Another cup of coffee?

- A study of the underlying meanings and practices of everyday coffee consumption

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Abstract

Title	Another Cup of Coffee? - A study of the underlying meanings and practices of everyday coffee consumption.
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Keywords	Coffee, everyday consumption, Practice Theory, rhythm, symbolism
Purpose	The purpose of this paper is to uncover the underlying meanings of coffee consumption and the roles these meanings play in people's everyday lives, thus contributing to the literature of consumer behaviour.
Method	A qualitative study method has been carried out, using an hermeneutic approach in order to uncover the study subjects' perceptions of reality. Through an abductive approach experts within the field of coffee and Practice Theory were interviewed in the preface, while the main empirical study focused on in-depth and focus group interviews with consumers as well as observations.
Theoretical perspective	Through the use of Practice Theory both the individual aspects of BDT and the social aspects of CCT were addressed, thus developing the consumer behaviour literature by providing a more holistic view of everyday consumption.
Empirical foundation	Six meanings of coffee consumption were uncovered and discussed with the usage of Practice Theory. They were then further categorised into two grand themes, rhythm and symbolism, which represent coffee consumption in society.
Conclusions	This paper contributes to a broader and deeper understanding of a low-involving, habitual everyday consumption product. Additionally, it highlights the strong societal and traditional origins coffee consumption has in Swedish society as well as its functional and structuring aspects.

Preface

During these last months we have investigated and analysed the interesting phenomenon of everyday coffee consumption, which has resulted in this thesis. The process has been truly insightful and rewarding.

We would like to acknowledge the people that have helped us to make this paper a reality. Firstly, we would like to thank our supervisor Jon Bertilsson for his guidance and support throughout this process. We would also like to thank our informants Fanny, Elina, Frida, Emma, Ellen, Mikaela, Nina, Caroline, Tilda and Hedvig for participation and valuable insights. Additionally, we would like to thank Susanna Molander for providing information about research within Practice Theory. Finally, we would like to thank Nestlé and Julie Ørnstrup Hansen for providing us with the basis for this interesting and gratifying project.

Thank you!

Lund, May 16, 2014
Linda Gustad & Alicia Menth Nyqvist

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Definitions

Fika
A Swedish expression that implies drinking a beverage, often coffee, commonly accompanied by a sweet or snack. It is a social construct and a way to express a break or to socialise.

Communality
A sense of feeling like belonging to a group; a sense of affinity, which is created by people coming together, sharing something.

Integrated practical understandings
A practitioner's practical ability to perform a practice; the ability to carry out the chain of coordinated tasks involved in it (Molander, 2011a). It requires an understanding of the traditions, customs, concepts and procedures involved in the practice (Schatzki, 1996).

Normative rules
Prescribe how a practice should be performed (Molander, 2011a). When people perform a practice they obey these instructions, principles and rules governing it (Schatzki, 1996).

Practices
Routinized patterns of behaving and understanding that can be filled with a number of interconnected single actions (Reckwitz, 2002).

Practice Theory
A social theory stemming from the CCT perspective. It is an approach to understanding human behaviour by studying different practices that people engage in on a daily basis (Warde, 2005).

Teleoaffectivity:
Represents the purpose of a practice and determines the goals the practice seeks to obtain (Molander, 2011a); mirrors the values the practitioner aspires to when performing a practice (Warde, 2005).

Teleoaffective structure:
"A hierarchized order of ends, purposes, projects, actions, beliefs and emotions that fall within a certain field of possible such orders" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 100).

1. Introduction

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In the introductory phases of this paper a background to coffee consumption will be presented and the historical development of the relationship consumers have held to coffee will be discussed. Thereafter follows the problem formulation and purpose of the paper where the research questions will be stated. Lastly, previous literature related to the research area will be reviewed and criticised.

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1.1 Background

Consumption is an infinite part of people's daily lives, from the basic needs as eating and drinking to fulfilling desires by purchasing clothing, cars and houses. The definition of consumption is explained by Warde (2005) as "a process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive or contemplative purposes, of goods, services, performances, information or ambience, whether purchased or not, over which the agent has some degree of discretion (...)" (p. 137). Coffee is an interesting consumption product since it has a widespread and rooted culture with multiple functions in people's lives. For instance, it can be considered a necessity to make it through everyday life, both privately and socially, as well as being used in more expressive ways such as building and communicating certain lifestyles. Thus, coffee can be a product of both high and low involvement, even though it is generally considered a low-involvement product (Laaksonen, 2010). Regardless of reason for consumption, it is consumed frequently and intensively and few would trade it for alternatives, which speaks for its importance and necessity (Sigfridsson, 2005). Focus group informant Mikaela expresses this:

> I remember the week before last week when we had run out of coffee. You
> know, really had run out of it. And we panicked.

The Swedish coffee market is particularly interesting to study since Nordic consumers are the heaviest coffee drinkers in the world (Laaksonen, 2010). In Sweden about six million people drink 3.2 cups of coffee per day on average (WWF, 2008). The general trend in the drink sector in Sweden, including coffee, is a growing focus on premium quality and organic and fair-trade alternatives (Euromonitor, 2014). Laaksonen (2010) states that coffee has gone from being a luxurious product during the first decades of the twentieth century, to becoming a

daily necessity at the end of the century. However, he further explains that the coffee category in recent years has taken a different turn with the introduction of new, more premium coffee alternatives, such as espresso, latte and cappuccino. Additionally, increased consumer involvement has helped coffee to regain some of its once luxurious nature.

Despite the above mentioned trend of premiumisation in the coffee category, the majority of Swedish coffee consumers still treat coffee as more of a low-involvement product than a product of high involvement (Laaksonen, 2010). This is particularly true for instant coffee, which several studies have shown typically to be regarded as a low-involvement product (Te'eni-Harari & Hornik, 2010). In the light of this, instant coffee is especially attractive to examine since it has not followed the general trend of premiumisation but has rather had a low-involvement and low-quality perception throughout the years (Arndt, 1973). In addition, most coffee is consumed at home or at work (WWF, 2008), frequently in the form of ground coffee (Guadagni & Little, 1998), which makes it a vital coffee product to include in the study.

1.2 Problem formulation

The trend of premiumisation in coffee consumption has resulted in much of contemporary literature and research on coffee focusing on these new consumption patterns, thus disregarding coffee as a basic necessity that is consumed habitually (Thompson & Arsel, 2004; Kjeldgaard & Östberg, 2007). However, the majority of coffee consumption in Sweden is still done on a habitual and low-involving basis (Laaksonen, 2010) and therefore this way of consuming coffee deserves further investigation. Everyday coffee consumption covers many different aspects, but previous research has often focused on either decision-based or social dimensions. Behavioural Decision Theory (BDT) has focused on understanding judgement and choice using traditional theories such as low-involvement and habitual behaviour (Bettman, Luce & Payne, 1998; Kotler & Keller, 2012). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), on the other hand, has focused on understanding the social and cultural aspects of consumption (Elliot & Wattanasuwan, 1998; Arnould & Thompson, 2005). However, there seems to be a lack in the literature of coffee consumption in everyday life. The above mentioned theories address major aspects of consumption, but it can be argued that they are too narrow and therefore this study sets out to trace the further, deeper reasons and underlying meanings of everyday coffee consumption. Thus, the Practice Theory, stemming from CCT, is adopted to understand consumption from a more holistic perspective with the purpose of

uncovering factors that are also applicable to other areas of everyday consumption. Furthermore, there seems to be an absence of discussion in the literature on how various aspects of coffee consumption influence consumers in different stages of their lives, more specifically in the early years of adulthood when perceptions towards brands and society are formed (Taylor & Cosenza, 2002). For example, 16-year-olds and 30-year-olds might not be affected by the same set of factors due to differences in their life situations.

It has been shown that children and young adults dislike the taste of coffee (Liem, Zandstra & Thomas, 2010), which raises the question of what initiates the consumption. However, the literature on the different factors influencing a person's coffee consumption appears to only partially address the issue. By using Practice Theory, more insights into heterogeneous factors influencing coffee consumption can be obtained. Thus, the main aim of this study is to investigate how the underlying meanings that consumers have created individually and socially affect their consumption within the coffee segment. Further, it aims to investigate the role of coffee consumption in people's everyday lives, apart from the pure rationalistic functions, such as taste, warmth or caffeine kick. This will be done by focusing on young women.

Another interesting aspect of coffee consumption is how different coffee alternatives are consumed and perceived because of their different functions and user occasions. This can be argued to have an impact on consumer perceptions and attitudes. However, this study will solely focus on ground coffee and instant coffee due to their established positions on the Swedish market. They are used in daily life and consumed routinely. Therefore, the study aims to uncover both micro and macro perspectives behind the everyday consumption of ground and instant coffee.

This study sheds light on the deeper meanings of coffee consumption and the different roles coffee takes in everyday life in Sweden. The insights from the study are significant in order to understand what drivers lay behind consumption of an everyday product. Moreover, the project adapts a holistic perspective by taking into account the traditional views of BDT and CCT. Simultaneously, it focuses on the practical viewpoint that highlights the greater perspective of societal aspects and ideals by drawing on Practice Theory. This approach is novel for investigating everyday coffee consumption patterns in Sweden.

1.3 Research questions

The study aims to answer the following questions:

RQ1 What are the underlying meanings and practices of everyday coffee consumption for young women?

RQ2 What role does everyday coffee consumption play in young women's daily lives?

1.4 Literature review

In order to carry out the study, it was necessary to assess previous research within the field. Ekström (2010) states that consumer behaviour has been of researchers' interest for a long period of time and the research orientation has developed over the years. The view of the consumer has evolved from being seen as a rational, value-maximising "homo economicus" (Ekström, 2010, p. 45) to being perceived as a value-producing creator of meaning (Salzer-Mörling, 2010), using consumption as a means of creating and expressing identity, lifestyle and personality (Laaksonen, 2010). Below, the two perspectives of consumer behaviour, Behavioural Decision Theory and Consumer Culture Theory, are discussed.

1.4.1 Behavioural Decision Theory

Behavioural Decision Theory (henceforth BDT) is focused on consumer decision processes and "describes how information inputs are processed to achieve a decision" (Simonson, Carmon, Dhar, Drolet & Nowlis, 2001, p. 254). Bettman, Luce & Payne (1998) state that the two main areas of study within the perspective are judgment and choice. They further explain that judgments are based on consumers' assessments of available alternatives and their opinions thereof, while choices are more straightforward; selecting the most preferred alternative. Both these aspects are considered important for understanding purchase decisions in BDT and additionally, memories, decision rules and heuristics take a central role in understanding consumption (Simonson et al., 2001). BDT research often takes a statistical or deductive approach, which covers many areas of consumption (Bettman, Luce & Payne, 1998). In this study three areas of study within the BDT perspective will be considered: Attitudes, habits and involvement (Bettman, Luce & Payne, 1998; Fill, 2006; Kotler & Keller, 2012). Mapping out these aspects of consumer behaviour provide insights into how consumers make their decisions, which is interesting in the case of coffee since it has

traditionally been considered a low-involvement product that is purchased and used frequently (Radder & Huang, 2008).

