermined and it is reduced to a style or a practice that has no critical bearing. It seems that West was quite right when she claimed that "the next decade will be the decade of coffee accouterments" (West, 2012 :249). As the market grows and new actors penetrates, social and political discourses have been replaced with more economic understandings.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this section, I will briefly overview this study. This research aims to explicate the marketplace logics operating in the field of third wave coffee in Turkey. Moreover, the interaction between these logics and their hierarchical relationship is examined. The connoisseurial consumption community organized around coffee have been investigated through ethnographic method.

In the first chapter, as the motto of third wave coffee , seed to cup – implies, I presented various practices involved in third wave coffee. Starting from farmers and ending with consumers, third wave coffee values every practice involved in coffee production and consumption. From harvesting to drinking, individuals and their practice shape consumption experience. Even a single mistake or “improper” application in production process, which is not limited to farmers but extended to baristas, has a severe effect on the quality of coffee bean.

In the second chapter, I have outlined relevant researches conducted in Consumer Culture Theory. This section provided literature that have focused only on market-level changes. These studies have examined marketplace logics, the relationship between marketplaces actors, consumer identity projects, subject-object relations, marketplace ideologies and myth. While change is conceptualized in varying degrees in these studies – from transformative to disruptive, the role of consumer in market-level changes can shift – from being subject of change to being under the effect of institutional actors.

In third chapter, I have explained the ways of conducting this research. I have adopted qualitative research technique in this study. A six month ethnography was conducted by participating coffee festival, coffee workshops to understand the coffee consumption practices proposed by third wave coffee. As the ethnographic part of the study was

finished, 15 semi-structured interview has been conducted with coffee enthusiasts who work as barista and roaster as well as own coffee houses.

In fourth chapter, I have provided details about the field as well as historical processes that led to the emergence of third wave coffee. Third wave coffee has been embraced by middleclasses who drew their consumption practices from western contexts. While picking particular forms of consumption practices, these consumers were embedded in a global consumer culture. The emergence of third wave coffee is also enabled through the demands of consumer for quality and taste in coffee as well as changing production processes and relations of power among marketplace actors.

In the last chapter, I have provided the institutional logic prevalent in the field of third wave coffee. The logic of artisanry is composed of the motif of artisan owner who shapes coffeeshop with his/her values and possess field-specific cultural capital, a paradoxical outlook towards automation, and craftsmanship of roasters and baristas. The logic of anti-corporatism includes the structuring effects of multinational companies on taste, changing their exploitative business practices through fair trade, and embracing coffee shop as a space of freedom. The logic of social entrepreneurship, on the other hand, endows farmers with bargaining power over dealer and conceptualize fair and direct trade as poverty alleviation method. While third wave coffee comprise of decommodifying practices thanks to these three institutional logics, market-level changes occur with the introduction of new actor to the field. The logic of commerce is now more associated with third wave coffee since it is co-opted by entrepreneurs, which not only led to commodification but also shifted the emphasis of third wave coffee on ethical consumption practices to a bunch of brewing methods.

Multiple parallels and contrasts can be drawn between the findings in this study and those of Arsel and Thompson (2004). They have studied the local coffeeshop patrons who have developed anti-corporate discourses with the political and aesthetic dimensions. The local coffeeshop culture in their case offers an authentic servicescape that fosters a spontaneous social and creative encounters among patrons as well as embodies countercultural values with their product offerings and decoration. However, a key difference between these studies is that while local coffee shop patrons were interested in an temporary social experience through which one can draw creative and artistic inspirations, the findings in this thesis shows that an enduring community is being formed between individuals who

shares the same passion towards coffee and possess similar consumption patterns. The community is organized around the proprietor who shapes the coffeeshop with his/her aesthetic tastes. The study also extends the anti-corporate discourses articulated by Arsel and Thompson (2004) by claiming that these coffeeshops have become spaces of freedom in which proprietors reclaim their autonomy which has been captured by corporate structures.

This study also highlights the role of uncontended consumers in the process of market change. Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) examined the role of plus-sized consumers who were demanding greater inclusion while lacking marketplace legitimacy. These consumers applied institutional logics operating in the field of fashion, publicized their demands and formed alliances with. Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) have argued that consumer mobilization occurred through identification with other consumers as well as institutional actors. While this thesis parallels with their study in that product related dissatisfaction can lead to market change by the efforts of consumers, it is also claimed that products may enable individuals to perform class-mediated practices. The market creation of third wave coffee was not only initiated with the discomfort with the unhealthy and distasteful coffee offerings, but it is also reinforced by the cultural alignment with the product that allows self-expression and improvisation and identification with global consumption community through tastes.

Moreover, this thesis provide insights on the role of consumer innovation on the formation of new markets. Martin and Schouten (2014) theorize consumption driven market emergence in which consumer innovation plays a fundamental role in the early stages. They argued that consumers with particular skills and resources creatively engage with the product and their practices have led to innovation, which, in the end, culminated in market emergence. The thesis supports their claim in that brewing and roasting are innovations in themselves. Each practice entails particular skills and knowledge which are acquired through home-barista activities of consumers. Being consumers in the beginning, they have gathered necessary tools and equipments for brewing. The idiosyncratic nature of brewing and roasting enabled the growth of the market as they facilitated these consumers to open coffeeshops.

