CONNOISSEURSHIP CONSUMPTION AND MARKET EVOLUTION: AN INSTITUTIONAL THEORY PERSPECTIVE ON THE GROWTH OF SPECIALTY COFFEE CONSUMPTION IN THE USA

ABSTRACT

How does the increasing prevalence of connoisseurship consumption affect the market? Drawing from institutional theory, we develop answers to this question. Inspired by the legitimacy concept, we evaluate the specialty coffee consumption context in order to advance and systematically analyze the role of connoisseurship consumption in the market. In extensive qualitative study, 542 newspaper articles from 1980 to 2013 were collected, and 265 were analyzed. This research offers two main contributions to the existing literature. First, several types of cultural-cognitive legitimacy (including consumer generational, health concerns, and taste) began to shift in the 1980s, which increased the connoisseurship consumption and affected the market well into the 2000s. Second, connoisseurship consumption arises when marketplace actors intersect with the tastes and desires of consumers.

Keywords: Connoisseurship Consumption; Institucional Theory; Specialty Coffee

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the last years, many scholars in the consumer culture field (Arnould & Thompson, 2005) have attempted to understand how market evolves. According to Giesler (2008), "The process of market evolution is central to marketing" (p. 739), and more empirical research addressing such transformations is necessary to better understand what Cayla & Arnold call our "rapidly changing and increasingly complex market environments"(2013, p. 1). Market evolution "is a result of many interacting historical forces, including changes through technological innovation, competitive pressures, and the legitimation struggles among opposing groups of consumers and producers" (Giesler, 2008, p. 739).

The consumer culture field has addressed the issue of market evolution through considerations such as how new markets are created (Humphreys, 2010a), why some consumption practices become legitimate in the market (Humphreys, 2010b), how markets change (Giesler, 2008), why a countervailing market is created in response to co-optation efforts (Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007), how a stigmatized deviant practice becomes a fashionable and ordinary choice in the market (Sandikci & Ger, 2010), why and how marginalized consumers mobilize to seek greater inclusion in and more choices from mainstream markets (Scaraboto & Fischer, 2012), and how and if new markets can form in the absence of significant resistance, conflict, or stigma (Martin & Schouten, 2014). Thus far, however, little research in the marketing field has addressed the market dynamics in a context where consumers involved in connoisseurship practices take part in some aspect of institutional market change.

This study details how the increasing prevalence of connoisseurship consumption affect the market. We conducted an extensive analysis of the market in the context of specialty coffee. We interpreted the qualitative data by drawing on the concept of legitimacy from institutional theory, which proposes that any institution is supported by regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive legitimacy (Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995). The legitimacy concept has been used by many scholars to understand markets and the consumer's perception and practice (see Coskuner-Balli & Thompson, 2013; Humphreys, 2010a, 2010b; Kates, 2014)

The context of specialty coffee was chosen because it offers the opportunity to examine several important issues. Preliminary research revealed that significant changes in the specialty coffee consumption and market occurred during the 1980s.

According to Roseberry, the specialty coffee market grew after 1980 because there was "a complex, if specific, intersection between the shaping actions of various actors in the coffee trade and the needs, tastes, and desires of particular groups of consumers and potential consumers" (1996, p. 140). Roseberry considered "the larger comercial, financial, and technological changes with which the move to specialty coffees was associated" (1996, p. 129), but he failed to evaluate the consumer and connoisseurship consumption. Furthermore, several data sources have documented the history of the events leading up to the expansion of the specialty coffee market.

This research offers two main contributions to the existing literature. First, several types of cultural-cognitive legitimacy (including consumer generational, health concerns, and taste) began to shift in the 1980s, which increased the connoisseurship consumption and affected the market well into the 2000s. Second, connoisseurship consumption arises when marketplace actors intersect with the tastes and desires of consumers. The article is organized as follows. We first present the elements of institutional theory that are relevant for understanding the market evolution. Next, we describe the research context, method, and data collection process. We then present the findings and analysis, and conclude with the contributions and ideas for future research.

2 CONNOISSEURSHIP CONSUMPTION

Connoisseurship means applying a highly nuanced schema in order to understand, evaluate, and appreciate consumption objects (Holt, 1998). In the marketing literature, "connoisseurs" are consumers who acquire a level of symbolic capital and cultural capital that distinguishes them from their peers. A connoisseur consumer is a person who has differentiated consumption knowledge compared to other consumers due to his or her expertise or taste in the marketplace (Bourdieu, 1984). Consumers produce subjectivity through connoisseurship (Holt, 1998). Connoisseur consumers (Ahuvia, 2005; Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1997; Kozinets, 2002) have distinct taste knowledge (Bourdieu, 1984) and "possess a high level of pertinent cultural capital that legitimizes their competence to play a special (dominant) role" (Holbrook, 1999, p. 146), According to Holbrook, connoisseurs attain "specialized training, acquired expertise, artistic knowledge, and aesthetic experience in the relevant domain" (199 p. 146), as also known as connoisseurship consumption, which then serves as the link between cultural capital and

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social position within a cultural field. However, the role played by consumer connoisseurship consumption and its effect on the market has received less attention in the literature, a gap that this research is intended to fill.