1.4.1.1 Attitudes

In the twentieth century consumer behaviour researchers started to show interest in consumer attitudes, which can be understood as consumers' evaluation of products or services as positive or negative (Scholderer, 2010). Arndt (1973) states that one of the first pieces of research relating to attitudes and coffee was conducted in the late 1940s by behavioural psychologist Mason Haire to pinpoint the perceptions and attitudes towards instant coffee. He further explains that the study was organized to give two sets of women a shopping list with the only difference that one had ground coffee as an item and the other instant coffee, of the Nescafé brand. The researcher then asked the women to describe a typical woman using the shopping list and the study showed that a woman using instant coffee was described as lazy and poor at planning (Arndt, 1973). However, when the study was replicated in the 1970s, even though she was still perceived as lazy, other adjectives were used, such as young, modern and active, while a woman using ground coffee was described as a housewife (Arndt, 1973). With today's position of the woman in society, especially in the Nordic countries, it could be presumed that this view has changed even more and consequently it would be of interest to question how women of today view ground versus instant coffee. Arndt (1973) states that another finding from the study was that it was the perceptions and attitudes towards instant coffee, rather than the actual taste, that were the motives behind the description of these consumers. Moreover, there were considerably more non-users than users of instant coffee that had a negative perception of the brand and consumption thereof (Arndt, 1973).

1.4.1.2 Habits

The research of habitual consumption springs from the fact that the majority of decisions in everyday life are not deliberate, but rather repetitions of past behaviour (Biel, Gärling & Marell, 2010). According to Wood and Neal (2009) approximately 45 % of daily behaviour is habitual and tend to be replicated almost every day and performed in the same contexts. Coffee drinking habits are no exception and numerous studies have been carried out targeting habits of coffee drinking (WWF, 2008; Wood & Neal, 2009; Topik, 2009).

Verplanken & Aarts (1999) define habits as "learned sequences of acts that have become automatic responses to specific cues and are functional in obtaining certain goals or end-

states" (p. 104). Thus, habits arise from the experiences of successful past behaviour that have been able to meet the goals and intentions of the person (Wood & Neal, 2009). The automatic behaviour of a habit can therefore be seen as a stimuli-response process triggered by cues in the external environment (Southerton, 2013). A distinguishing feature of habits is consequently that they are context specific (Murray & Häubl, 2007). When a person has repeatedly performed a behaviour in a given context, the context itself will eventually stimulate that certain response, rather than the response being triggered by the intentions and goals behind the behaviour (Wood & Neal, 2009). According to Wood & Neal (2009) examples of such context cues are preceding actions or physical locations. Thus, a coffee drinker may for instance be directly cued to have a cup of coffee after preceding actions in the morning routine or when spotting the coffee machine in the kitchen (Wood & Neal, 2009). Due to the fact that habits are characterized by automaticity and non-reflectivity, they can be seen as lying outside the realm of rational choice (Shove, 2003).

Murray and Häubl (2007) state that another aspect of habitual behaviour arises from the idea of product lock-in. They explain that the principle is that the more frequently a product is used, the less the cognitive effort to think and use that product is required, since the usage can more or less be performed automatically. Therefore the consumer is "locked in" (Murray & Häubl, 2007, p. 77) to the consumption of that product. An example of this is coffee consumers always choosing the same brand and sort of coffee because of the comfort of knowing its taste and quality.

1.4.1.3 Involvement

Another aspect that has been the focus for researchers within the BDT field is involvement. Involvement can be described as the interest the consumer has in a purchase decision and how important the decision is perceived to be (Solomon, Bamossy & Askegaard, 1999). As Solomon, Bamossy & Askegaard (1999) state this has implications for how motivated the consumer is to make cognitive efforts in the purchase decision and the extent to which the consumer is willing to search for information and evaluate different alternatives. To draw a parallel to the premiumisation of coffee, consumers might be more involved in decisions regarding fair-trade and high-quality alternatives than instant coffee bought on routine. However, high-quality brands might just as well be bought habitually while cheaper alternatives may evoke a higher degree of involvement depending on consumer and situation. This demonstrates the complex nature of coffee consumption.

Solomon, Bamossy & Askegaard (1999) claim that, in general, consumers strive for convenience and time efficiency in their everyday lives, which leads to many ordinary consumer decisions being based on inertia, habits and routine. On the other hand, if the consumer experiences a sense of personal relevance in the purchase situation the involvement in the decision will increase (Solomon, Bamossy & Askegaard, 1999). The cognitive basis of involvement is the consumer's needs, values, personal interests and life-goals and the more a product is able to fulfil these aspects, the more involving it becomes (Laaksonen, 2010). Thus, the different degrees of involvement in coffee may be explained by several factors such as importance to the consumer, attainability and culture.

It is important to stress that there are no products or purchase decisions that are high- or low involving per se, but, rather, the degree of involvement in a specific situation is dependent on both the characteristics of the person and the object (Laaksonen, 2010). This explains the multifaceted nature of coffee consumption and therefore makes coffee an interesting area of study. Moreover, Laaksonen (2010) argues that involvement is also highly dependent on the intended consumption situation of the product. In general, products that are purchased to be consumed in private invoke a lower degree of involvement, while products intended to be used in public tend to be more involving (Laaksonen, 2010). For example, the purchase decision regarding ground coffee intended to be consumed privately at home may denote a lower degree of involvement than an expensive coffee bought at a café.

1.4.2 Consumer Culture Theory

Consumer Culture Theory (henceforth CCT) takes a different approach to consumer behaviour and is a culturally oriented research tradition (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). It is based on the view that culture guides consumer behaviour since it determines wants and needs of consumers (Hansen, 2010). Arnould & Thompson (2005) define consumer culture as "a social arrangement in which the relations between lived culture and social resources, and between meaningful ways of life and the symbolic and material resources on which they depend, are mediated through markets" (p. 869). CCT comprises a multitude of research disciplines and what unifies these are their common interest in socio-cultural groupings and how symbolic meanings are dispersed through the capital market (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Also, even though there are exceptions, one distinguishing feature of CCT research is

that it is preoccupied with interpretation and theory development, as opposed to BDT research, which is more focused on statistics and theory testing (Ekström, 2010).

There are four different areas of research within the CCT perspective. The first concerns how consumers make use of symbolic meanings embedded in brands, products and marketing messages to form and express identity and lifestyle (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Since companies encode their products with symbolic meanings via branding and communication, and consumers use the products to express identity, the companies are seen as the steering wheel for what consumers feel, think and desire (Holt, 2002). For example, people choosing fair-trade coffee alternatives may want to express an identity of environmental engagement.

The second area of CCT research focuses on marketplace cultures and studies how cultures are created through consumption (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). For example, Kjeldgaard and Östberg (2007) distinguish between three kinds of café cultures in Sweden. The first is termed "Americana" (p. 181) and includes the recent café trend of Americanized café chains, such as Espresso House and Wayne's Coffee. Secondly, "Culinaria" (p. 182) represents a more high-quality café with an authentic atmosphere, while the final, "Viennesia" (p. 183), reflects a more traditional café environment found in a classic Swedish patisserie (Kjeldgaard & Östberg, 2007).

The third field of study within CCT concerns how socio-cultural aspects, such as class, gender, ethnicity and life situation, structure consumption patterns (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). One study within this field was carried out by Demura, Aoki, Mizusawa, Soukura, Noda & Sato (2013) who investigated whether there are any differences between men and women regarding coffee consumption. They found that women generally drink less coffee than men.

Finally, the fourth family of CCT research targets marketplace ideologies and consumers' strategies for interpreting media and commercial messages (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Arnould and Thompson (2005) refer to marketplace ideologies as mass-mediated instructions on how to look and behave; what to desire and which lifestyles to strive for. The research is focused on both consumers who accept the identities and lifestyles provided by market ideologies as well as those who actively resist them (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). This can for example be seen in the article by Thompson and Arsel (2004) about an anti-Starbucks

movement that criticises Starbucks for their negative effects on the environment and local coffee trade and how the company contributes to "a soul-numbing aesthetic homogeneity" (p. 634).

1.4.3 Criticism of literature

As discussed earlier, previous literature often has a narrow-minded view on consumer behaviour in the sense that it overlooks that several factors impact simultaneously. Important to point out, though, is that previous literature is by no means irrelevant; it just does not explain the entire situation of consumer behaviour. All the aforementioned aspects of consumption can be useful to understand the phenomenon in some ways, but there is a need to combine them with a second perspective to fully understand consumer behaviour in the everyday sense. It can be argued that the BDT perspective is too cognitively and instrumentally focused for capturing the essence of everyday consumption. The perspective seems to assume that consumers consume for the sake of consumption; that consumption is both the means and the end (Laaksonen, 2010; Ekström, 2010, Kotler & Keller, 2012), which might not be the case. This may be especially true when it comes to such a deeply rooted consumption product as coffee. The literature neglects the fact that everyday practices and routines may represent something more abstract than the sheer obtaining, using and disposing of a product.

In theories of habits there is a great emphasis on the automatic, unreflective characteristic of habitual behaviour (Shove, 2003) and everyday coffee consumption can to some extent be characterized in this way. However, there is a need to analyse this kind of consumption from a different angle. Even though coffee consumption in many cases is a routinized behaviour, regarding purchase, preparation and actual drinking, it would be useful to investigate what the consumption stands for in people's lives; what the underlying meanings are. This can be detected by looking more deeply into coffee consumption.

While the BDT approach can be considered too instrumental and solely focused on consumption, the CCT perspective has a too strong focus on symbolic and unusual behaviour (Molander, 2011a). Molander (2011a) explains that the CCT perspective often disregards the colloquial behaviours of people, such as coffee consumption, in favour for the different or even abnormal. CCT usually focuses on consumption as a greater cause such as building identity or demonstrating a life style (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). However, everyday, or

habitual, consumption patterns may also involve deeper meanings and symbolism, which the CCT perspective to a large extent has disregarded (Molander, 2011a). Consequently, there is a gap in the literature concerning everyday consumption and therefore this study will consider influences from both BDT and CCT to present a nuanced and holistic view of coffee consumption.

A valuable approach, given the aim of this study, is to adopt Practice Theory. It can be advantageously applied when studying consumption since it offers new ways of analysing and understanding, both what consumers mean by and feel about their consumption (Warde, 2005). Also, the practice approach is favourable when studying consumption because it does not require the researcher to take a position on classic dualities in consumer research, such as individualism versus social structures, the material versus the symbolic, or reflective versus unreflective consumer behaviour (Molander, 2011a). Taking a broad perspective into consideration when explaining everyday coffee consumption will therefore provide a contribution to the overall research in the consumption field. However, even though Practice Theory has been developed throughout the years by focusing on consumption (Postill, 2010) there has been negligent research on how it can be applied to the early stages of consumption. Thus, this will be discussed in this study.

2. Practice Theory

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As stated above, the aim of this study is to examine everyday coffee consumption from a holistic perspective. To enable this, ideas and theories found in Practice Theory will be applied and the empirical material will be analysed through the lenses of this perspective. Consequently, a thorough review of the theory follows, which lays the foundation for the subsequent analysis.

2.1 Introduction to Practice Theory

Warde (2005) states that Practice Theory is an area within the CCT perspective that takes a comprehensive approach to understanding human behaviour by studying practices that people engage in. Consequently, it offers new ways of analysing and understanding consumption (Warde, 2005). It has been claimed to be particularly useful when studying everyday consumption (Molander, 2011a) and thus it is applicable to daily coffee consumption. In this perspective the practices that people engage in are seen as the basis for the structuring of society and consequently the basis for consumption (Molander, 2011a). This means that differences in consumption are seen neither entirely as a result of socio-demographic differences, nor are they solely due to differences in individual motivation and attitude (Warde, 2005). Rather, the variation can be explained by differences in the understanding, practical knowledge and degree of commitment to different practices (Warde, 2005).