In this thesis, I have examined the third wave coffee market formation in Turkey through investigating the institutional logic operating in this field. Engaging in consumption

practices in third wave coffee through ethnography, the dynamics of coffee consumption have been studied. The initial process of third wave coffee formation occurred with the efforts of uncontended consumers who were dissatisfied with the product offerings of second wave coffee companies. As globally connected individuals, a novel form of consumption practices has been picked up from the West. While their discontent enabled profit oriented entrepreneurial activities, it has been reinforced by the cultural alignment with global coffee community. While coffee provided them a connoisseurial consumption practice as well as a set of cultural consumption materials emphasizing aesthetics and cosmopolitanism (Bourdieu 1984, Holt 1998), it has also granted them a way of creating an ethical self through consumption (Adams and Raisborough 2008) and solving the ideological contradictions in their lives.

This thesis examined the third wave coffee market in Turkey through process-oriented perspective. And questioned how and why it emerged and changed. The third wave coffee market in Turkey emerged with the efforts of middle class individuals who were deeply connected to Western consumption practices. While they performed class-mediated consumption through and around coffee, they were also released from the bondages of corporate capitalism, which not only create unequal trade relations between nations but also shape these individual's morality and restricts their autonomy. While the third wave coffee market was formed around the logics that prioritize artisanry, anti-corporatism and social entrepreneurship, the emergence of new actors in the field who were informed by the logic of commerce shaped the marketplace by mitigating the significance of other institutional logics.

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APPENDICES

A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Interviewee background
 - a. Family education and occupation
 - b. Interviewee education and previous occupation
- 2) Interviewee relationship with coffee
 - a. How did s/he start coffee consumption ?
 - b. When and how did s/he meet third wave coffee ?
 - c. Coffeeshop opening process. How did s/he decide ?
 - d. What trainings did s/he attend ?
- 3) Opinions on third wave coffee
 - a. How it is defined for him/her ?
 - b. Do you consider yourself as third waver ?
 - c. Why do you think there is such an emphasis on the quality of coffee ?
 - d. Opinions on Starbucks, second wave coffee shops, coffee festivals
- 4) Coffeeshop
 - a. Consumer profile
 - b. How do you reach customersThe relationship with customers ?
 - c. Are you involved in consulting business ? If yes, elaborate.
- 5) Technical details on coffee consumption ?
 - a. Can you describe roasting, grinding, brewing processes ? How do these processes enhance coffee drinking experience ?
 - b. Manuel and automated processes in coffee
- 6) Cupping ?
 - a. How are cupping notes prepared ?
 - b. How do they standardize cupping notes ? or Is cupping subjective ?
- 7) Procedurement?
 - a. Where do they get coffee beans ?
 - b. What factor do you consider while purchasing coffee beans ?
 - c. How do producers affect the quality of coffee?

- d. Opinions on fair and direct trade.
 - e. Why are particular coffee beans so expensive ?
- 8) Barista championships ?
- a. Who evaluates their brewing ? What criterias do they take into account ?
 - b. Did you participate any local/global championships ?
 - c. When did you becoma a Barista ? Did you participate any certified training program? Do you improve yourself or is it possible ?
- 9) Coffeeshop details ?
- a. Who decided on the interior design ? Name, neighbourhood, music,menu.
 - b. Any regular activities organized in the coffee shop ? Workshops, trainings, etc.
- 10) Expectations ...
- a. Where do you think coffee business will go in the future ? Career plans

B. PERMISSION FROM HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
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25 Haziran 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgili: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Besim Can ZİRH

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız yüksek lisans öğrencisi Sıla AYÖZ'ün "Türkiye'de Üçüncü Dalga Kahve pazarı" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2018-SOS-129 protokol numarası ile 26.06.2018 - 30.12.2018 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN
Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
Üye

Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKCI
Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK
Üye

Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Ankara’da yapılan etnografi üzerinden üçüncü dalga kahve pazarının kurulum sürecini ve alandaki kurumsal mantıkları incelemektedir. Pazarlama araştırmalarında güncel bir teorik çerçeve olan kurumsal teoriyi ve Bourdieu’nun alan teorisini kullanarak, üçüncü dalga kahve alanındaki kurumsal mantıkları, bunların birbirleriyle olan etkileşimlerini ve zaman içerisinde yeni aktörlerin katılımıyla nasıl değişime uğradıklarını incelemektedir.