In 1990s, coffee connoisseurship consumption increased as observed by Kozinets (2002). In his netnography research, the author found that coffee connoisseurship was repeatedly taught on the newsgroup that he followed and also that "Starbucks, simultaneously, raised the consciousness of coffee connoisseurship, the demand for coffee shops, the sales of coffee-flavored ice cream and cold drinks, and the market price of a cup of coffee" (2002, p. 66). Connoisseurship requires reconfiguring mass cultural objects (Holt, 1998) and applying a highly nuanced schema to understand, evaluate, and appreciate them. Ahuvia (2005) described examples of connoisseurship in which everyday items (cartoons and popcorn) are appreciated in terms of abstract aesthetic properties and high levels of expertise. Connoisseur style is expressed through consumption practices even if the object itself is widely consumed or ignored by other consumers. Connoisseurs accentuate the aspects of the consumption object and also develop "finely grained vocabularies to tease out ever more detailed nuances within a category, the expression of opinionated and often eclectic evaluations of alternatives, and the ability to engage in passionate appreciation of consumption objects meeting one's calculus of 'quality' within a category" (Holt, 1998). Holt (1998) reveals that consumers produce subjectivity through connoisseurship. The connoisseur is empowered by field-specific cultural competence (Holbrook, 1999), cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1984), authenticity and genuineness (Kozinets, 2002), and discernment (Ahuvia, 2005).

3 INSTITUTION THEORY AND LEGITIMACY

Scott defines institutions as "multifaceted systems incorporating symbolic systems—cognitive constructions and normative rules— and regulative processes carried out through and shaping social behavior" (1995, p. 33). Scott then introduces the concepts of regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive legitimacy (see Deephouse & Suchman, 2008; Humphreys, 2010a), which include what Lawrence and Phillips term the practices, understandings and rules that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of life (2004). Scott notes, "Although constructed and maintained by individual actors, institutions assume the guise of an impersonal and objective reality" (1995, p. 34). Yet, it is still necessary to consider the actions of

individuals, as Humphreys argues: "By understanding the coordinated efforts of individual actors to build these social structures, we can understand how consumption practices attain legitimacy" (2010b, p. 491). Institutional theory, then, is a broad framework that can be used to study the increasing prevalence of connoisseurship consumption in the marketplace. In the marketing field, many scholars have used institutional theory to understand consumer behaviors, firms, and market systems (Arnold et al., 2001; Grayson, Johnson, & Chen, 2008; Handelman & Arnold, 1999; Humphreys, 2010a, 2010b; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2012).

Legitimacy is central crucial concept in organizational institutionalism (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). Suchman defines legitimacy as a "generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (1995, p. 577). The concept of legitimacy has been refined into several dimensions, including regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive (Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995), and Humphreys notes that "institutions are established to the degree to which they are supported by these three elements" (2010a, p. 2). Regulative legitimacy is the degree to which institutions constrain and regularize behavior through explicit regulative processes, rule setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities (Scott, 1995). Regulative legitimacy is the degree to which a practice conforms to rules and regulations defined by an organization, such as government and association. Normative legitimacy, then, "connotes the shared value premises that structure collective assessments of the good and the bad, that which is to be desired and that which is to be shunned, right and wrong" (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). Normative legitimacy is the degree to which the practice is perceived to be congruent with dominant norms and values. Finally, cultural-cognitive legitimacy is the degree to which the practice is taken for granted (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008), or the ease with which a practice can be categorized and understood according to a common framework of meaning. Both culture and cognition are critical elements of this type of legitimacy because, as Humphreys explains, "though cognitive schemas exist individually, these schemas are created and reinforced through cultural process and representations" (2010a, p. 4).

Many marketing scholars are using the concept of legitimacy to understand how institutions attempt to change markets and influence consumer practices. Humphreys (2010a) demonstrated the roles of normative and regulatory legitimacy in facilitating the adoption and eventual acceptance of the industry of casino gambling. Using the same context and a different approach, Humphreys

examined the "influence of changes in the institutional environment over time on the meaning structures that influence consumer perception" (2010b, p. 490). Scaraboto and Fischer drew on the concept of legitimacy, institutional logics, and institutional entrepreneurship to conceptualize the notion of "consumers' quest for greater inclusion within markets as commensurate with these consumers seeking greater legitimacy within the field" (2012, p. 1237). Specifically, this study draws on cultural-cognitive concept to understand the increasing prevalence of connoisseurship consumption in the marketplace.

To understand the shift in the cultural-cognitive legitimacy in connoisseurship consumption during the last decades, media articles were analyzed. According to Deephouse and Suchman (2008), media article analysis is a popular approach for verifying the cultural-cognitive legitimation process because it is more appropriate for emerging practices than for more established ones. In the marketing field, Humphreys used newspaper articles to understand, on a cultural level, the creation of markets (2010a), how changes in public discourse and regulatory structure affect the acceptance of consumption practice (2010b), and how media frames affect consumer judgments of legitimacy (Humphreys & Latour, *2013*). Rosa et al. (1999) used industry newspaper and consumer magazine articles to explore the origins and evolution of product markets.

4 SPECIALTY COFFEE AND CONNOISSEURSHIP CONSUMPTION

Coffee consumption plays an important role in the consumer culture. Coffee is, according to Sherry, "perhaps the primary key symbol in contemporary consumer culture" (1995, p. 357). It is the beverage of postmodernism (Roseberry, 1996). Roseberry studies the rise of so-called "yuppie coffees" and the reimagination of class in the United States. Karababa and Ger (2011) researched the formation of the consumer subject in Ottoman coffeehouse culture. Sherry (1995) interpreted the cultural meanings of coffee as depicted on prime-time network programming. Furthermore, the coffee market has one of the most famous global brands, the Starbucks coffee shop. Most of the academic interest in specialty coffee consumption has focused on or has arisen as a result of Starbucks. Many marketing research studies have analyzed the influence of Starbucks in the marketplace, such as consumers' (anticorporate) experiences of globalization (Thompson & Arsel, 2004), emotional branding and doppelgänger brand image (Arsel, Rindfleisch, & Thompson, 2006), hegemonic brandscapes (Thompson & Arsel, 2004) boycotts and out-

sourcing of politics (Simon, 2011), coffee culture and consumption in Japan (Grinshpun, 2013), and global consumer culture in Scandinavia (Kjeldgaard & Ostberg, 2007).