The perspective originates in Social Theory (Whittington, 2006) and was developed in the 1970s as a reaction to both classically modern and high-modern social theories (Reckwitz, 2002). Practice Theory strives to overcome the discrepancy between 'individualism' and 'societism' in Social Theory and the aim of the approach is therefore to integrate the two perspectives to understand social phenomena (Whittington, 2006). According to Postill (2010) some of the most prominent front figures include Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault and Anthony Giddens. Bourdieu developed his notion of 'habitus' in the 1970s (Postill, 2010), which can be understood as the different ways of acting, wanting and being that people adopt depending on which social field they belong to (Hurst, 2013). Similarly, Foucault used the term 'discipline' to describe power and structure impressed on the human body that form enduring dispositions (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001). Giddens, on the other hand, developed his Structuration Theory based on the two dimensions of social life; agency and structure (Postill,

2010). According to Gidden's claims, individual human acts (agency) constitute the social structure of society (Postill, 2010). The common denominator that unifies these diverse theorists is their interest in everyday practices and how structures of the symbolic and cognitive provide meaning to the world (Reckwitz, 2002). They emphasise that people participate in practical engagement with the world on a daily basis and that the human body is the key component of these practices (Postill, 2010). Further, they view social practices as the basis that constitutes and structures the ordering of society (Shove, 2003).

Postill (2010) states that whilst the above mentioned theorists can be viewed as the first generation of the practice approach, there has in recent years emerged a second generation of practice theorists, including Theodor Schatzki, Andreas Reckwitz and Alan Warde. He further explains that these theorists continue to emphasise that the human body is a central part of practices, but also stress the importance of taking history and culture into consideration. In addition, they have started to apply Practice Theory to new areas of research, such as organisational theory and consumption studies (Postill, 2010).

2.2 Definitions in Practice Theory

The term 'practice' has a complex meaning in Practice Theory (Reckwitz, 2002) and the theory distinguishes between two types of practices: Practice-as-performance and practice-as-entity (Shove, 2012). The first term is straightforward and describes human action itself (Reckwitz, 2002); that is, the actual activity performed (Whittington, 2006). The second term, on the other hand, is more abstract and can be understood as:

> "a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249).

Thus, practice-as-entities are collectively shared routines for how to think, act and use 'things' (Whittington, 2006). They are routinized patterns of behaving and understanding and can be filled with a number of interconnected single actions (practice-as-performances) (Reckwitz, 2002). To conclude the distinction, practice-as-entity is what steers activity while practice-as-

performance is the activity itself (Whittington, 2006). In this paper the term 'practice' will henceforth refer to practice-as-entity.

As the definition of a practice shows there are two different, but equally important sides to practices: The routinized *bodily* activities and the routinized *mental* activities of knowing, understanding and desiring (Reckwitz, 2002). A good illustration of these two sides is to picture a football player, who both needs to perform the routinized physical movements involved in the sport, but also needs to possess the routinized understandings, know-how, interpretations and objectives of the game to be able to participate in it successfully (Reckwitz, 2002). Thus, since Practice Theory is concerned with both sayings and doings, studies within the practice approach must be focused on both bodily activities of the practice as well as what it represents (Warde, 2005).

Another important aspect of practices that needs be addressed is that they are independent of individual actors, who only serve as their hosts (Shove, 2012. Thus, people performing practices should only be seen as carriers – not creators – of them (Reckwitz, 2002). Reckwitz (2002) states that practitioners need to possess both the bodily behaviour necessary to perform the practice as well as the know-how, understandings and desires associated with it. He explains that this means that these routinized understandings and desires reside in the practice itself, not in the qualities of the carrier. In addition, this implies that the practice does not only have meaning for the carrier, but it is understandable to observers as well, given that they are from the same culture as the practitioner (Reckwitz, 2002). The survival of a practice is dependent on whether there are enough carriers willing and able to continue performing it on an on-going basis (Shove, 2012).

Despite the fact that practices are routinized behaviours it is important to stress that they are not stable and unchanging over time (Shove, 2012). For example, a person repeatedly enacting a practice will become more experienced and skilled with time, and thus the execution of the practice will change (Shove, 2012). Crivits & Paredis (2013) argue that the practice approach sees consumer behaviour as a complex and dynamic set of activities and routines that all have some inherent logic; that practices are dynamic and ever-changing systems of actions. Thus, it is vital to investigate the interrelated routines underlying these practices in order to really understand consumption (Crivits & Paredis, 2013). Also, a practice can differ significantly between individuals and groups, both in how it is conducted and how

committed the practitioners are to its enactment (Warde, 2005). Warde (2005) explains that these differences for instance can appear between generations, where older generations may want to uphold prior codes of conduct, while younger generations are looking for innovations and new ways to perform the practice. There is empirical evidence proving that different groups of people differ in their understanding of a practice, their adoption of its procedures and the different values they strive to reach when performing it (Warde, 2005).

2.3 Social theories and Practice Theory

In order to map out Practice Theory, the tensions traditionally found between different social theories should be addressed. Reckwitz (2002) states that Social Theory can roughly be divided into three schools of thought: The purpose-oriented theory of action, the norm-oriented theory of action, and cultural theories, where Practice Theory belongs to the latter. He further states that the three perspectives have different ways of explaining individual actions and social order. The purpose-oriented theory of action explains human action as a result of individual interests, objectives and intentions and is based on Rational Choice Theory (Reckwitz, 2002). Consequently, in this perspective social order is seen as a result of aggregated individual interests (Reckwitz, 2002). The norm-oriented theory of action, on the other hand, sees human action as a product of collectively shared values and norms and a common understanding of how to behave (Reckwitz, 2002). Social order is thus attained through collective normative agreements (Reckwitz, 2002). Finally, while the first two perspectives are classically opposing each other, the cultural theories represent a newer view, which has appeared as a result of the "culturalist revolutions" in social philosophy in the twentieth century (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 245). Cultural theories claim that there are "collective symbolic structures of knowledge" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 246) in society, which enable and restrict interpretations of the world in certain ways and make people act correspondingly. Social order is therefore an outcome of shared knowledge of how to interpret symbols and ascribe meaning to the world, which results in a common understanding of which norms are justified and which wants are desirable (Reckwitz, 2002).

Since Practice Theory belongs to the body of cultural theories (Reckwitz, 2002), theorists of the approach argue that the purpose-oriented approach is too focused on individual actors, which neglects important macro perspectives (Whittington, 2006). Similarly, the emphasis on major social phenomena in the norm-oriented approach is seen as neglecting the micro perspective (Whittington, 2006). According to Whittington (2006) the purpose of Practice

Theory is thus to integrate both the micro and the macro perspective into one integrated approach. Instead of relying either on interests of the individual or on collective norms, the theory explains human action and social order as resulting from social practices (Schatzki, 1996). According to Molander (2011a) "the practice perspective sees social life as based on a number of collective practices that constitute the individual" (p. 80). Thus, the theory is neither individualistic nor socialistic but has a more flexible and pluralistic view of what constitutes social life (Schatzki, 1996).

2.4 Practice Theory and consumption

According to Crivitz and Paredis (2013) the practice approach opposes the rational choice approaches often found in consumer behaviour research, which mainly focus on structural or individualistic elements of consumption. On the contrary, the practice approach disagree with the idea of individuals as self-ruling actors but rather, as stated above, sees them as carriers of contemporary practices that they contribute to reproduce (Crivitz & Paredis, 2013). This means that similarities and differences between groups of people in the acquisition, use and disposal of products are outcomes of how the practices people participate in are structured and organized (Warde, 2005). Emotions, wants and desires can therefore not be explained as belonging to individuals but should be understood as outcomes of routinized practices (Reckwitz, 2002). Thus, in order to understand consumer behaviour the focus should move from personal choices to the standards of practices, since these guide behaviour (Warde, 2005). Warde (2005) claims that contemporary consumer research is too often focused on the symbolic meanings of consumption and how it is used to form self-identity. Thus, it views consumers as highly independent individuals preoccupied with expressing themselves through their consumption (Warde, 2005). The advantage of Practice Theory, on the other hand, is that it studies both what consumers mean by their consumption and what they do and feel (Warde, 2005).

Another strong argument for using Practice Theory when approaching consumption is that most practices require consumption to take place (Warde, 2005). Reckwitz (2002) emphasises that in many practices objects are necessary elements and very often performing a practice means using an object in a certain way. The practice thus consists of a routinized interplay between bodily behaviour, mental activities and physical objects (Reckwitz, 2002). It is therefore important to stress the fact that consumption is not a practice in itself, but, rather, it is an essential component of most practices (Molander, 2011a). According to Molander

(2011a) consumption is rarely the goal but in many situations only a by-product of the structure and reproduction of the practices individuals participate in on a daily basis. The effect of this is that practices, rather than the wants of the individual, create desires (Warde, 2005). This implies that in order to understand consumption patterns, it is necessary to study commitment to underlying practices, instead of studying the actual consumption (Warde, 2005). Molander (2011a) states that when viewing consumption as a necessary element in a set of practices the different, and sometimes contradictory, values underlying the situation can be revealed. This is done by uncovering what practices that take place in a given consumption situation, what ideals these practices are striving to achieve, how consumption is integrated in this effort, and how the different practices are interrelated (Molander, 2011a).

Since Practice Theory emphasises routinized behaviour it can be viewed as particularly appropriate for the study of everyday consumption (Molander, 2011a). It can thus be used as a valuable tool to help examine and understand everyday behaviour that takes place with little or no reflection (Molander, 2011b). According to Warde (2005) practices are characterized by a considerable amount of inertia due to their constant reproduction. The practice approach views consumer behaviour as neither fully conscious nor fully reflective. Thus, Practice Theory focuses on routine, habituation, tradition, practical consciousness, implicit knowledge and other similar processes (Warde, 2005). It provides a framework that allows both investigation of the underlying relationships between different practices as well as considerations of how practices transform into more stable consumer patterns (Crivits & Paredis, 2013). The theory takes a holistic view of consumption, emphasising both the nature of routines and their role in people's lives, as well as the wants, needs and emotions of the consumer (Warde, 2005). Knowledge about everyday practices that have meaning and purpose for consumers is therefore essential for fully understanding consumption (Molander, 2011a).

Molander (2011a) stresses the importance of the context in consumption situations when studying consumer behaviour through the practice perspective. Further, Molander (2011b) explains that consumption does not occur in a vacuum but is determined by the situation in which it takes place, which gives it meaning and purpose. Consumption context can be defined as "the situation surrounding consumption and contributing to its existence by, in different ways, defining, shaping, enabling, constraining, and valuing it" (Molander, 2011a, p. 78). According to Molander (2011a) it is more useful to scrutinize the consumption situation

as a whole, rather than focusing on one practice at a time, to be able to fully understand the different ideals underlying the consumption. She states that the reason behind this is that there might be multiple practices operating at the same time within a single consumption situation and only focusing on one of these means that the larger picture risks being neglected. Further, she gives the example of the practice of everyday dinners, in which several practices might be operating simultaneously, for example the practices of mothering, dieting, relaxing and caring for the environment. Shove (2003) provides the example of taking a bath, a situation that may involve multiple practices such as getting clean, relaxing and making oneself ready to go out. Molander (2011a) argues that when proceeding from the consumption situation as a whole, rather than focusing on one single practice at a time, the different practices altogether can provide an understanding of the different ideals that the consumer strives to achieve with the consumption. She continues by stating that this helps understanding and explaining the considerations and decisions related to the consumption situation. Also, when taking the whole consumption situation into account the relative order and importance of the different practices involved can be revealed (Molander, 2011a).