Üçüncü dalga adından da anlaşılacağı üzere kendinden önceki kahve özelindeki tüketim pratikleriyle ilişkilidir. Ancak kahve üzerine bir tüketim çalışması yapılacaksa tarihsel süreçte kahvenin yolculuğunu detaylandırmak önemlidir. Kahvenin yolculuğunu incelemek için Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda kurulan ilk kahve dükkanlarına gidebiliriz. Kahvenin bulunuş öyküsü çeşitli mitler içerse de genel olarak ilk kullanım alanı dini tarikatlar, daha da kesin olursak Sufiler, olmuştur. Kahvenin dini ritüelleri yerine getirmek için sağladığı fiziksel faydaların yanı sıra sosyal ve keyfî faydaları da olmuştur. Kahvenin 15. Yüzyılda Osmanlı tüketim ürünleri arasında girmesi ise yeni bir sosyal kurum olan kahve dükkanlarının doğmasına sebep olmuştur (Hattox, 1996). Kahve dükkanları daha çok erkek egemen mekanlar olup kişilerin vakitlerinin çoğunu geçirdiği buluşma mekanlarına dönüşmüştür. Ev, kamusal alan ve cami dışında bir ortam sunduğu için kahve dükkanları dördüncü mekan olarak sunulurken (Karababa ve Ger, 2010), Mikhail (2007) kahve dükkanlarını erkeklerin misafirlerini ağırladıkları mekanlar olarak görüp özel alanın uzantısı olarak görmüştür. Kahve üzerine yapılan atölyelerde kahve tarihinden bahsedilirken Osmanlı bağlamından sonra direkt olarak 20. Yüzyıldaki kahve tüketimine geçilir. Dolayısıyla üçüncü dalga kahvenin sunduğu tarihsel anlatıda kahvenin kıta avrupasına ve amerika’ya yayılma süreci, kolonizasyon ve üretim sürecindeki güç ilişkileri yer almaz.

Kahvenin dalgalar şeklindeki kategorileştirilmesi genellikle kahve kalitesi üzerinden kararlaştırılır. Birinci dalga kahve diye adlandırılan tüketim şekli dönemsel olarak 1900’lerin başı ila 1980’ler arasındaki zaman dilimine tekabül eder. Kahvenin Kuzey Amerika kıtasına yayılma sürecine odaklanan birinci dalga kahvenin öncüleri Folgers ve Maxwell House isimli şirketlerdir. Bunlar kahveyi seri üretim süreçleriyle müşteriye tedarik eder ve paketleme ve toz haline getirilmiş kahve ile müşteriye kolaylık sağlar.

Ancak granül kahve diye adlandırılan bu kahve türü kalite yönünden çok başarılı bulunmaz. İkinci dalga kahvecilik kahve kalitesini biraz daha ön plana çıkararak latte, espresso gibi yeni kahve türlerini kahve lügatına dahil eder ve farklı kavurma profilleri sunar. İkinci dalga kahveciliğin en büyük örneği 1971 yılında Seattle, Amerika’da kurulan Starbucks’tır. Şirket Avrupalı bir kahve dükkanını benimseyip çeşitli kahve kategorilerini içinde barındırarak milyarlarca dolarlık gelir elde etmiştir. Ancak ikinci dalga kahvenin problemi, her ne kadar kalite arayışı ile yola çıksa da kahve içmenin bir sosyal tecrübeye dönüşmesi ve kahvenin ikinci plana atılması olmuştur. Üçüncü dalga kahve de tam bu noktada ortaya çıkmış ve kahvenin kendisinin takdir edilmesi gereken unsur olduğunu ve kahvenin tıpkı şarap gibi karmaşık bir ürün olduğu ve üretilmesinin ve tüketilmesinin zanaatkarlık içerdiğini iddia etmektedir. Üçüncü dalga kahvecilerin genellikle kullandığı kahveye “saygı duymak” hem kahvenin biyolojik karmaşıklığını hem de üretim süreçlerinde harcanan emeği takdir eder. Kalitenin yanında ikinci dalgadan ayrıştığı bir diğer nokta ise butik işletmeciliktir. Kısaca kendilerini alışveriş merkezleri ya da ana caddeler gibi tüketim merkezli noktalarda konumlandırmak yerine hem ticari hem de kültürel kaygılarla daha tenha ve mahalli noktalarda yer alırlar. Butik mekanlar müşteri ve barista arasında daha rahat bir iletişim kurulmasını sağlayarak farklı bir sosyallik de kurmuş olur.

Son dönemlerki kahve tüketimi Türkiye’nin 1980’lerde geçirdiği pazar liberalleşmesi sonucu çokuluslu şirketlerin Türkiye pazarında yerini almasıyla yakında ilişkilidir. Kahve bağlamında Starbucks 2000’lerin başında üst-orta sınıfın uğrak mekanlarından olan Bağdat Caddesinde yerini almış ve kısa zaman içerisinde orta ve daha üst sınıfların tüketim alışkanlıkları arasına girmiştir. Üçüncü dalga kahvecilik ise Türkiye’de ilk olarak yine İstanbul’da Kronotrop adlı dükkan ile 2012 yılında pazara giriş yapmıştır. Kurumsal girişimci olarak adlandırılacak kişilerin kar odaklı eforları sayesinde başlayan market kuruluşu aynı zamanda orta sınıf olan bu kişilerin batı tüketim kültürüyle olan etkileşimlerinden bu tüketim pratiğini Türkiye bağlamına taşıması ve küresel kahve topluluğu ile beğeniler üzerinden özdeşleşmesi sonucunda gerçekleşmiştir. Bourdieu’nün iddia ettiğinin aksine kahve beğenisi erken toplumsallaşma döneminin ürünü değil daha sonra edinilen bir beğenidir (Manzo, 2010). İstanbul’da başlayan ve daha sonra Ankara’ya yayılan üçüncü dalga kahvecilik ilk olarak Tunalı ve Bahçelievler gibi bölgelerde kümelenmiştir. Güncel olarak çoğu üçüncü dalga kahve dükkanı bu iki bölge dışında Çayyolu ve Oran gibi yine tarihsel olarak orta sınıf mensubu vatandaşların yaşadığı ve cumhuriyetin kuruluş aşamasında şehrin genişlediği bölgelerde yer almaktadır.