The new specialty coffee is considered more genuine than the concentrated and mass-market standardized products of the trade. The term "specialty coffee" was first coined by Erna Knutsen, of Knutsen Coffee Ltd., in a 1978 speech, to refer to beans with unique flavor profiles that were produced in special geographic microclimates. Presently, specialty coffee is "defined by the quality of the product, whether green bean, roasted bean, or prepared beverage, and by the quality of life that coffee can deliver to all of those involved in its cultivation, preparation and degustation. A coffee that delivers satisfaction on all counts and adds value to the lives and livelihoods of all involved is truly a specialty coffee" (Rhinehart, 2009). Although the specialty coffee market was recognized as a new market segment opportunity in 1980, together with the establishment of the Specialty Coffee Association of America in 1982, "the specialty coffee business significantly appeared in the USA during the 1960s with sales amounting to about $45 million in 1969. The segment grew enormously during the late 1980s rising $2 billion in 1994 and $9 billion in 2003" (Cassia, Fattore, & Paleari, 2006). The authors note that, despite its beginnings in a small niche, specialty coffee has topped the retail sales of traditional products since the beginning of the 2000s.

5 METHOD AND DATA COLLECTION

To understand how the increasing prevalence of connoisseurship consumption affect the market, we evaluated media coverage of the specialty coffee market and consumption by analyzing primary documents such as newspaper articles from between 1980 and 2013 following procedures set forth by Golder (2000). According to Humphreys (2010a), newspaper articles are a kind of mass-media discourse that both reflect and influence public perceptions differently compared to blogs, magazines, or legal documents. The author emphasizes "although it is well known that newspaper reporters approach their subjects with their own agendas and ideological orientations, the articles they write have often been used by scholars as a barometer for public consensus and collective meaning". We identified well-known newspapers that cover business news and trends in coffee consumption and the coffee market. These types of prestige media were the *New York Times*, which has frequently been used by scholars to understand marketplace changes (Arsel & Thompson, 2011), the *Wall Street Journal*, which covers news on a wide

range of industries (Scaraboto & Fischer, 2012), and *USA Today*, in order to understand the cultural and cognitive shifts. These three newspapers have the largest circulations of all newspapers in the United States, and they have a readership in all 50 states (Humphreys, 2010). Using the search engine for the Factiva database, the first author searched all three newspapers for one or more of the terms "coffee connoisseur," "independent coffee," or "specialty coffee" in the text or headline of the article. These search yielded 542 articles, 277 of which were not related to the specialty coffee context. Two hundred and sixty-five articles did offer some industry-level analysis between 1980 and 2013.

Each of the 265 articles that discussed coffee marketplaces and the institutional actors in the research field was analyzed to understand the specialty coffee market and coffee connoisseurship consumption, following a threefold application of the hermeneutic analysis approach (Thompson, 1997) described by Giesler (2012). First, an intratextual analysis was performed in order to elicit and understand the specialty coffee market consumption that were described in the newspaper articles. It was conducted to identify the connoisseurship consumption practices narrative used in each article. Second, an intertextual analysis was done to look for patterns and differences across different articles. Third, an intertemporal analysis (Giesler, 2008) was conducted in order to connect these interpretations to various phases of a particular historical process (Giesler, 2012). Following guidelines offered by Miles and Huberman (1994), we coded articles individually and then looked for patterns between them, finding similarities and differences amongst the newspapers. We coded common themes and narrative using a process of analytic induction, tracking between theory and data, until some stability was reached in interpretation. We first coded the data for themes and narratives within each newspaper and then across them. Next, we analyzed the relationship in themes and narratives over the years, tracking commonalities and differences in narratives used to explain the evolution of coffee connoisseurship consumption. We sought to explicate the discourses that framed how coffee connoisseurship consumption was represented since 1980s. The analysis looked for evidence of institutional understandings of coffee connoisseurship consumption market evolution. The second author interacted with the first author during the data collection and jointly interrogated the written research material.

6 ANALYSIS OF THE SPECIALTY COFFEE MARKET EVOLUTION

Both consumers and the specialty coffee marketplace have been changing for more than three decades, and, as a consequence, the coffee consumption practices have been changing as well. In her article in the FlameKeeper Newsletter about specialty coffees, Skeie (2003) divided coffee consumption history in three coffee waves, each of which is described in Exhibition 2. Only in the third wave could the structural elements (Rook, 1985) of the taste transformation ritual be provided by the specialty coffee culture, and also the Driver's (1991) social gift: ordering the society, developing a community, and transforming the consumer. However, it is worth mentioning that the performance of the taste transformation ritual and the spread of the connoisseurship consumption in the specialty coffee context only became possible with the development of coffee consumers' and professionals' skills, the growth of barista professionalism, the increasing number of high-end independent coffee shops in the marketplace, the launch of cutting-edge equipment, the development of high technology, and the growth of social media. According to the netnographic research conducted by Kozinets (2002), in the 1990s, coffee connoisseurship, taste refinement practices increased and were frequently taught on the online newsgroup that he followed.

Next, we explain each coffee wave that has occurred in North America and compare them with the Brazilian specialty coffee context, which does not have the structural elements necessary for the taste transformation ritual to be performed.