A final aspect is that there are practices, referred to as meta-practices, which are far more important than others in people's lives (Molander, 2011a). A meta-practice is "characterized by having more influence than other practices over social orders and thereby over consumption as well, making it a type of practice consumption research should look for" (Molander, 2011a, p. 90). Therefore, as Molander (2011a) states, it is fruitful to uncover meta-practices in consumption situations, since it would appear that consumption is particularly important for anchoring and materializing these practices.

2.5 The organization of practices

According to Schatzki (1996) practices can be divided into dispersed and integrated practices. Dispersed practices refers to the fact that these practices are dispersed among many different areas of social life and include for example the practices of explaining, describing, ordering, visualizing and inquiring. These practices simply require the practitioner to possess the understanding of how they should be performed (Warde, 2005). Integrated practices, on the other hand, are much more complex in nature and are found in specific areas of social life, such as the practice of cooking, voting, farming, teaching and celebrating (Schatzki, 1996). Schatzki (1996) states that integrated practices consist of three different components, which

together link the array of sayings and doings involved in the practices. This three-dimensional structure is referred to as "the organization of the practice" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 99).

The first component is integrated practical understandings, which includes the practitioner's practical ability to perform the practice; the ability to carry out the chain of coordinated tasks involved in it (Molander, 2011a). This requires an understanding of the traditions, customs, concepts and procedures involved in its performance (Schatzki, 1996). The second component, explicit rules and instructions, involves the normative characteristics of how the practice should be performed, and may be influenced by commercial or institutional forces trying to affect its execution (Molander, 2011a). Consequently, when people perform a practice they obey the instructions, principles and rules governing it (Schatzki, 1996). The third component, the teleoaffective structure, represents the purpose of the practice and determines which goals the practice seeks to obtain (Molander, 2011a). The teleoaffective structure can be defined as "a hierarchized order of ends, purposes, projects, actions, beliefs and emotions that fall within a certain field of possible such orders" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 100) Therefore, it mirrors which values the practitioner aspires to when carrying out the practice (Warde, 2005). Since practitioners view these goals as worth striving for, they show engagement in the practice and are committed to the execution of it (Molander, 2011a). Thus, the teleoaffective structure constitutes the core of the practice that gives it purpose and meaning (Molander, 2011b).

Apart from these three main components of a practice, its execution is generally contingent on the use of physical items which can define the practice as a whole (Warde, 2005). One example of this could be how the football defines the practice of playing football.

2.6 Summary of Practice Theory

Practice Theory takes an inclusive approach to understanding human behaviour by studying different practices that people engage in on a daily basis (Warde, 2005). Since the theory is preoccupied with routinized and habitual behaviour it is claimed to be particularly well-suited to the study of everyday consumption (Molander, 2011a). In this respect, consumer behaviour is seen as an outcome of the practices consumers engage in and in order to fully understand consumption the practices underlying consumption situations must be uncovered (Warde, 2005). An important characteristic of practices is that they are independent of individual actors, who only serve as their hosts (Shove, 2012). Thus, practitioners are only carriers of

practices; not creators of them (Reckwitz, 2002). Also, there can be significant differences between individuals or groups regarding how practices are performed, understood and the values strived for when they are enacted (Warde, 2005). Molander (2011a) states that another important aspect is that there can be several practices operating simultaneously during one single consumption situation, which makes it fruitful to uncover all of these in order to fully understand the consumption. Practices that have more influence than others over social orders and thus over consumption are referred to as meta-practices (Molander, 2011a).

Practices are organised as consisting of three parts: The integrated practical understandings of the practice, the explicit rules and instructions governing it, and the teleoaffective structure; the underlying goals and values the practitioners aspire to when performing the practice (Schatzki, 1996). These three dimensions will serve as the basis for the subsequent analysis of the empirical material in this study.

3. Methodology

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In this chapter the approach and method for this study will be discussed and then a review of how the research was carried out will be presented. This is in order to communicate insights into the methodological choices made and to place the research into a scientific context.

3.1 The Nestlé Project

We became involved in the Nestlé project after contacting Nestlé and Julie Ørnstrup Hansen, Brand and Insight Manager of Nescafé Nordic. She presented the idea of investigating the Swedish coffee market and more specifically how women perceive the Nescafé brand and its products, as Nestlé needed insights about these consumers. We realized that the challenges Nestlé face typify a more general phenomenon: It deals with the perceptions and attitudes consumers have of a typical, low-involving everyday product. Additionally, consumer behaviour constitutes a challenge facing the whole market, even outside the coffee category, and was therefore applicable in a broader context. A qualitative study was therefore performed in order to reach a deeper understanding about a particular everyday consumption pattern, by focusing on ground and instant coffee.

3.2 Approach

Bryman and Bell (2007) state that the qualitative study enables a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of consumer behaviour as compared to a quantitative study. They explain that this is due to that qualitative research focuses on words rather than numbers, is more unstructured and demonstrates a more contextual understanding than the quantitative method. The premise of a qualitative study is to deepen the understanding of a phenomenon rather than explaining the origin of it (Andersen, 1998). This is done by raising constructivist issues that leave room for the informants to express their reality and uncover the individuals' own perceptions of a concept (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Therefore, an abductive method was adopted, where the empirical findings steered the conclusions with support from theory (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Björklund and Paulsson (2003) state that this implies holding an open relationship to the theory by using it for interpreting and understanding the empirical findings. However, it is important to simultaneously keep an open mind and examine the reality presented by the informants and from there formulate a theory (Björklund & Paulsson, 2003).

In accordance with Bryman and Bell's (2007) suggestion a constructivist approach was chosen to better understand the social and personal aspects of consumer behaviour. They explain that embracing a holistic perspective is crucial in order to support the idea that there are various elements that steer human behaviour. Additionally, a hermeneutic approach was adopted, due to the subjective perception of reality it provides (Bryman & Bell, 2007). In contrast to positivism it does not hold one definite truth but accommodates various explanations of appearances or phenomena (Patel & Tebelius, 1987).

To assure dependability triangulation was used, which means seeking data from more than one source in order to gain a well-rounded knowledge (Bryman & Bell, 2007). This was employed to ensure sufficient empirical material to support and substantiate the subsequent analysis and interpretations. Triangulation usually aims to prove an assumption (Stake, 1995), which, however, is not the aim of this study as it takes a constructivist approach (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Therefore, it is important to stress that the study does not consider there to be one truth or "best practice", but rather that the outcome of this paper represents one way to interpret the findings.

3.3 Study Design

Both primary and secondary data was used to support the subsequent analysis and results. The primary data consisted of in-depth interviews, focus group interviews and observations. The in-depth interviews gave personal and deep understandings of the informants' perceptions and attitudes, while the focus group interviews provided valuable information about behaviour in social settings and generational differences. Lastly, the observations were of great importance since they could unveil otherwise unspoken meanings. All in all the three procedures complemented each other as they provided different insights (Bryman & Bell, 2007).

It is important to point out that the ability to generalize a study is not directly applicable on exploratory research due to the reasons of constructionism (Bryman & Bell, 2007). 'However, to ensure that conclusions were as trustworthy as possible, questions were designed not to be exhaustive, but rather to let the responses guide the dialogue (Kvale & Brinkmanns, 2009). Leading questions were avoided and interviewees were instead asked to clarify or elaborate in case of confusion (Kvale & Brinkmanns, 2009). After conducting five in-depth interviews and two focus group interviews the same information recurred and therefore it was concluded that saturation was reached (Bryman & Bell, 2007). The secondary data consisted of relevant

documents from Nestlé, such as literature, scientific articles and reports, which aided the understanding and analysis (Malhotra, 2010).

3.3.1 In-depth interviews

In order to deepen the understanding of the research problem five in-depth interviews were conducted. During these both structured and semi-structured interview guides were used, depending on the objective of the interview (Bryman & Bell, 2007). In the pre-study two in-depth interviews with experts within relevant areas were held to gain a wider understanding of concepts and the background to the problem. Julie Ørnstrup Hansen was interviewed at an early stage in order to gain knowledge about Nescafé and its products. This interview was structured (Björklund & Paulsson, 2003), where all the questions were pre-determined, since solely factual understandings was required concerning product design, marketing efforts and their market (see Appendix 1). Due to transport restrictions the interview was carried out over the phone. Additionally, an interview with Susanna Molander, Ph.D. in consumption research, was conducted. She has written a dissertation about single mothers' everyday dinner consumption by applying Practice Theory. This interview was semi-structured, where a so-called interview guide was used to ensure that a number of relevant themes were brought up, but where the interviewee could control the responses and discussion (Bryman & Bell, 2007). The interview was intended to provide deepened insights into Practice Theory and Molander's research (see Appendix 2). Due to practical limitations the interview was conducted over the phone.

Additionally, three semi-structured in-depth interviews with coffee consumers were carried out to gain further insights into how consumers think and act regarding coffee consumption. The first interview was held over one hour with a girl in her early stages of coffee consumption. At this instance the focus was to uncover themes, giving special attention to the initiating phase of coffee consumption (see Appendix 3). The second interviewee was chosen from the focus group to gain deeper understandings of the practices uncovered during the first focus group occasion and in-depth interview. The objective of the interview was to highlight different themes such as morning routine and social life (see Appendix 4). The last interviewee was chosen due to her consumption pattern of instant coffee. She was consequently a source to gain deeper understanding of this specific consumption product but also of coffee consumption in general. Additionally, she was not part of the focus group and therefore not coloured by other informants' perceptions and attitudes (see Appendix 5). The

ethical guidelines suggested by Malhotra (2010) were followed in the interviews. Thus, ensuring that the informants felt comfortable and not pushing for answers were important. Additionally, the purpose of the research was clearly stated and the informants were asked if they consented to the interviews being recorded (Malhotra, 2010). For more exhaustive information on all in-depth interview informants, see Appendix 6.

3.3.2 Focus groups

In addition to the in-depth interviews two focus group interviews were conducted, with the same set of informants on both occasions. Kvale & Brinkman (2009) state that focus groups are well-suited for exploratory studies due to their nature of interaction, which can bring forward expressive and emotional opinions that would not emerge in in-depth interviews. Moreover, they claim that focus groups are suitable when introducing a theme because it allows the participants to develop the discussion. Thus, the researchers took an ethnographic role, allowing the participants to steer the conversation as much as possible, which can have the effect that the respondents open up even more (Ahrne & Svensson, 2011).

3.3.2.1 Selection

The focus group was composed of representatives from the defined target audience of women aged 16-30, residing in Sweden. The preference for brands is set between the ages of 15 and 25 (Taylor & Cosenza, 2002) and therefore it was vital to include this segment in the study. Additionally, the younger ages were selected due to the fact that many changes occur in life at that time, such as graduating, moving out and making own decisions. Since this is a liminal phase where the person might be considered neither an adult nor a child there are many interesting aspects impacting the person (Rumelili, 2012). In the same way it is interesting to compare people in this phase with those who have already gone through it, contrasting experiences, attitudes and consumption patterns (Molander, 2011a). However, a limit of 30 years of age was set in order to keep the age span representative of young women. For information on all focus group informants, see Appendix 7.