Tarihsel olarak kahvenin biyografisinin incelenmesinin yanında üçüncü dalga kahve içerisindeki pratikler de diğer dalgalardan farklılık göstermesinden dolayı incelenmeye değer bir diğer konudur. Üçüncü dalga kahvecilik tohumdan fincana sloganını benimseyerek kahve üretiminden tüketimine kadar olan bütün süreçleri dikkatlice inceler ve önemser. Bu süreçleri detaylandırmak hem kahve tüketim pratiğini anlamak hem de tüketici motivasyonlarını ve kahveye atfedilen anlamları anlamak için önemlidir. Kahve üretimindeki ilk pratik çiftçinin ekeceği kahve türüne karar vermesidir. Arabica ya da robusta tohumları arasından kahve pazarı dinamiklerini ve yetiştirdiği bölgenin coğrafi koşullarını dikkate alarak bir seçim yapar. Üçüncü dalga kahvede genel olarak arabica tohumlar tercih edilir. Tohum seçiminin ardından ekilen kahve tohumları kaliteden ödün vermemek için neredeyse mükemmeliyetçi bir şekilde yetiştirilir. Kahve hasatı zaman zaman makine yardımı ile gerçekleştirilse de nitelikli kahve tohumları elle hasat edilmesi emek gerektiren bir süreçtir. Makine yardımıyla toplanan meyveler her ne kadar çiftçileri kolaylık sağlasa da çürük ve böcekli tohumları sağlıklı tohumlardan ayırma kabiliyeti gösteremediği için kaliteyi düşürür. Hasat edilen kahve daha sonra işlem sürecinden geçer. Nitelikli kahve çekirdekleri genellikle ıslak ya da kuru olmak üzere iki tür işlem sürecinden geçer. Islak işlem su gerektiren bir süreç olup her ne kadar daha nitelikli kahve çekirdekleri üretilmesine katkıda bulunsun da çevresel sürdürülebilirlik açısından daha verimsizdir. İşlendikten sonra kahve çekirdekleri adil ya da direkt ticaret yoluyla kavurucuların eline geçer. Adil ticaret 1970'lerde birçok meta pazarında popülerleşen çiftçilerin yaşam koşullarını düzeltmek amacıyla yola çıkmış alternatif bir ticaret ağıyken direkt ticaret adil ticaretin getirdiği sertifikasyonların hantallığını ortadan kaldırarak direkt olarak üretici ile ilişki kurup aracıları ortadan kaldırarak sistemi revize etmiştir. Tıpkı adil ticarete olduğu gibi direkt ticaret de üreticilere metalar için daha yüksek ücretler ödeyerek yaşam koşullarını iyileştirmektedir. Adil ya da direkt ticaretle elde edilen kahve çekirdeklerinin bir sonraki durağı kavurma odasıdır. Kavurma basit bir anlatımla tatsız ve aromasız kahve çekirdeklerini lezzetli bir içeceğe dönüştürme sanatıdır. Kavurma sürecinin hakimi olan kavurucu belirli teknik ve bilimsel bilgilere hakim olmakla beraber bir sanatçının yaratıcılığına da sahiptir. Üçüncü dalga kavurucuyu elindeki malzemeden en iyisini çıkarmaya odaklı bir zanaatkar olarak resmeder. Kavurulan kahve çekirdekleri daha sonra sahip oldukları tadım profillerinin keşfedilmesi için sertifikalı tadımcıların eline geçer. Kendi içerisinde belirli ritüelleri ve protokolleri olan tadım etkinliği sadece belirli sertifika sahipleri tarafından gerçekleştirilir. Kahve çekirdeğinden alınan tatlar daha sonra kahve paketlerinin üstlerine yerleştirilecek tadım notalarını oluşturur. Demleme tadımdan sonra gelen aşamadır. Bu süreçte kahve sıcak su

ile buluşturulup içime hazırlanır. Kahveyi demleyen kişi olan barista da tıpkı kavurucu gibi elinden gelenin en iyisini yapmakla yükümlü, kahve çekirdeğini tanıyan ve bunu içenlere aktaran bir zanaatkardır. Üçüncü dalga kahvenin son aşaması olan müşteriler ise kahve çekirdeklerini arama pratiği de denilebilecek olan şehirde ya da online mecralarda çeşitli kavuruculardan ya da baristalardan farklı kahveler keşfederek kahve deneyimleri yaşarlar.