Exhibition 1 - Coffee waves

CHARACTERISTICS	WAVES		
	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD
Beginning	After the Second World War	1980s and 1990s	2000s
	Industrialization of coffee roasting and production	Birth of specialty coffee	Aesthetical and ethical vision Fairtrade and Direct Trade
Coffee bean	Robusta Coffee[1]	Arabica Coffee[1]	Single-origin coffee: region, characteristics and year
Coffee as	Commodity	Mass consumption	Artisanal brewing
Slogan	Caffeine	Real coffee	Better cup of coffee
Meaning	Energy	Sophisticated consumption	Coffee properties and nuances
Coffee Preparation	Instant soluble (filter coffee)	Espresso machine in coffee shops	Pour over coffee: single dose (flavor enhancement). Hario V60, Chemex, French press
Predominant Companies	Industries Procter & Gamble (Folgers Coffee) Kraft Foods (Maxwell House) Nestle	Global coffee shop (landscape brand): Starbucks	Independent coffee shop (local brands): Intelligentsia Stumptown

Adapted from Skeie (2003, pp. 2-5) and our data collection
[1] Arabica vs. Robusta beans: Arabica beans contain half the caffeine of Robusta, are less bitter and more flavorful, and are generally preferred for premium brands (Clark, 2005, October 14).

Specialty coffee is related to the second and third waves, but many ideas were borrowed from the first wave. The first wave's mission was to increase coffee consumption exponentially (Skeie, 2003). During this period, coffee grew in popularity. Brands and corporations such as Procter & Gamble (Folgers Coffee), Kraft Foods (Maxwell House), and Nestlé, known as the Big Three, were the main players in the coffee market. They were (and still are) the mass marketers, providing mass production and mass consumption. As a commodity, coffee during the first wave was characterized by low price and low quality. The second wave saw the birth of the specialty coffee market. According to Skeie (2003), the American market was influenced by the Italian coffee market, and the espresso machine made it possible to increase the assortment and variety, increase the speed of serving customers, and improve the coffee's flavor. During this period, the role of coffee shops increased in importance, with Starbucks leading the marketplace. Companies as

Starbucks (with fifteen thousand stores worldwide) and Peet's (with 217 locations in the United States) created in the specialty coffee market new opportunities for consumers to taste something different than regular coffee (Williams, 1994, January 19). In the United States, "Independent coffee shops accounted for more than half of the industry's growth between 1996 and 2001, when the number of U.S. coffeehouses doubled to 13,300, including Starbucks" (Helliker and Leung, 2002, September 24). In the 2000s, the specialty coffee market grew rapidly, achieving impressive results. In 2000, the specialty coffee industry hit the $8 billion mark, and by 2006, it had reached $12 billion (http://www.scaa.org). Starbucks played an important role helping specialty coffee market achieve this result (Hartmann, 2011).

However by the end of 2000s, the numbers of coffee shops increased as never before. According to Simon, in the 2000s, Starbucks "was losing its hold on cultural leaders, the kinds of people others