Ahme and Svensson (2011) suggest that a relatively homogeneous group of people should be strived for in a focus group to ensure that they have a similar frame of reference, which will initiate more open and richer discussions. Since this was a goal of the study and the age span chosen was quite broad, the focus group only contained women. Additionally, the social and individual interests and preferences generally tend to differ more between men and women

than between people of the same sex (Demura et al., 2013), which could contribute to different practices being adopted. Also, previous research has shown that men and women have different coffee consumption patterns (Demura et al., 2013). Since the aim of the study was to uncover common and shared practices a homogenous group was needed, which supported the decision to only include women. This can be assumed to make the study more trustworthy and conclusive than if both genders had been included. However, it is important to stress the fact that by not including men important aspects were disregarded and therefore it would be of interest to replicate this study with men only.

When selecting informants to the focus group it was of high importance to cover as large proportion of the different ages within the target group as possible to ensure that the results reflect age-related differences. Furthermore, it was important that the informants are regular coffee consumers. The focus groups consisted of eight informants, which is within the bounds of what is suggested by Bryman and Bell (2007). The respondents were all females aged 16-30, living in urbanized areas and regular coffee consumers. Since representativeness is not of equal relevance in qualitative as in quantitative research (Bryman & Bell, 2007), a convenience sample was conducted, which means that the respondents were selected based on availability. However, people with no or limited acquaintances were selected in order to eliminate the risk of hierarchical tendencies (Bryman & Bell, 2007).

3.3.2.2 Effectuation

The informants were contacted through e-mail, telephone, face-to-face or social media and asked if they were interested in participating in the study. The focus group interviews took place on two occasions. During the first coffee consumption and consumption patterns regarding coffee in general were discussed, followed by discussions leading into instant coffee (see Appendix 8). Unfortunately, one of the informants did not participate due to illness. Consequently, an in-depth interview was conducted with her, where themes were discussed that had been brought up during the first focus group occasion. On the second occasion Nescafé products were specifically discussed, after the respondents had consumed selected products from the company during one week (see Appendix 9). Additionally, during this session, in accordance with grounded theory (Bryman & Bell, 2007), the findings from the first session were developed. On both occasions confidentiality information regarding whom the material would be accessible to was clearly stated (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). Additionally, questioning of other's opinions was encouraged in order to obtain as much

information as possible, with an insistence that it was done in a respectful manner (Ahrne & Svensson, 2011). As in the in-depth interviews, the purpose of the study was clearly stated and all the informants were asked if they consented to being recorded (Malhotra, 2010).

3.3.2.3 Data processing

The interview questions were continuously discussed with the supervisor before and after the sessions to assure their relevance to the study. Additionally, prior to the interviews, questions were tested in unstructured settings with two people to fill in question gaps and validate the material. In order to assure the quality and tractability of the material collected (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989) it was taped, listened through and transcribed. The material was then analysed thoroughly and systematically divided into broad themes. This was done through coding, which is a tool that aids categorisation and is important in qualitative analysis to answer questions regarding representativeness (Bryman & Bell, 2007). This process began by repeatedly reading through all transcribed material to detect similarities and then dividing it into the themes uncovered.

3.3.3 Observations

One of the most distinctive characteristics of qualitative research is interpretation, where observations are eminent (Stake, 1995). Considering the nature of this study and the insights into consumer behaviour aimed for, observations of coffee consumers were performed. Observations are valuable to give the researcher a richer comprehension of the study phenomenon (Stake, 1995) and can reveal behaviour that the consumers are not aware of or would usually not admit (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Additionally, Allen (2002) claims that observations are needed when striving to uncover practices since people may be unaware of their practices and thus not able to report them. Observations also provide a clear and indubitable picture that further analysis can be built on (Stake, 1995).

Despite the advantages of observations there are still issues that should be addressed. First, time frame and point in time of the observation will affect the results (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Therefore, the observation occasions were carefully selected to be as representative as possible. Second, the researcher's interpretations will impact (Bryman & Bell, 2007), a risk that was mitigated by performing all observations together, after which the results were compared and matched. In order to ensure trustworthiness Bryman and Bell's (2007) two guidelines concerning the implication phase were followed. Firstly, guidelines and

observation schemes were set up prior to the observations (see Appendix 10). Secondly, an assurance that the people observed acted as they normally would despite knowing they were being observed, was strived for. This was done by not approaching them until after the observation (for in-store and at-café) and by spending considerable time with them before the actual observation began (for at-home). In line with ethical research practice, all the study objects were informed of the purpose of the study and were asked if the material they provided could be used in the study (Malhotra, 2010).

The observations conducted were partly set in an in-store environment to detect how consumers evaluate alternatives and make purchase decisions. Two medium size supermarkets within Lund city were chosen. The time of day was set to assure that the observations were conducted when the stores have the most traffic. During these observations short intervals of time sampling were carried out, whereby the subject's behaviour was observed for a couple of minutes, a technique that aids the conformability (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989; Bryman & Bell, 2007). Thereafter, questions were asked relating to age, purchase decision and coffee consumption habits.

The café observations carried out were set at the cafeteria at Lund School of Economics and Management during three occasions. The same strategy as in the in-store environment was followed: Observing a person in short intervals and then asking questions regarding purchase intention and reason of visit. The observations were conducted both in the morning and midday in order to capture potential trends across the day.

Lastly, the at-home observations were conducted to determine how and when coffee is consumed at home and on which occasions. Additionally, they were performed to establish if there was a routine to both preparing and consuming coffee. In this case rather long time frames were adopted. The advantage of this technique is that the observer has time to get comfortable in the position and therefore detect even more underlying aspects (Bryman & Bell, 2007). A focused selection technique was used where the study subjects were observed during a time period (Bryman & Bell, 2007). The observations were carried out sporadically, based on convenience and accessibility, at the informants' apartments. Moreover, one of the informants reported on her out-of-home coffee consumption in a diary form during one week in order to truly pinpoint her coffee consumption patterns. For information on the at-home-observation subjects, see Appendix 11.

3.3.4 Corporate documents

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the Nescafé brand and its products relevant documents provided by Nestlé were studied. These documents contained information on products, segments and target audience. However, since these documents are confidential, they have only been used as a basis for comprehension in the research.

3.4 Trustworthiness and transferability

In order to ensure trustworthiness and transferability a number of aspects were considered throughout the study. One of the most crucial aspects when striving to gain trustworthiness is the use of triangulation (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989). Consequently, this was a prime goal in the collection of empirical material. When carrying out in-depth interviews and focus group interviews the aim was not to lead or influence the respondents, which also contributed to the trustworthiness of the study (Kvale & Brinkmanns, 2009). The purpose of the study was communicated to the informants, encouraging them to demonstrate or speak of their consumption in wider terms, thus providing deeper insights (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989).

The observations were conducted both in short-term and long-term sessions in different contexts prior to focusing on specific themes or contexts, a technique that enhances trustworthiness, or dependability (Wallendorf and Belk, 1989). An important aspect of this was to be persistent in the observations to assure the quality of the findings (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989).

Another technique to assure trustworthiness is 'debriefings by peers' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, seen in Wallendorf & Belk, 1989, p. 78). Therefore, two external people went through, commented on and questioned the findings from the empirical material to gain second opinions, thus reassuring dependability. Furthermore, three of the informants read through the paper as a 'member check' (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989, p. 78), a way to ensure viability. To assure transferability, in other words confirming that the study is applicable to other contexts, Wallendorf and Belk's (1989) suggestion of applying triangulation across groups and sites was followed. Therefore, observations in various contexts were carried out and there was a wide age span in the interview informants. Furthermore, the limitations to the transferability of the study were addressed, such as it not being applicable to men. Still, this fact aided the

interpretation of the findings and understanding of when the theory would be applicable, since the scope of the study was more easily handled (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989).

3.5 Limitations of the study

The study has limitations that need to be addressed. First and foremost, there is always a risk that qualitative research becomes anecdotal, rather than capturing a general phenomenon (Bryman & Bell, 2007). With this in mind, it was important to ask questions and highlight the insights that could be of value from a broader perspective than just the specific case of Nescafé. Thus, the study did not solely focus on the brand but included multiple other aspects of everyday coffee consumption. Therefore, the study can be claimed to capture a larger phenomenon than that of Nescafé as it uncovers the underlying meanings and practices of everyday coffee consumption at large.

A second limitation is that, as mentioned, exclusively women were used in the study. Furthermore, only one focus group was used. Consequently, there is a risk that the results are valid only for this particular group (Bryman & Bell, 2007). However, the decision to focus on one group of people was made since deeper understandings of the informants and their underlying practices of coffee consumption were strived for. Therefore, multiple occasions with the same group rather than multiple groups seemed advantageous. This enabled the application of grounded theory (Bryman & Bell, 2007) by further developing the findings from the first occasion. However, it is important to consider this limitation when reading the results.

Finally, it should be mentioned that since this is a study that is primarily based on interpretations of the informants' answers, the researchers have had great influence over how the interpretations were made. Backgrounds and previous experiences inevitably coloured the way results were seen and interpreted. To minimize this limitation an approach as open-minded as possible was sought. Additionally, there was a risk that the informants would influence each other in the discussions, which is why a relaxed ambience was strived for where everyone felt comfortable in expressing their true views and opinions.

4. Empirical findings and analysis

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In this section the empirical findings from the study will be discussed and analysed through the chosen perspective, Practice Theory. The examination of the empirical material has provided several insights into the underlying meanings of everyday coffee consumption, which will be presented in the subsequent sections.

The empirical material has shown that coffee is an important part of everyday life to many consumers and that it fulfils different functions within and across consumption situations. The informants in the study have all been shown to have strong opinions and perceptions of coffee and its place in everyday life, as focus group informant Nina points out:

> Nina: […] The morning coffee goes with, coffee after the meal goes with, sit and study for a long time… it's, you know, it's tasty and it would feel very empty… now it sounds very tragicomic here but it would feel very empty if there wasn't any coffee in the everyday life, you know.