Gıda tüketimi belirli biçimlerdeki pratikleri ve maddi detayları gerektirse de gıdanın kendisi bu maddilik ve pratiklerle birlikte sosyal mesajlar taşımaktadır. Bu sebepten ötürü Bauman ve Johnston'ın (2015) dediği gibi gıdanın tüketildiği ve üretildiği sosyal durumları araştırmak gerekmektedir. Bu çalışma üçüncü dalga kahve pazarındaki kurumsal mantıkları araştırma amacıyla başlamış ve yöntem olarak etnografiyi benimsemiştir. Ekim 2017'de Ankara kahve festivalinde pilot bir araştırma ile başladıktan sonra asıl araştırma Aralık 2017 yılında başlamış ve Haziran 2018'de bitmiştir. Araştırmacı daha önce kahveye dair herhangi bir bilgi sahibi olmadığı için araştırmanın ilk safhası kahve tüketicilerinin dilini, pratiklerini ve kavramlarını öğrenmek ile geçmiştir. Bu süreç içerisinde Ankara'daki birçok kahve dükkanında vakit geçirilmiş, müşterilerle, baristalarla, kahve dükkanı sahipleri ile kahve üzerine sohbet edilerek hem onların kahveye olan düşünceleri öğrenilmiş hem de sahaya dair bilgi edinilmiştir. Veri toplanması sürecinin ilk safhası Aralık 2017 ve Şubat 2018 arasında gerçekleşmiş olup bu süreç içerisinde düzenli olarak kahve dükkanları ziyaret edilmiştir. Veri toplanması sürecinin ikinci aşaması Mart-Haziran 2018 tarihlerinde gerçekleşmiş ve araştırmacı atölyelere katılmıştır. Bu atölyeler genellikle üçüncü dalga kahvecilik ve demleme üzerinedir. Bu atölyeler kahve üzerine bilgi sağlamakla beraber mülakat yapılacak kişilerin belirlenmesinde de yardımcı olmuştur. Veri toplanan bu iki süreçte toplamda 12 atölyeye ve 3 kahve festivaline katılmıştır. Bu süreçleri derinlemesine mülakatlar izlenmiş ve toplamda 12 erkek 3 kadından oluşan katılımcılarla mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Mülakat yapılacak kişilerin seçiminde öncelikle endüstriye yön veren isimler seçilmiştir. Daha sonra bu kişilerin tanıdıkları ve önerdikleri kişilerle mülakat gerçekleştirilmiştir. Son olarak da anlık kararlarla mülakat olmayı kabul eden katılımcılarla mülakat yapılmıştır. Bu üç tekniğin kullanımı hem zengin bir veri toplanmasına yardımcı olmuş hem de endüstrideki farklı aktörlerin bakış açılarını tanıma fırsatı sunmuştur. Mülakat yapılan kişiler genel olarak 25-40 yaş arasında olup üniversite eğitimi ve yüksek pozisyonlarda çalışmışlardır. Bu kişilerden 10'u Ankara'da ikamet etmekte olup 4 kişi ile yapılacak görüşme için İstanbul'a yolculuk yapılmıştır. 1 kişi ise İzmir'de yaşamaktadır fakat

Ankara'ya eğitimler için düzenli olarak gelmektedir. Mülakat soruları 3 ana konudan oluşmaktadır. İlk aşamada mülakat yapılan kişileri tanıma amaçlı geçmişlerine dair okul, aile, iş bilgisi ile başladıktan sonra kahveye olan ilgileri hakkında bilgi alınır. Daha sonraki aşama üçüncü dalga kahveye dair genel sorular katılımcıların bakış açılarını paylaşmasına yardımcı olur. Son aşamada kahve içmeye, demlemeyi ve kavurmaya dair teknik detaylar ile ilgili sorular sorulur. Veri analizi için mülakatlar ve saha notları bir araya toplanmış ve mülakatların ses kayıtları yazıya dökülmüştür. Çeviriler araştırmacının kendisi tarafından yapılmış ve harfi harfine çevrilmiştir. Araştırmada etik kaygılar da dikkate alınmış ve katılımcıların anonimliğinin sağlanması için farklı isimler kullanılmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra katılımcıların hepsi araştırmaya gönüllü katılım formunu imzalamışlardır.