emulate. Now that Starbucks and its style are everywhere, its customers can no longer distinguish themselves from others by drinking venti lattes" (2011). In 2009, for the first time in its history, Starbucks had to close 900 stores worldwide (Horovitz, 2011, March 7). Simon notes, "Starbucks customers liked Starbucks because, they thought, it did in fact draw distinctions between themselves and the vast American consumer sea of middlebrow tastes and sensibilities - that is, until it became rather middlebrow itself" (2011). In addition, the company's emotional-brand strategies (aggressive growth, highly publicized market domination, and omnipresence) "no longer mesh with its appeal to a countercultural, bohemian sensibility" (Thompson, Rindfleisch & Arsel, 2006, p. 60) and compromise the perceived authenticity of its emotional-branding story, and conduct the emergence of a doppelgänger brand image which is "a family of disparaging images and meanings about a brand that circulate throughout popular culture" (Thompson, Rindfleisch & Arsel, 2006, p. 50). Schutz, the company's owner, recognized that Starbucks had to deal with a dramatic change in consumer behavior, new competitors (from multinational corporations and independent coffee shops), the digital revolution, and the financial crisis and subsequent economic recession (Schultz & Gordon, 2012) in the late 2000s and early 2010s.
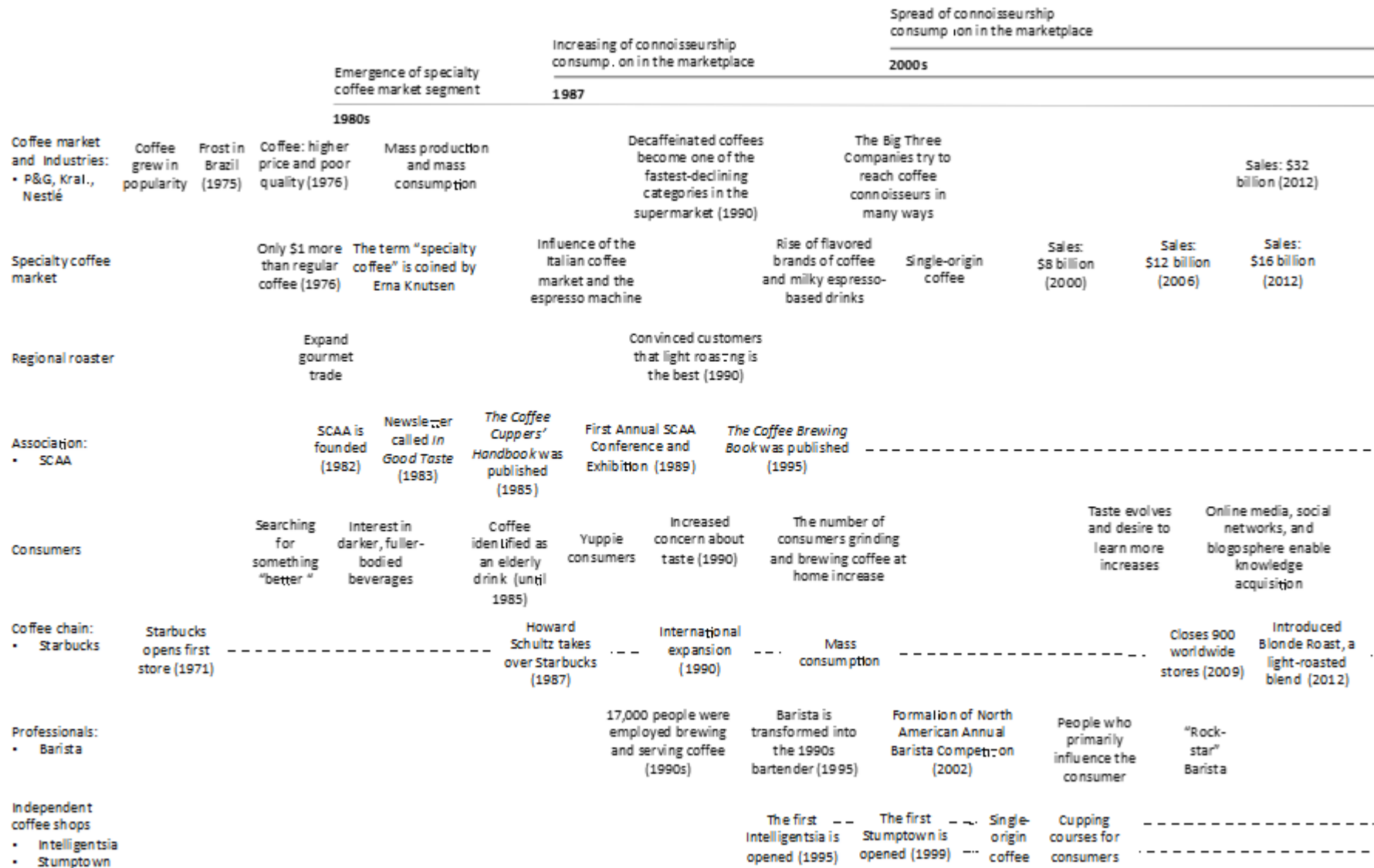
The third wave, according to Hartman (2011), would not have been possible had Starbucks not cleared the way. In the third wave, the roast master is recognized as an artisan, and the barista, the professional who prepares the coffee drinks, has also increased in importance and is now recognized as the person who can provide the customer with a better cup of coffee (Skeie, 2003). Independent brands of coffee shops, such as Intelligentsia and Stumptown, have played an increasingly important role in the marketplace. They serve what is called single-origin coffee, in which each batch of coffee beans has its own characteristics based on region, year, and the way it was cultivated. Artisanal foodstuff and brewing, fair trade, and direct trade grew in importance in the marketplace as a response to ethical vision in the marketplace. The third wave is characterized by the independent coffee shops in opposition to the coffee shop chains (e.g., Starbucks, Tim Horton's, Timothy's Café, and even McDonalds). As explained by Arsel & Thompson, "'indie'" (short for independent) refers to artistic creations produced outside the auspices of media conglomerates and distributed through small-scale and often localized channels" (2011, p. 792). They confirm that consumers' indie tastes and practices find expression in cafés (third-place servicescapes). To differentiate the independent coffee shops that are preferred and frequented by coffee connoisseurs in intermediate and advanced levels of the rite of

passage, we will call them high-end independent coffee shops (HEICSs). Coffee connoisseur consumers frequent HEICSs, build social connections, and internalize the cultural logic of connoisseurship aesthetic tastes and standards. The new specialty coffee (third wave) is considered more "genuine" than the concentrated and mass-market standardized products of the trade.

Figure 2 presents the relevant events that happened during the three waves. Based on historical analysis of newspapers, it was possible to identify the actions and the roles of many actors during the actual connoisseurship coffee consumption culture in North America. Industries, regional roaster, the Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA), Starbucks, baristas (who prepare and serve the coffee), and independent coffee shops, together with the consumer behavior changes, make the performance of the taste transformation ritual possible. Each actor made decisions that opened new possibilities for consumers to advance their coffee knowledge. SCAA boosted the development of the best practices in the specialty marketplace by launching books, organizing competitions, and training coffee professionals using high standards to score the quality of coffee. Further, coffee shop chains spread the coffee culture (mass coffee consumption) and paved the way for connoisseurship consumption; independent coffee shops took advantage of that spread and provided a more distinctive and knowledgeable coffee experience for consumers.

Our investigation suggests that the organizational field of specialty coffee includes the following key actors: global coffee shops (Starbucks), independent coffee shops (such as Chicago, Intelligentsia and Portland, Stumptown), coffee industries (Procter & Gamble, Kraft Foods, and Nestlé), coffee associations (Specialty Coffee Association of America), mainstream media who report on coffee industry, and consumers. The number of coffee connoisseur bloggers (Schultz, 2011) and specialty independent coffee shops has been increasing steadily since the early 2000s, and both have had a visible impact on the specialty coffee field.