Nina's description of the importance of coffee in her everyday life can be seen as an indication of the unique position it has in Swedish society. Furthermore, her statement shows that coffee is consumed at multiple diverse occasions during the day, which indicates that there are different practices operating depending on consumption situation. The study has made it visible that the practices constituting everyday coffee consumption can be divided into two broad dimensions: Rhythm and symbolism. What separate these dimensions are the different functions they fill in people's daily lives and in society at large. The first dimension contains practices that help create rhythm and structure in everyday life, while the second dimension contains practices of more symbolic character that are displayed in consumption situations. Rhythm is composed of the practices creating structure, taking a break and indulging, while symbolism is composed of caring for others, socialising and idealising (see Figure 1). However, as pointed out by Molander (2011a), it is important to stress that these practices are not performed in a vacuum but oftentimes two or more practices operate simultaneously during one single consumption situation.
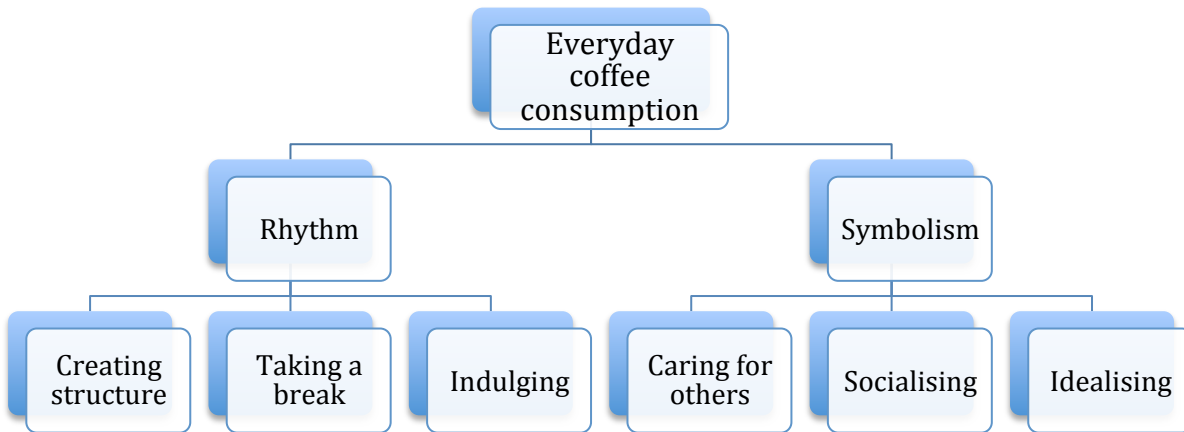
Figure 1. Framework of practices in everyday coffee consumption

4.1 Rhythm

Edensor and Holloway (2008), inspired by the rhythm analysis provided by Henri Lefebvre (2004), state that daily life comprises an abundance of different rhythms, both longer and shorter, which continuously interconnect. Rhythms can be identified in a multitude of contexts and aspects of daily life and originate from such wide sources as religious occasions, working hours and collective habits such as meals or sleeping hours (Edensor & Holloway, 2008). The study has made it evident that also habitual coffee consumption can be seen as one source of creating rhythm. The empirical material has shown that people consume coffee as a way of performing the practices of creating structure, taking a break and indulging, which all contribute to creating rhythm in one way or another. Consequently, these practices can be viewed as having quite rational and functional purposes as they help to organise and structure daily life. This is supported by the fact that rhythms provide order and consistency in people's lives as they offer guidance for when specific practices should be performed (Edensor & Holloway, 2008).

4.1.1 Creating structure

Coffee consumption is a way of creating structure in everyday life. This has become visible on both a macro level, through the collective rhythms of society, and on a micro level, for example through the structuring of a person's morning routine. All the informants in the study testified to drinking coffee on a habitual and routinized basis, which can be seen as creating rhythm in their daily lives. Shove (2012) states that habits constitute a framework for simplifying everyday life by providing order and comfort. On a macro level widespread habits

enacted by many people contribute to creating shared temporal rhythms and can function as determinants of for example sleeping and waking hours (Shove, 2012). The majority of the informants testified to habitually drinking coffee in the morning, thus indicating that the morning cup is an important part of the morning routine. Several of the informants also claimed to routinely have coffee after lunch or in the afternoon. However, there were only a few who claimed to normally drink coffee as part of the daily evening routine. This indicates that coffee serves as a determinant for how the day should be structured, as one major reason that people drink coffee is to feel energised and alert. The majority of demanding activities, such as working or studying, take place during the day and therefore coffee is habitually consumed during these hours. The evening, on the other hand, is rather signified by relaxing, calming down and preparing to go to bed, which leads to less frequent coffee consumption at night. Consequently, coffee consumption functions as a determinant for productivity in society and provides guidance for when to be productive and not. Fanny, one of the focus group informants, describes her coffee consumption when working:

> Fanny: For me coffee drinking while working is associated with very specific times. Like, if you don't get coffee at a specific time it's like you can't function. It's like at 10.00 someone has had to put on the coffee or I will get frustrated. It needs to be on, I need to feel the smell of the coffee.

She then continues to explain how she always drinks three cups of coffee during weekdays: One at 6.30, one at 10.00 and one at 14.30, which indicates that coffee plays an important role in creating structure in her life. Furthermore, the fact that all cups are consumed before and during normal working hours confirms that coffee is a decisive factor in the distinction between productivity and non-productivity. The consumption diary provided by Frida displays a similar structure in that she has a clearly routinized coffee consumption pattern and generally consumes coffee during the day, rather than at night. The coffee consumption patterns of Fanny and Frida show how coffee consumption contributes to the creation of rhythm in daily life, thus providing a sense of comfort and consistency (Edensor & Holloway, 2008). Coffee consumed routinely becomes almost like a ritual (Sigfridsson, 2005) and can therefore be seen as a structuring element of everyday life. The coffee consumption therefore functions as a way of dividing the day into foreseeable time slots. Also, Fanny's and Frida's daily cups of coffee follow the collective rhythms of Swedish society and the norms of when to wake up, be productive and go to bed. This can be viewed as a result of the normative rules (Molander, 2011a) governing how the practice of creating structure should be performed. Additionally, the fact that practices are independent of individual actors (Reckwitz, 2002)

further explains the seemingly collective ordering of daily life, as mirrored in the shared coffee consumption patterns.

Shifting focus to the micro level of the practice, it has become evident that coffee is an important element in the structuring of the everyday morning routine. Tilda, a focus group informant, describes coffee's significance in the morning:

> Tilda: It's like that when you get up as well. The first thing you do is to go and put on some coffee so that, like, it will be done so that you can get started, because otherwise you can't.

This shows that coffee plays a structuring role in the morning routine and that it provides a comfort in knowing exactly what to do after waking up. The importance of coffee in the everyday morning routine also became evident in the at-home observations. These showed that the study subjects have well-developed structures for the ordering of tasks performed in the morning, such as getting dressed, having breakfast and packing the bag. For both study subjects the preparation of coffee was an essential element in the morning and it was also evident that it was important to synchronise other tasks so that the coffee would be ready in time for breakfast.

Another aspect that is very noticeable in the empirical material is that the practice of creating structure through coffee consumption is not as present on weekends, holidays or days off. When the informants do not have to go to work or school they drink coffee on a much more ad hoc basis. Rather than treating coffee as a way to create structure they use it as an indulgence; a practice that will be discussed later in this chapter. Many of the informants described how they like to sleep in during weekends, prepare a nicer breakfast than usual, sit for longer, read the newspaper thoroughly and have several cups of coffee. This supports the fact that creating structure is primarily a practice in the everyday coffee consumption but not in other coffee consumption situations. This was further supported when coffee consumption in the evening was discussed in the focus group. Several of the informants described how drinking coffee late is an unusual behaviour that signals time off the next day. The following passage from the focus group provides an example of this:

> Elina: Well it's so good, I love a cup of coffee at night. […] if I work late, for example, and I'm not working the day after, I'm like "nice, then I can take a cup

tonight". Then this cup of coffee symbolises that I'm off the next day and then I get really happy.

Tilda: Yeah, during the weekend.

Elina: Yeah, during the weekend, on like Fridays and I can have a calm night at home. I can take a cup of coffee later and feel so damn good, like I'm off tomorrow, or…

Mikaela: It's like a sense of freedom.

Thus, when comparing everyday coffee consumption to leisure coffee consumption the former almost signals a straitjacket of the informants' time. This mirrors the fact that people are being captured by practices (Reckwitz, 2002) which indicates that many, if not all, people who work or go to school are to some extent captured by the practice of creating structure.

The values the practitioners aspire to when carrying out the practice of creating structure may be understood in terms of safety, confidence and security, as research has shown that routine behaviour provides these kinds of positive emotions in everyday life (Warde, 2005). Thus, even though habits and routinized behaviour may not always constitute the most effective course of action, they provide multiple affective benefits (Avni-Babad, 2011). It can therefore be assumed that the teleoaffective structure (Schatzki, 1996) of the practice of creating structure rests upon a desire to achieve safety; to try to foresee what is coming and not be living in uncertainty. It can also be argued that striving to share the same temporal rhythms as others is a way of securing the belonging to the group.

4.1.2 Taking a break

The empirical material shows that coffee consumption is seen as a legitimate reason for taking a break while working or studying. The coffee break is a wide-spread and commonly accepted social practice during which people are brought together and converse in a less strict and professional manner, for example at work (Stroebaek, 2013). This can be compared to a smoker for whom the practice of taking a break may be manifested in the act of going outside for a smoke, alone or in the company of others. The practice of taking a break helps creating a rhythm between productivity and leisure, thus providing order and structure in people's daily lives. In the focus group, Elina describes the practice of taking a break when studying:

> Elina: [...] when you have finals and stuff, that coffee was the moment when you were allowed to take a break. So then it was very holy, like "should we not just take a break for a while and drink some coffee?".

The quote shows the difference between the practices of taking a break and creating structure. Both practices concern the ordering of everyday life, but while creating structure is achieved by routinized coffee consumption, taking a break is not necessarily done on routine in the same way. Stroebaek (2013) claims that coffee breaks can be said to be one basis for the creation of micro sociological rhythms, for example at work. Thus, coffee consumed when taking a break is part of the practitioner's daily rhythm but not always structured and pre-determined. However, it is important to point out that breaks may very well be taken habitually and in a structured manner as well; they are just not routinized per se.

Another important aspect is that there is a bidirectional relationship between coffee consumption and the practice of taking a break. On the one hand, coffee consumption can generate the practice of taking a break; the initiation of consuming coffee leads to a break being taken. On the other hand, the practice can generate consumption; the cause-and-effect interplay switches. This second relationship became visible in the observations carried out at the cafeteria at Lund School of Economics and Management, where the practice of taking a break resulted in the students consuming coffee. The standard at the school is that lectures have a 15-minutes break every hour and it was clear that these breaks constitute rush hour at the cafeteria. While otherwise quite empty, the cafeteria was crowded during the breaks and the majority of the students bought coffee. It thus seems as though the students were directly cued (Wood & Neal, 2009) by the break to go and buy coffee; that the breaks automatically generated the response to consume coffee. Emma also expresses this in the focus group:

> Emma: Often the break is just to go and buy a coffee as well. "Ah break, okay let's go and take a coffee and then come back".

Kjeldgaard and Östberg (2007) state that the coffee break is a highly rooted phenomenon in Swedish culture and that it has apparent resemblances to the British tradition of having a cup of tea. This is voiced by Emma in the focus group who describes how she has grown up with coffee breaks, for example by viewing her grandparents taking coffee breaks. This also mirrors the norm that breaks are deeply connected to coffee and vice versa. Tea, on the other hand, does not seem to have the same clear connotation in Sweden, as opposed to Great Britain. The fact that coffee consumption is such an integrated and given part of taking a

break reveals the normative rules and instructions surrounding the practice (Schatzki, 1996). To have a cup of coffee is a socially accepted reason for taking a break and when taking a break the practitioner is often expected to take a cup of coffee. The normative rules governing the practice are thus clear on what beverage the practitioner is supposed to drink when performing the practice.

The underlying values strived for in the practice of taking a break, which constitutes the teleoaffective structure (Warde, 2005), can be said to spring from motivational factors of the practitioner. Taking a break may be done in order to make it through the day and handle the tasks needed to be carried out. Elina voices this in the focus group:

> Elina: Like, you would long those three hours for when you could take a coffee, you know, a little bit like that. Like when you had the break at a lecture, it's very symbolic.

This shows that Elina looks forward to the coming break and therefore the break may function as an incentive for her to endure the hours of working or studying as she knows that she will have the coffee break eventually. Emma agrees to this and expresses that she needs coffee to get the drive to continue to study.

To detect the deeper meanings and underlying values of the practice of taking a break there is a need to examine why the practitioner takes the break. Since many of the informants testified to take breaks in order to motivate themselves to continue working or studying it may spring from a desire to fulfil commitments, for example to perform well at work or at school. The underlying values behind this may therefore be to achieve acceptance by colleagues and chiefs by doing a good job or to secure a stable future with a good employment by completing an education.