Tez, literatür olarak tüketimi sosyokültürel bir bakış açısıyla inceleyen tüketim kültürü teorisine katkı sunmayı amaçlar. Tüketim kültürü teorisinin ve pazarlama araştırmalarının bir alt kategorisi olan pazar sistemi dinamikleri (Fischer ve Giesler, 2016) daha makro düzeyde sorular sorup değişime odaklı araştırmalar yapılması gerektiğini iddia eder. Pazaryeri değişimlerini ve tüketici pratiklerini incelemek içinse süreç teorizasyonu kullanılır (Giesler ve Thompson, 2017). Metodolojik yöntemleri de içeren bu olgu değişime üç ana kategoride bakar ; dönüşümsel, topolojik ve yıkıcı. Bu değişimlerin doğası birbirinden farklıyken onlara sebebiyet veren aktörler de kendi içlerinde hiyerarşik yapıya sahiptir. Bazı değişimler tüketicinin eylem kapasitesi ile gerçekleşirken kimisi ise pazardaki diğer aktörler ve kurumların şekillendirmesi ile gerçekleşir. Bu çalışmaya benzer içeriğe sahip bir çalışmada Erumur ve Çoskuner-Ballı (2015) Amerika yoga pazarının kurulumu sırasında pazardaki kurumsal mantıkları ortaya çıkarmış ve bunların kendi içerisinde zamanla nasıl değiştiğini göstermiştir. Başka bir çalışmada Scarabota ve Fischer (2013) pazarda kendilerine yeteri kadar ürün bulamayan büyük beden kadın müşterilerin pazarı başka alanlardan mantıklara başvurarak, kendilerini kurumsal girişimcilerle özdeşleştirerek, mevcut kurumsal mantıklara itiraz edip alanda güçlü aktörlerle işbirliğine giderek pazarda kendilerine uygun ve daha fazla seçenek yaratılmasını sağladıklarını göstermiştir. Yine pazar yaratımında tüketicilerin rolünü gösteren bir başka çalışmada Thompson ve Coskuner-Ballı (2007) altkültürel değerlern içeren organik gıda pazarının kurumsal şirketler tarafından kendi saflarına katılması sonucunda aynı güçte karşı koyulan Pazar kurulumunu detaylandırmıştır. Onlara göre organik gıda tüketen müşteriler topluluk tarafından desteklenen tarımcılık ile geçmişe dönül pratikler etrafında toplanarak, metalaşma karşıtı pratiklerde bulunarak ve zanaatkar

bir gıda kültürü oluşturarak sermaye tarafından ele geçirilen ve bozulan altkültürel organik gıda değerlerini tekrar oluşturmaktadırlar.

Kahve üzerine yapılan bir araştırmada ise Karababa ve Ger (2010) Osmanlı döneminde kahvehanelerin kurulum aşamasına ve osmanlı tüketicilerine bakar. Araştırmalarında kurumlar tarafından çeşitli sebeplerden yasaklanan kahvenin hem tüketiciler hem de kahve dükkanı sahipleri ve pazarlamacıların eforları sayesinde osmanlı pazarında yer bulması anlatılır. Osmanlı'daki kahve pazarı kurulumu müşteriler ve sermayedarlar kadar dini ve siyasi kurumları da içerir. Böylece Pazar kurulumunun sosyokültürel olduğu kadar politik ve ahlaki tarafları da gösterilmiş olur. Kahveye dair başka çalışma ise daha güncel olan Starbucks ve onun etrafında kurulan tüketim alışkanlıkları üzerinedir. Arsel ve Thompson'ın (2004) Amerika'da yaptığı çalışmada yerel kahve dükkanlarının Starbucks'a göre konumlandığı ve bu mekanlara giden müşterilerin kurumsallık karşıtı söylemler geliştirdiğini gösterir. Starbucks üzerine bir başka çalışmada ise Thompson, Arsel ve Rindfleisch (2006) Starbucks'ın duygusal markalaşma stratejisinin ikiz marka imajları ile zedelendiğini gösterir. Aktivistler tarafından oluşturulan bu imajlar, Starbucks'ın algılanan otantikliğine zarar vermektedir. Bu imajlara göre yerel kahve dükkanları Starbucks'ın aksine hem tüketicilere farklı kültürel bir tecrübe sunar hem de zanaatkar mal sahibi motifi ile müşterilerle daha samimi iletişim kurar ve belirli bir kültürel sermayeye sahip bireyler etrafında kurulmuştur. Bu araştırmalar ışığında bu tez kurumsal teoriyi ve Bourdieu'den alan teorisini kullanarak kurumsal mantıkları ve Pazar değişimini incelemektedir. Bu Pazar tüketiciler, kahve dükkanı sahipleri, kavurucular, baristalar ve eğitmenler gibi aktörleri içermektedir. Ancak katılımcıların çoğunda olduğu gibi bu aktörler birden fazla role sahiptirler. Araştırma 4 farklı kurumsal mantık teşhis etmiştir ; zanaatkarlık, kurumsallık karşıtlığı, sosyal girişimcilik ve ticaret.

Zanaatkarlık, Arsel ve Thompson'ın (2004) sunduğu zanaatkar mal sahibi motifi, otomatizasyonun yarattığı ikilem, kavurucunun zanaatkarlığı ve beğeni rejimi bileşenlerine sahiptir. Zanaatkar mal sahibi belirli değerler, tüketim pratikleri ve beğeniler üzerinden kahve dükkanında bir topluluk kurulmasına dikkat çeker. Burada zanaatkar mal sahibi hem etrafında belirli bir topluluk kurar hem de kendi değerleri ve beğenileri ile bu topluluktaki bireyleri kültürel sermayesi aracılığıyla yönlendiren, eğiten kişi konumundadır. Kahve dükkanı sahipleri kahveye dair altkültürel sermaye (Thornton, 1996) sahibi kişilerdir. Belirli yetkinlikleri ve kabiliyetleri çeşitli yöntemler aracılığı ile edinmiş ve müşterilerini ve kahve dükkanı çevresinde kurulan topluluğu eğitme

potansiyeline sahip olmuşlardır. Aynı zamanda kahve dükkanı ve müşteriler arasında kurulan samimiyete ve yakınlığa dayalı bu ilişki ikinci dalga diye tabir edilen kahve dükkanlarından farklıdır. Buradaki zıtlık ikinci dalga kahve dükkanlarında kişilerin müşteri olarak görülmesiyle üçüncü dalga kahve dükkanlarında bu ilişki ekonomik kaygılardan öte belirli zevklere ve beğenilere sahip insanların bir araya gelmesidir.