Figure 1 – Evolution of the specialty coffee Market

	Emergence of specialty coffee market segment (1980s)	Increasing of connoisseurship consump. on in the marketplace (1987)	Spread of connoisseurship consump ion in the marketplace (2000s)
Coffee market and Industries: • P&G, Kral., Nestlé	Coffee grew in popularity • Frost in Brazil (1975) • Coffee: higher price and poor quality (1976) • Mass production and mass consumption	Decaffeinated coffees become one of the fastest-declining categories in the supermarket (1990) • The Big Three Companies try to reach coffee connoisseurs in many ways	Sales: $32 billion (2012)
Specialty coffee market	Only $1 more than regular coffee (1976) • The term "specialty coffee" is coined by Erna Knutsen	Influence of the Italian coffee market and the espresso machine • Rise of flavored brands of coffee and milky espresso-based drinks • Single-origin coffee	Sales: $8 billion (2000) • Sales: $12 billion (2006) • Sales: $16 billion (2012)
Regional roaster	Expand gourmet trade	Convinced customers that light roasting is the best (1990)	
Association: • SCAA	SCAA is founded (1982) • Newsletter called In Good Taste (1983) • The Coffee Cuppers' Handbook was published (1985)	First Annual SCAA Conference and Exhibition (1989) • The Coffee Brewing Book was published (1995)	
Consumers	Searching for something "better" • Interest in darker, fuller-bodied beverages • Coffee identified as an elderly drink (until 1985)	Yuppie consumers • Increased concern about taste (1990) • The number of consumers grinding and brewing coffee at home increase	Taste evolves and desire to learn more increases • Online media, social networks, and blogosphere enable knowledge acquisition
Coffee chain: • Starbucks	Starbucks opens first store (1971)	Howard Schultz takes over Starbucks (1987) • International expansion (1990) • Mass consumption	Closes 900 worldwide stores (2009) • Introduced Blonde Roast, a light-roasted blend (2012)
Professionals: • Barista		17,000 people were employed brewing and serving coffee (1990s) • Barista is transformed into the 1990s bartender (1995) • Formation of North American Annual Barista Competition (2002)	People who primarily influence the consumer • "Rock-star" Barista
Independent coffee shops • Intelligentsia • Stumptown		The first Intelligentsia is opened (1995) • The first Stumptown is opened (1999) • Single-origin coffee • Cupping courses for consumers	

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7 THE INCREASING PREVALENCE OF CONNOISSEURSHIP CONSUMPTION

As Scott argues, "We seek to behave in conventional ways, in ways that will not cause us to stand out or be noticed as different. Also involved are status processes. We attempt to imitate others whom we regard as superior, as more successful" (1995, p. 45). Coffee connoisseurs are recognized as consumers who have distinctive cultural capital, social capital, competence, expertise, and taste (Bourdieu, 1984; Holbrook, 1999), and they are emulated by the audience. According to Scott, "One principal indicator of the strength of mimetic processes is prevalence: the number of similar individuals or organizations exhibiting a given form or practice" (1995, p. 45). It's happened when many companies in the coffee market tried to reach coffee connoisseurs developing new products. The Big Three Companies (Procter & Gamble, Kraft, and Nestlé) tried to reach coffee connoisseurs in many ways. In September of 1993, Nestlé launched Nescafé Cappuccino, and "although the company says the product has a more authentic taste than other instant espresso drinks on the market," (Reilly, 1993, November 4). Nestlé conceded that younger consumers were not impressed with the taste of its products (Reilly, 1993, November 4). In 1993, the companies sold "such fancy-sounding varieties as Maxwell House Rich French Roast and Folgers Gourmet Supreme, but sales of the Maxwell House product declined sharply, while sales of Gourmet Supreme were insignificant. Kraft General Foods also marketed Cappio, a prepared cappuccino drink, but the market for such beverages is developing slowly" (Reilly, 1993, November 4). The number of consumers grinding and brewing coffee at home increased, too. Manufacturer shipments of coffee grinders doubled between 1987 and 1988 and continue to grow (Reilly, 1993, November 4).

Analyzing the growth of the specialty coffee market as well as an increase in both the prevalence of connoisseurship consumption and the number of connoisseur consumers during recent decades reveals a change in consumer behavior, which involved many actors in the market and several notable shifts in cultural-cognitive legitimacy. The objective of this article is to understand how connoisseurship consumption affect the market. By analyzing the data in light of institutional theory, we identify the shifts in the cultural-cognitive legitimacy over time that led to the increased prevalence of connoisseurship consumption and how those increases affected the market. Changes in the framework of consumption meaning were driven by the consumer generation, health concerns, and taste. We also emphasize the increasing prevalence of connoisseurship consumption in last decade.

7.1 Consumer Generation: from elderly drink to youthful drink

Until the mid-1980s, young adults (ages 20-29) identified coffee as an elderly person's drink, so introducing teenagers and young adults to coffee was the key to increasing stagnant coffee consumption (Dow Jones Newswires, 1997, November 26). In 1972, 74 percent of coffee was consumed by those over the age of 30 (Roseberry 1996). Roseberry notes that while 20-to-29-year-olds "drank only 1.47 cups per day in 1980, 30-to-59 year-olds drank 3.06 cups, and those over 60 drank 2.40" (1996, p. 126). There are many reasons to explain this difference in consumption patterns. First, the younger generation identified coffee drinking with "settled ways of their parents and grandparents" (Roseberry, 1996, p. 126). Younger generations did not consume coffee as their parents did (Dow Jones Newswires, 1997, November 26). Second, because coffee was dark, served in small units, and had an intense taste, it was perceived as mature and high in status (Levy, 1999), and many young people did not like the taste (Dow Jones Newswires, 1997, November 26). Third, "By compromising quality, the U.S. coffee industry has lost an entire generation of potential coffee drinkers to Coke and Pepsi" (Dow Jones Newswires, 1997, November 26). In 1985, for the first time:

> Soft drinks surpassed coffee as consumers' favorite beverage. The troubles are rooted in the 1960s, when coffee roasters began losing the youth market to soft drinks. The soft-drink industry gave its products a dynamic, youthful image that appeared to suit the younger generation in the 1960s. The coffee industry increased its focus on a shrinking older group of coffee drinkers and ignored the needs of the emerging new generation (Valentine, 1986, March 19).