4.1.3 Indulging

The research has revealed that the informants engage in the practice of indulging in daily life and that coffee can be used as a way to indulge. Just like the practice of taking a break indulging signals a lack of productivity, as opposed to the practice of creating structure. However, the practices of creating structure and indulging can operate simultaneously during the same coffee consumption situation, where the practice of creating structure marks the productive part of the day, while the practice of indulging marks that this specific moment is

unproductive, for example during a break. Consequently, there is a continuous interplay between the two practices that helps to create harmony and rhythm between productivity and leisure in everyday life. The practice of indulging is obviously also often performed simultaneously as the practice of taking a break, primarily during working or studying hours. In addition, indulging through coffee consumption can contribute to establishing a rhythm during leisure time as well, since it also provides structure when not working or studying, thus contributing to the overall rhythm in life.

Many practices require consumption to take place (Warde, 2005) and this is particularly true for the practice of indulging, which is often signified by consumption of a treat or the like. This is quite obvious in the case of leisure coffee consumption, for example consuming a cappuccino together with a pastry at a café, but can also be true for the habitual everyday coffee consumption. This becomes visible in the in-depth interview with Caroline:

> Caroline: Otherwise it's like you, like come up to school and you're like "oh boring, oh so tiresome with lecture but I'll comfort myself with buying a coffee so I can sit and sip on that", you know. Ehm, so I guess it's mostly because of that that I buy it.

Thus, Caroline treats herself to a coffee since she feels resistance to being at school and going to the lecture. The coffee then becomes an indulgence to ease the feeling of not wanting to be at school. Elina also testifies to the importance of coffee as an indulgence during her time as a student:

> Elina: [Coffee] is something I have never skimped on, during the entire student period as well. It was really like "the coffee is holy and I don't give a shit about what it costs, I'm just going to have it". It's like… I have to give that to myself, it's kind of like my luxury, you know. You should be nice to yourself.

Elina's statement reveals the possible teleoaffective structure of the practice of indulging since it is a way to take care of herself and possibly also showing herself that she is worthy of a nice treatment. Xu and Schwarz (2009) state that "hedonic indulgences provide people with experiential enjoyment, satisfying both psychological and physiological needs that necessities may not meet" (p. 25). Thus, to indulge by drinking coffee may be done out of emotional purposes such as treating oneself as well as physiological purposes like satisfying cravings for coffee.

Another aspect of coffee as an indulgent is that not all coffee alternatives are seen as sufficiently indulgent alternatives. This can be detected when Fanny reflects upon instant coffee in the focus group:

> Fanny: [Instant coffee] doesn't give you this, just like you're saying, this feeling… this feeling of satisfaction, when you feel that you get what you need. It feels like you get a faked thing.

This indicates that Fanny would not use instant coffee as a way to indulge. She continues to describe how a coffee should be made in order for her to feel satisfied:

> Fanny: I have expectations on how it should taste and if it doesn't live up to that then I don't want it. I want it to taste in a certain way. If I get a coffee in many countries abroad it's often not that strong. We drink our coffee very strong here in Sweden, I think… and then it's not like coffee to me. Then it's like water flavoured with coffee and then I'm not interested. Then it won't give that satisfaction.

The other informants agree to this statement, which implies that there are normative rules for what constitutes 'good' coffee in Sweden. This is a result of traditions and culture and what Swedes are accustomed to. Therefore, it will affect what sort of coffee is acceptable as an indulgent. However, when the coffee is consumed due to reasons other than to indulge it does not seem to be equally important how it tastes, as pointed out by Nina in the focus group:

> Nina: I feel like…when you're home then you want a good cup of coffee but if it is finals week, I feel like "yeah now I drink this because it's coffee and to get me up and going".

Clearly, Nina distinguishes between the coffee consumed for her to be energised when studying and the coffee consumed at home to indulge. This also shows how coffee can be used both as a marker of productivity and a marker of leisure, depending on the consumption situation.

The difference between indulgence coffee and non-indulgence coffee can also be seen in the artefacts surrounding the consumption, which became clear in the at-home observations at Ellen's. When she had quite a limited amount of time in the morning before going to school, thus not drinking coffee to indulge, she used a rather plain and ordinary coffee cup. However, during other occasions, when she had plenty of time in the morning and treated herself to sit for long and read magazines while having coffee, she used one of the more expensive and

nicer-looking golden cups of the household with a matching saucer. This indicates that in order to separate non-indulgence coffee consumption from indulgence coffee consumption it might be necessary to make actual physical distinctions. This also became evident in the focus group when the informants discussed drinking coffee out of a thermos in the lecture break as opposed to drinking it out of a cup. Tilda reflected upon this aspect by stating that it is cosier to drink out of a cup. Mikaela agreed and drew the reference to a school environment where she feels it is more indulging to go and buy a coffee at the school cafeteria than to stay in the lecture hall and drink it out of a thermos. Consequently, for coffee to be an indulgence in the lecture break it seems not to be sufficient to drink it out of a thermos but should preferably be bought in the cafeteria and drunk out of a cup. This also indicates the normative instructions surrounding the practice of indulging: The norm states that thermos coffee is not as indulgent as buying a cup of coffee.

Another aspect of coffee as indulgence is that there seems to be significant differences between different ages and life stages, as well as between different persons. For example, in her interview, Caroline expresses the underlying reasons for her coffee consumption as a teenager, when she drank it in order to not feel childish, as opposed to her coffee drinking today, when she drinks it to indulge herself:

> Caroline: So then I forced myself to learn to drink coffee and then I didn't think… then that was the reason why I drank, because I thought that I was supposed to think it was tasty. But then I thought it was really disgusting. […] Now I'm drinking it because I think it's really, really tasty and cosy with a coffee.

This indicates that the practice of indulging emerges with time as the coffee consumer becomes more accustomed to the taste and eventually comes to like it. At the early stages of coffee consumption, it seems, there are other underlying practices behind the consumption such as idealising; a practice that will be discussed later. Also, the way the practice of indulging is manifested is dependent on the practitioner. For focus group informant Elina, for instance, the specific type of coffee is significant:

> Elina: You choose a coffee that you want. That you don't, you know, buy coffee on special offer but you buy a coffee that you actually like.
>
> Moderator: And what is that?

> Elina: Well I, as mentioned, I'm Zoégas. So it's like Zoégas, and then their organic Zoégas. So I'm… I don't look at the price, if I need new coffee for the home then I buy coffee for the home. It's because it's my everyday luxury.

For Tilda and Mikaela, on the other hand, an important aspect when performing the practice of indulging is what they have with the coffee. Tilda describes how a coffee and a snuff is "her thing" and that she perceives that combination as particularly indulging while Mikaela has the same feeling for coffee and a cigarette. Consequently, there are several differences in how the practice is carried out depending on person. This can be explained by the fact that the performance of a practice often differs between individuals and groups, both in how it is carried out and how committed the practitioner is to its enactment (Warde, 2005).

4.2 Symbolism

Symbolism is the other aspect of coffee's role in everyday life. Consuming coffee can be symbolic in the way it is consumed, when it is offered and at what occasions it is consumed. While rhythm has more functional and rational grounds, symbolism is rather emotional and social in its composition. In other words, coffee is not consumed in a quest to order and structure daily life but it rather has a symbolic dimension to it. This is true for both the person consuming and society at large. The practices found in the symbolic dimension are caring for others, socialising and idealising. They all constitute a symbolic meaning in their existence: Caring for others is how to be a good person, socialising is to be liked and belong to the group, and idealising is how to be the 'right' consumer.

4.2.1 Caring for others

Coffee has a culturally unique position in Swedish society as the beverage is generally offered as a courtesy when having visitors or when meeting someone (Sigfridsson, 2005). This is also reflected in the media, for example in the Swedish coffee brand Gevalia's slogan "When you get an unexpected visitor" (Mondelez Nordic, 2014). The informants in the focus group discussed coffee in social contexts and more specifically when having visitors over. However, they did not once address the reasons why they would serve coffee to a guest, which speaks for coffee's natural and indisputable place in Swedish homes. Only when explicitly asked did the informants identify culture, courtesy and appreciation of the guest as reasons to why they would offer coffee. Frida even uses the word "mum" to describe how she wants to be a good host:

> Frida: […] you have guests and that, and you feel like you are a good…
>
> Tilda: Host?
>
> Frida: Yes and I almost said mum… no, but that you are good at caring for your home and that you have a cosy home and stuff like that and you have a nice coffee maker.

Therefore, caring for others seems to be a practice vital in coffee consumption, both during special events such as having dinner, but also in everyday life when someone drops by the house.

The study has shown that the practice of caring for others is visible in coffee consumption both on a macro and a micro level. On a macro level it is demonstrated by the consumption of fair-trade coffee alternatives, which contributes to the environment and welfare of society. As previously mentioned, a focus on fair-trade is apparent in coffee consumption today and its importance to consumers is constantly growing (Laaksonen, 2010). This was evident in the in-store observations at ICA as well, where multiple consumers favoured and purchased the fair-trade option over other alternatives. At these observations, many expressed that they usually buy fair-trade options as often as they can and always for certain products. For example, one girl always buys fair-trade coffee, bananas and chocolate because she has heard that these products cause the most damage to the world. As Bettman, Luce & Payne (1989) discuss, a purchase decision is based on both judgement and choice and this customer truly made a judgement in selecting her chosen products. She meant that the way these products are manufactured hurt both people and the environment and consequently she demonstrated a care for the environment and society by choosing fair-trade. The growing trend of consuming ecological products is a result of an increased awareness and care for the environment and has had a normative impact on society as a whole (De Pelsmacker, Driesen & Rayp, 2005). Therefore, the teleoaffectivity of consuming these coffee options may be understood as a desire to show care for others and to contribute to making the world a better place.

Caring for others by drinking coffee is also manifested on a micro level. The Swedish tradition of inviting someone over and offering coffee is a cultural phenomenon (Kjeldgaard & Östberg, 2007). Worldwide it is common courtesy to offer visitors a treat or the like with the intention of being a good host, making the guests feel invited or simply showing

appreciation for their presence. As Molander (2011a) explains, a practice that people engage in, such as caring for others, is the basis for structuring society. Offering coffee has truly become a part of the norms of society and is a traditional custom, which became evident in the at-home observations. Frida offered her friend who was visiting coffee and then told her to sit down while she prepared it, even though the friend offered to help. Furthermore, Caroline reflects in her in-depth interview upon why people offer coffee when having visitors:

> Caroline: Well it's just a part of Swedish culture. I mean if you have always seen your parents offer coffee when even like, the plumber came over and he was like "yes please". Like, of course you get coloured from that, exactly like you know that you should say thanks for dinner. So I think that it's obvious. […] that it's what the culture in Sweden looks like. It's like a very welcoming thing, just like you take off your shoes when you come home to someone. […] I don't think it's specifically coffee that you offer but it's that you make sure this person feels welcome. And that is a great part of Swedish culture.

Caroline highlights the fact that offering a beverage has a broader meaning beyond that of coffee, which originates in traditions. Yet, coffee seems to be the standard in Swedish homes. This also correlates with the fact that the practitioner is not the creator of the practice but solely the carrier (Shove, 2012). It is a social norm or, as Caroline puts it, Swedish culture to offer coffee. The practitioner feels obligated to ask, thus not initiating the behaviour but rather expressing it. Also, Tilda points out in the focus group that the phrase "should we go for a coffee?" is used although coffee might not even be the product consumed; it is rather an expression for 'fika'. As Warde (2005) states, even though a practice can be performed in different ways the actual intention of it is still understood.