Otomatizasyonun yarattığı ikilem ise insan emeğine değer veren üçüncü dalga kahvenin zanaatkarlık mantığı içerisinde beğenin insan emeğinin önüne geçmesine tekabül eder. Buradaki ikilem baristanın rolü olan demlemenin makineler tarafından gerçekleştirilmesinden yana olmaktır. Baristanın kahve demlemesi sırasındaki suyun dökülüş hızı, dökülen yükseklik, ya da el ve bilek hareketlerindeki tahmin edilemezlik gibi değişkenler her demlemenin farklı tatlar ortaya çıkarmasına sebep olur. Bu bir noktada sürekli farklı tatlar keşfettiklerinden kahve heveslileri için pozitif bir durum olarak düşünülse de baristanın doğası gereği makineye kıyasla hataya daha yatkın oluşu optimal tadı almanın önünde engel oluşturur. Bu nedenden ötürü, zanaatkarlık mantığı çerçevesinde teknolojik ilerlemeler neticesinde baristanın demleme sürecini makineye bırakıp sadece kahve çekirdeğinin hikayesini müşteriye aktaran bir iletişim aracısına dönüşmesi beklenmektedir.

Bu çalışmada Sennett'in zanaatkarlık tanımı olan "bir işi başka bir şey için değil sadece kendisi için yapmak" benimsenmiştir (2009). Kahvenin tohumdan fincana olan bütün süreçlerinde nitelikli ürün üretme amacıyla olan çiftçi, kavurucu ve barista bu tanım ışığında iyi kahve üretmeye odaklanmış zanaatkarlardır. Ancak kendi içlerinde de bir hiyerarşik sıralama var. Endüstri içerisinde en büyük zanaatkarlık mertebesi kavurucuya bahşedilmiştir. Bunun bir sebebi kavurucunun birden çok çekirdeğe hakimiyeti, kahve çekirdeklerini ileri düzeyde tanıması ve bunun için harcadığı çabadır. Bunun yanı sıra doğru çekirdeği seçmek de önemlidir. Sadece kalite çekirdek değil kahvenin kendi kavurma profilinin kahve dükkanındaki diğer çekirdeklerle ve müşterinin damak zevkiyle oluşturacağı uyum da önemli parametrelerdendir. Ancak kavuruculara atfedilen zanaatkarlık mertebesi sadece teknik bilgiyle sınırlı değildir. Kavurucular aynı zamanda sanatsal bir yaratıcılığa sahiptir. Bu yaratıcılık kahveyi kavurma sırasında hangi tadın daha optimal olduğunu bulma noktasında ortaya çıkar. Kavurma süresinde birçok kahve çekirdeği deneme yanılma safhasından geçer ve belirli değerlerin birbiri ile uyum içerisinde olduğu ve kahvenin duyuşal olarak en fazla tatmin yaratacağı noktanın

bulunması gerekmektedir. İşte bu duyuşal yetenek ve teknik bilgi kavurucunun zanaatkarlığının parçasıdır.

Zanaatkarlık mantığının son bileşeni beğeni rejimleridir (Arsel ve Bean, 2013). Bu rejimler estetik ve pratięi birleştiren söylemsel mekanizmalardır. Üçüncü dalga kahvedeki beğeni rejimleri zanaatkar mal sahibi tarafından yayılır ve oluşturulur. Bu rejimler genel itibariyle kültürel tüketim pratikleri ile alakalıdır. Bir taraftan organik ve sağlıklı beslenmeyi öne çıkaran gıda tüketimi teşvik edilirken bir yandan da kahve dükkanları yaratıcılık, uzmanlık gerektiren ve öğrenmeye dayalı tüketim aktiviteleri sunmaktadır. Kahve dükkanları sadece kahve içilen mekanlar deęil, jazz konserlerinin, komedi şovlarının, kil atölyelerinin düzenlendięi mekanlardır.