During this period, coffee had a cultural-cognitive legitimacy as an elderly person's drink, and soft drinks had a cultural-cognitive legitimacy as a young person's drink.

To attract younger consumers, in 1980s, the coffee market started to develop the specialty coffee market, supplying consumers with a better coffee. They began promoting coffee to younger consumers. Starbucks reached the young consumer selling quality coffee with milk, such as a latte, "a shot of espresso topped with hot milk but less foamy than cappuccino" (King, 1993, October 7). Adding milk made coffee less potent, younger, and more approachable for adults, similar to adding milk to

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alcohol (Levy, 1999).

Specialty coffee companies started to consider young people in high schools and universities to promote their coffee. Bridgetown Coffee, a specialty coffee roaster based in Portland, installed espresso machines in several Oregon high schools, introducing 100,000 kids to coffee instead of to soft drinks (Dow Jones Newswires, 1997, November 26). The Coffee Development Group, a Washington-based promotion arm of the International Coffee Organization, opened 50 coffeehouses on college campuses, providing a coffee grinder, a brewer, and a cappuccino machine, among other supplies, encouraging students to experiment with high-quality coffee blends (Valentine, 1986, March 19). By the end of the 1980s, the specialty coffee consumer tended to be younger, more affluent, and more concerned about health and caffeine compared to the coffee consumer at the beginning of the 1980s (Fabricant, 1989, October 25).

In the 2010s, 40% of 18-24 year-olds, and 54% of 25-39 year-olds drink coffee daily (*Specialty Coffee Facts & Figures*, 2012). Roseberry (1996) mentions that Yuppies (a term coined in the 1980s to refer to the Young Urban Professional, a member of the upper-middle class or upper-class in their 20s or 30s) identified themselves with specialty coffee and were one of its main consumers. Many actions in the specialty coffee market resulted in a generational shift in the cultural-cognitive legitimacy of specialty coffee consumption, transforming coffee from an elderly drink to a youthful drink.

7.2 Consumer Health Concern: from public concerns about caffeine as a drug to the cultural acceptance of caffeine as a drug

Another important change in the market was the increasing consumption of decaffeinated coffee. The decaffeination process extracts 97 to 98 percent of the caffeine from the coffee. The major manufacturers of regular and instant decaffeinated coffees were General Foods, Procter & Gamble, and Nestlé. By the early 1980s, people consumed four times as much decaffeinated coffee as they had in 1962, even though total coffee consumption in the United Stateshad fallen from an average of 3.12 cups per person per day to 1.82 cups per person per day; in fact, during this period, decaffeinated coffee was the only part of the coffee market that was actually increasing (Sampling, 1984, August 1). The increased consumption of decaffeinated coffee was a "result of public concern about caffeine, which is a stimulant and which has been linked, though not conclusively, to a variety of physical disorders" (Sampling, 1984, August 1). Pendergrast notes that in the 1980s, the pendulum of caffeine consumption had swung to the negative side, but by the 1990s, it

was on the positive side; nowadays, "Caffeine is the most widely taken psychoactive drug on the earth, and coffee is its foremost delivery system" (2011, p. 19).

Sherry (1995) drawing from the ten top-rated prime-time American network television shows of the 1992-1993 season, identified that coffee was considered a "culturally acceptable drug," meaning that the kind of altered consciousness coffee produces is socially sanctioned. While coffee is the "mythic antithesis of alcohol, it also promotes a liminal "time-out" kind of meditative state that is clearly an out-of-body experience" (Sherry, 1995 p. 359). Coffee is about sociality, conviviality, and intimacy (Sherry, 1995). Thompson and Arsel argue, "Starbucks's staggering success is due in large part to its skill at creating, standardizing, and implementing an upscale third-place ambiance on a global scale" (2004, p. 633). In the 1990s, the coffee shop became a third place (Oldenburg, 1999), a site of socialization and various pleasures, as well as a neutral meeting ground, in contrast to work and home (Oldenburg, 1999); in fact, the coffee shop "has replaced the local bar as a place of socialization" (Johnson, 1995, August 13). Weinberg reinforces this change in consumption, affirming that "alcohol consumption, which peaked around 1980, has demonstrated more than a 15 percent decline" (2002, p. 199), and that caffeine use, driven by specialty coffee consumption, has exploded in the last few decades. Although, as Weinberg notes, "industry data indicate that there was a progressive decrease in coffee as a source between 1962 and 1982, more recently, especially in specialty coffee consumption, usage is once again increasing, while the decline in alcohol consumption continues" ibid.)

The rise of flavored brands of coffees and milky espresso-based drinks also drew new consumers who were more concerned about taste. In the 1990s, taste, more than health, price, or convenience, became the coffee enthusiasts' priority (Reilly, 1993, November 4). Decaffeinated coffee was one of the categories of coffee that suffered as a consequence of this emphasis on taste. In the early 1990s, "the preference for flavorful brands of coffees with a kick has helped turn ground, decaffeinated coffees into one of the fastest-declining categories in the supermarket" (Deveny, 1993, February 25). Coffee connoisseurs, as demonstrated by the market, didn't like the way most decaf tasted (Deveny, 1993, February 25). Decaf coffee loses more than its caffeine, because "the water or chemical solution used to extract the caffeine also draws off many of the oils and other compounds that give coffee different flavor, body and aroma" (Sampling, 1984, August 1). As caffeine lost cultural-cognitive legitimacy as an unhealthy drug, taste gained an important role in a new group of coffee consumers,

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the coffee connoisseurs.

7.3 Consumer Taste: from dark roasting coffee to light roasting coffee

The change in coffee consumer behavior that began in the 1980s is also related to the shift in the coffee consumer's taste preference. According to Davis (2011), most American coffee in the 1950s was roasted lightly. However, in the 1980s, according Fisher (1987, September 6), Americans showed renewed interest in darker, fuller-bodied beverages, such as red wine, amber and dark beers, and dark-roasted coffees. It was a broad trend from light to dark drinks that "has been visible for some time in the coffee industry, where sales of specialty coffees, including dark roasts and espressos, have grown by 4 to 8 percent annually, while overall sales have declined by about 2 percent each year" (Fisher, 1987, September 6). Consumers who prefer the intense taste and "mind-altering" stimulation of dark roasted coffee are perceived as more mature and higher in status than consumers who prefer the bland taste of lightly roasted coffee (Levy, 1999). Arsel and Bean (2013) affirm that, for consumer researchers, taste is as a fundamental mechanism for perpetuating particular social hierarchies. In 1989, there were more dark-roast coffees than ever in the market (Frabicant, 1989, October 25). According to Levy,

> Product perceptions are patterns of the meanings derived from consumption effects, preparation processes, colors, quantities, and variety. They derive from natural resources and simple processing up through more complex methods of preparation. They move from being light in color through colorfulness up to darkness. They go from being consumed in large quantities to smaller units and from homogeneity to heterogeneity in the substances themselves an/or in the variety available for choice (1999).

However, during the last decade, many high-end roasters have been working to convince customers that light roasting is the best way to coax the delicate, nuanced flavors out of high quality beans. A number of new high-end cafés and coffee roasters, including Intelligentsia Coffee in Chicago and Los Angeles, only sell light-roasted coffee, claiming that dark roasting is tantamount to ruining good coffee (McLaughlin, 2012, February 1). Intelligentsia Coffee's slogan is, "By illuminating what is possible with coffee, we hope to change forever how you think about it" (www.intelligentsiacoffee.com, accessed 01/28/2014) Light-roasted coffee, brewed strong, is the norm in northern Europe, including Germany and Scandinavia (McLaughlin, 2012, February 1). Starbucks conducted a study in 2011 "using an online questionnaire as well as taste tests in which people sampled coffee roasted to different degrees of darkness. The company says 42% prefer a lighter roast" (McLaughlin, 2012, February 1).

In response to the changes in the coffee consumer tastes, in 2012, Starbucks introduced Blonde Roast (called "blonde" because "light" can imply that something has been removed or might confuse consumers who think of "light coffee" as having milk added), a light-roasted blend. Peet's Coffee & Tea rolled out two "medium roast" blends, introducing the lighter-roasted beans in its stores (McLaughlin, 2012, February 1). This result reflects the shift in the taste cultural-cognitive legitimacy that has occurred since the 1990s. As McLaughlin notes, "After years of convincing the nation's coffee drinkers that dark-roasted brews are the classiest thing to fill a mug or takeout cup, Starbucks, Peet's, and a new wave of high-end chains are rolling out the exact opposite: light-roasted coffee" (2012, February 1).

Although coffee connoisseurs often criticize Starbucks for using over-roasting beans (Schwaner-Albright, 2008, March 26), the company has played an important role in the coffee consumer trajectory in the specialty coffee market. Starbucks has taught consumers much about what makes for good coffee and that they should pay higher prices for a good cup of coffee (Hartmann, 2011). According to an SCAA Report on the specialty coffee consumer (2012), specialty coffee drinkers have two rites of passage. The first is related to older consumers, who started to drink regular coffee in college or when they began to work, and after a while, they went to Starbucks to drink a specialty coffee. The second rite of passage is related to younger consumers, who usually started to drink specialty coffee in high school; actually, they were born in specialty coffee market, and their friends played a huge influence. Their coffee journey typically begins at Starbucks. Specialty coffee drinkers are unique and like to discover new things, and they are inherently motivated. They keep evolving their tastes and have a desire to learn more about what they are consuming.

8 DISCUSSION

The goal of this article is to theorize the influences of consumer connoisseurship consumption and the legitimation process on market evolution as it pertains to specialty coffee. Drawing on the legitimacy concept from institutional theory, two insights have been generated in the context of specialty coffee: (1) connoisseurship consumption evolves and affect the market in the course of

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shifting cultural-cognitive legitimacy as it concerns consumer generational, health concerns, and tastes; and (2) connoisseurship consumption arises when actions in the marketplace intersect with the tastes and desires of consumers.

By exploring the connoisseurship consumption's legitimation through cultural-cognitive legitimacy shifts, this study's findings expand upon Giesler's (2008) seminal discussion of market evolution as a result of many interacting historical forces. Furthermore, because this study investigates the influence of consumer connoisseur in the marketplace, its findings also move beyond those of Scaraboto and Fischer (2012) and Thompson and Coskuner-Balli (2007), which were focused on the consumer-marketer relationship.

The present research is limited to theorizing how connoisseurship consumption affects the market in terms of coffee consumption. A broader spectrum of context, such as food or wine consumption or the comparison of coffee consumption in the United States to that of another country, could also be used to understand how different cultures influence the cultural-legitimace shift and affect the market. The next phase of this research could be to analyze the role played by the normative legitimacy during the same period. Arsel and Bean (2013) introduced the construct of the taste regime, and in the same way, an additional contribution of this research could be the development of a connoisseurship practices regime construct.

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