Üçüncü dalga pazarındaki bir dięer mantık ise kurumsallık karşıtlığıdır. Bu mantığın ilk bileşeni çokuluslu şirketlerin beğeniler üzerindeki başatlığıdır. Burada bahsedilmek istenen konu Starbucks ve Nestle gibi şirketlerin insanlara kahve adı altında aslında kahve olmayan şeyleri tekdüze bir lezzette satması ve insanların kahve algısını ve beğenisini şekillendirmesinin eleştirisidir. Bunun karşısında üçüncü dalga kahve ikinci dalga kahvenin sunduęu homojen ve sıkıcı lezzetlerin aksine çok fazla kahve çekirdeęi opsiyonu sunarak kullanıcılara keşif duygusunu sunar. Bir dięer bileşen ise adil ticaretin Pazar reformu (Jaffee, 2007) olarak kullanılmasıdır. Burada bahsedilen ise kahve ticaretinin çokuluslu şirketlerin tekeline sömürüye dayalı bir düzende işlemesine karşı duyulan rahatsızlıktır. İkinci dalga kahve, ki bu akım neredeyse tamamen çokuluslu şirketler üzerinden ilerlemektedir, çiftçilere daha az ücret ödeyerek onları sömürürken üçüncü dalga kahve alternatif bir ticaret yöntemi seçerek adil ve direkt ticaret üzerinden pazarda reform yaratma çabası içerisindedirler. Bu yöntemim sosyal boyutu olduęu kadar pazardaki üretim ilişkilerinde ve hiyerarşik yapıda bir deęişiklik çabası da vardır. Kurumsallık karşıtlığının son bileşeni ise kahve dükkanlarının özgürlük mekanları olmasıdır. Katılımcıların büyük bir kısmı Türkiye'nin 2000'lerin başında geçirdięi neoliberal dönüşüm dalgası sırasında iş hayatına başlamış ve karşılaştıkları manzaradan memnuniyetsizliklerini dile getirmişlerdir. Bu memnuniyetsizlik Guercini ve Cova'nın (2017) sunduęu alışılmamış girişimcilik ile sonuçlanır. Bu süreçte katılımcıların kahveye olan tutkuları bu alanda gerekli bilgi ve yetkinleri kazanmaları sonucunda yenilięe gitmeleri ile başlar. Bu yenilik kavurma ve demlemedir. Ancak sadece birey deęil topluluk da alışılmamış girişimciliğin ortaya çıkmasında etkilidir. En nihayetinde kahve dükkanları katılımcılara sömürüye dayalı , özerkliklerinin kısıtlandığı kurumsal hayattan çıkıp özgürlüklerini yaşayacaklarını mekanlar sunmuştur. Kısaca, katılımcılar hem Starbucks

gibi çokuluslu şirketlerin beğeniler hem de bireylerin hayatlarındaki tahakkumu yıkmışlardır.

Üçüncü dalga kahve alanındaki bir diğer kurumsal mantık sosyal girişimciliktir. Burada anlatılmak istenen ekonomik yarardan ziyade toplum içerisindeki dezavantajlı gruplara yardım etme amaçlı girişimlerdir. Bunun ilk yöntemi çiftçilere hakkında çok az bilgi sahibi oldukları tarımsal faaliyetler hakkında bil vermektir. Bu sayede üreticiler ticari ve nitelikli kahve arasındaki farkı öğrenecek ve daha pahalı olan nitelikli kahveyi üreterek gelirlerini, dolayısıyla yaşam standartlarını yükselteceklerdir. Bir diğer yöntem ise ülkelerdeki sosyal durumu düzeltmek ve fakirliği azaltmak motivasyonu ile bütün ticari değişim yöntemleri arasında adil ve direkt ticareti seçerek bu methodlar aracılığıyla ticaret yapmaktır.

Son kurumsal mantık ise ticaret mantığıdır. Esas olarak zanaatkarlık, kurumsallık karşıtlığı ve sosyal girişimcilik özelinde kurulan üçüncü dalga kahve pazarı yeni aktörlerin pazara katılmasıyla daha ekonomik bir mantığa bürünmüştür. Bunun ilk kıvılcımları Türkiye'deki ilk üçüncü dalga kahve dükkanı olan Kronotrop'un sermaye tarafından satın alınması ve franchise olarak birçok şehirde alışveriş merkezlerine açılması şeklinde olmuştur. Bu faaliyet iki bakıma üçüncü dalga kahve mantıklarıyla uyuzmaz. İlk olarak franchise konsepti ekonomik olarak motive olmuş kişiler tarafından kullanıldığı için ilerleyen dönemlerde nitelikli kahve kullanımının azalmasına ve kahveye olan saygının yitirilmesine sebep olmasından dolayıdır. İkinci sebep ise içerisinde metalaşma karşıtı pratikler bulunduran üçüncü dalga kahve dükkanlarının tüketime yönelik mekanlar olan alışveriş merkezlerine yerleştirilmesidir. Bu bir bakıma kendi altkültürel ve politik değerleri olan üçüncü dalga kave akımının sermaye tarafından depolitize edilerek kendi saflarına katılması hikayesidir. Bu depolitizasyon ise üçüncü dalga kahve tanımı içerisindeki adil ve direkt ticaret gibi etik işletmecilik kavramlarının sökülmesi ve yerine bu akımın birkaç demleme metoduna indirgenmesi şeklinde olur.

Özetle bu tez Türkiye'de son dönemde popülerleşmekte olan üçüncü dalga kahve akımına kurumsal teori ve alan teorisi çerçevesinde bakmış ve bu pazarın içerisindeki kurumsal mantıkları ve bunların zamanlar nasıl değiştiğini incelemiştir. Kuruluş aşamasında zanaatkarlık, kurumsallık karşıtlığı ve sosyal girişimcilik temelleri üzerinde kurulu olan üçüncü dalga kahve pazarı daha sonra sermayenin de girişimi ile daha ticari bir bakış açısına sahip olmuş ve diğer mantıklarla çelişen ve onları yok sayan pratikler içermeye başlamıştır.

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