The practice of caring for others through coffee consumption goes beyond the mere act of consuming coffee; it is also manifested in how the coffee is presented. The appreciation of others can be expressed in various ways, from the kind of coffee that is preferred to how it is prepared, such as how much milk is used. No matter to what degree, the concern of being a good host is prevalent, as expressed by Mikaela and Nina in the focus group:

> Mikaela: Because you didn't know how people like it, how strong? And…ehm, yeah it was like this thing over it.
>
> Nina: Yeah, when you go and buy coffee when you're studying, for your friends. It's like how much milk or…yeah that's also very like…if it's a little bit in that one or… it's always minute if it's too much or too little.

As demonstrated by the quotes the concern for approval of the coffee seems important. Even though the person consuming the beverage might not have explicitly expressed the "minuteness" Nina discusses, it is clear that it is vital to the practitioner. The same pattern was discovered during the at-home observations at Frida's, when after pouring up milk into a coffee cup for her friend asked if it was the right amount. The preparing of the coffee and how it should be served is strongly dependent on personal preferences, but still it seems to be perceived as an indicator of a person's hosting ability. Some of the informants even have coffee equipment they rarely use alone, but often in company with others. For example Caroline, who is convenient and usually drinks instant coffee, has a capsules machine that she only uses for guests' pleasure. This displays the informant's desire to please her guests. By purchasing equipment for guests the practitioner follows the rules and instructions governing how to be a good host, which reveals the normative characteristics of how the practice should be performed (Schatzki, 1996).

There are clear normative rules about what to offer and not to offer when consuming coffee, especially with regards to instant coffee. The empirical material has shown that it is not considered appropriate to serve instant coffee to guests because of the quality of the coffee and the fact that it is seen as a quicker alternative than other coffee options. Caroline, as described above, is a regular instant coffee consumer but is hesitant to offer instant coffee in social surroundings due to the general perception that people do not like it. Ellen, also a regular instant coffee consumer, would never dream of offering this to guests since she would feel that she had not made sufficient effort in preparing it. The general attitude towards instant coffee thus has a strong normative structure to it (Schatzki, 1996). When carrying out the practice of caring for others the norm is not to serve instant coffee. Ellen also considers the making of ground coffee a part of the experience, since it signifies 'real' coffee; a concept that will be addressed in the socialising section. Furthermore, Fanny and Elina express in the focus group that they would be disappointed if offered instant coffee:

> Fanny: If I'm thinking that someone is…that someone is… if you're thinking that you will be served coffee and someone says "I only have instant coffee" then you get like, "well…"

> Elina: Like, look a bit sad.

However, the effort made when preparing coffee for visitors is not solely limited to instant coffee. The empirical material has shown that even more thought is imperative,

demonstrated for example by asking what kind of coffee is preferred or by using a milk foamer. The informants explain that they usually make the coffee experience more luxurious and nicer when they have company:

> Fanny: I always try to use my milk foamer and serve it in a glass because I think that is so nice.
>
> Emma: Make it a bit more luxurious.
>
> Fanny: Yes, that it looks like you've made a bit of an effort.
>
> Frida: Yes and use a nice cup perhaps.

This pattern was also visible in the at-home observations at Ellen's. As mentioned, she used different cups depending on occasion or situation. For her, she had a 'normal' cup that represents efficiency. When she had breakfast with her boyfriend, however, she used a different kind of cup that was a bit nicer and that she only has two of. Moreover, she explained that she has small porcelain cups that she usually sets the table with when her family is visiting. This demonstrates that she wants to be a good host and show appreciation for others, displaying a teleoaffective dimension in her act (Schatzki, 1996).

4.2.2 Socialising

The act of consuming coffee has a distinctive social aspect to it; Sigfridsson (2005) even states that coffee is part of a collective beverage culture. She further describes how having a cup of coffee with someone, both at home and in public, is a way of socialising rather than actually enjoying the coffee. Mikaela describes this in her in-depth interview when she considers drinking coffee alone as opposed to drinking it together with others:

> Mikaela: Well I was going to say that you in a way enjoy it more when you're alone, but… no, I don't think that there is that much difference. It's more like everything else around. But, I'm thinking, when you're going "fikar" with your friends, I don't think the coffee is what you're concentrated on, but it has to be tasty but you're so into other stuff so…

Reckwitz (2002) supports the idea that the practice underlying consumption is superior to the consumption itself. Consequently, the practice of socialising is superior to the consumption of coffee. Cova (1997) addresses the communality of consumption by stating that apart from individual goals there are social goals of consumption. The informants in the study confirm

this by emphasising the strong socialising aspect of consuming coffee. The sense of communality and belonging seems stronger than individual goals such as indulging. This indicates that Mikaela's quote above can be explained by the fact that she is engaging in the practice of socialising when in public. Thus, her different perceptions of coffee consumed at home and in public are not manifestations of her personal characteristics but rather depend on the practices performed. This is in line with Molander's (2011a) claim that the consumption, drinking coffee, is not a goal in itself but rather the practice, socialising, is. In other words, the structure and procreation (Molander, 2011a) of socialising in everyday life often includes coffee and therefore the beverage becomes a given part of the practice. This is supported by the fact that a practice consists of bodily behaviour, mental activities and physical objects that interact and the repeated enactment of these creates a sense of norm or tradition (Reckwitz, 2002). Just as in-depth interview informant Caroline has described, Swedish coffee consumption is strongly connected to culture, especially in social contexts.

The socialising aspect of coffee has shown to have a broad appliance area in Sweden. It is evident when making new acquaintances as well as when meeting up with old friends, but also in given contexts such as work and school. Coffee consumption in a social environment can be described as creating communality. Nina explains in the focus group how coffee is great on dates, because it creates a relaxed environment, but also when she wants to catch up with someone she has not met in a long time. Frida, on the other hand, focuses on the kind of situations where coffee is suitable:

> Frida: Yeah but [coffee] fits so many more occasions, it's more like cultural. Like you would have cultural discussions and smoke a cigarette and drink coffee. But it could also be this, like…to gossip and talk nonsense with a coffee.

Yet again it is prevalent that coffee is a given part of Swedish culture and in socialising situations. As Kjeldgaard and Östberg (2007) state, coffee drinking is an essential part of social life. Therefore, it can also be seen as an essential part of various social situations of everyday life, just as the informants have described. The goal is to gain information from conversations in groups, or to feel a sense of belonging and being part of the group.

A sense of belonging is vital for humans since we are herd animals (Sigfridsson, 2005) and coffee consumption can also be seen in terms of attaining a sense of conformity. Since the coffee culture is so strong in Sweden it can have an excluding effect for those not consuming

the beverage. Caroline explains in her in-depth interview this feeling as a reason to why she started drinking coffee:

> Caroline: I felt so corny, that I can't sit and drink hot chocolate my entire life. When you're, like, in those situations. Am I like going to sit in a job interview and like "no I'll have a hot… cup of hot chocolate, please"? You know. [laughs] It doesn't really work like that. Plus I, I don't know… it was probably more… probably one of those like communality things, it's not like… if no one had drank coffee I would never have sat and forced myself to like coffee, that's really weird. It's the same thing with, why are you supposed to like beer? Yes but it's a social… it's a, it's a little culture. You know, "we drink coffee". And it's really corny but people are like that, we, we are herd animals.

Caroline can be seen as consuming coffee to avoid exclusion from society, which seems to be a common reason behind the initiation of coffee consumption. This aspect reveals the teleoaffective structure of the practice of socialising. Other informants have also displayed the fear of exclusion or not being a part of the group. For example, Nina describes in the focus group how she could sit alone at a café in Paris, but not in Sweden. While she felt special and sophisticated when sitting alone and having a coffee in Paris she expressed a sense of sadness and loneliness when doing it in Sweden. The oldest informant, Fanny, interprets that it relates to conformity and states that people find it strange with anyone who does not act like everyone else. She herself seems to be the only one who does not have a problem with taking a cup of coffee alone in public; the others express that they would feel lonely and weird. The different perceptions may be explained by differences in age and life stage. When people are younger they tend to care more about what others think of them (Arnett, 2007), which can be an explanation.

In social situations, when at work or at school, breaks are taken together in an effort to socialise. Additionally, just like in-depth interview informant Caroline explains, it is a social ritual to take a break together and gather around the cup. In the observations conducted at the cafeteria at Lund School of Business and Economics the majority of the study objects purchased coffee in groups of at least two, with the focus seeming to be on socialising. Frequently, there were two people standing in line together but only one buying coffee while the other was solely accompanying. When two girls were asked about this behaviour, they explained that one of them had asked if they should go and buy coffee in the break of the lecture. The other one had consented, stating that is more fun to tag along than staying alone in the lecture hall. In this instance the act of drinking coffee is not a practice-as-performance

but rather a way to express the practice-as-entity, socialising, demonstrating the strength of the practice in coffee consumption. Topik (2009) supports this statement by saying that today the phrase ''let's have a cup of coffee'' (p. 99) at work simply implies that the people will have a conversation.

It has been evident in the empirical material that coffee consumption in social surroundings has a focus on ground coffee rather than instant coffee, which is not surprising considering ground coffee's widespread and frequent usage in the world (Guadagni & Little, 1998). The reason why instant coffee does not have a strong social profile can be explained by not being seen as 'real coffee' by consumers, as expressed by the informants. Thus, it is not part of the normative instructions (Molander, 2011, a) of how to socialise with coffee. This strongly correlates with people not wanting to offer instant coffee when having visitors, which originates yet again in Swedish social culture. The norm is that people do not drink instant coffee in the company of others because it is not as socially accepted as ground coffee.

4.2.3 Idealising

The empirical material has shown that the informants believe that what type of coffee, or the way it is consumed, can describe a person comprehensively. Different traditions, procedures and people can have a great impact on how coffee is consumed but also on how others perceive the consumer and what is admired. A reason to consume a certain type of coffee or even coffee overall can be seen as a way to idealise consumption. The practice has clear integrated structures (Molander, 2011a), from drinking the 'right' sort of coffee to more preparatory aspects like using the right equipment. The research has demonstrated that the practice of idealising can be found in everyday consumption, broadening the CCT-perspective, which often focuses on the unusual consumption as a way to express status and identity (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). The results from the study show that people are affected by their surroundings in their everyday consumption, both on a micro level, by family and friends, and on a macro level, by media and society, and these dimensions create an idealisation of how coffee is to be consumed, further explained below.

The practice of idealising is heavily influenced by the norms of society, in other words, the social surroundings, which has an impact on coffee consumption. For example, both Mikaela and Elina in the focus group have a clear picture of what a 'real' coffee drinker is:

Mikaela: I can feel that it's more grown up to drink one of those small espressos, than if you take a latte. Or for me it's been like that. But maybe that is because my dad always takes an espresso and so. But it feels like the stronger and lesser milk, the more grown up. Then you're like "I'm drinking real coffee".

Elina: I have this theory that then…then it's just really strong, it's pure and then you drink like real coffee, like you haven't done anything artificial to it…and the stronger it is, macho might not be the right word but, then you're really a coffee drinker.

Mikaela relates coffee consumption to adulthood and uses her dad as a frame of reference, who drinks strong and black coffee. Elina has a similar view and idolises black coffee drinkers and expresses that she wishes she could drink it that way. The other informants have a similar view of what a 'real' coffee drinker is and adjudge milk and sugar to not be as cool as drinking coffee black. The teleoaffective structure of desiring admiration and wanting to impress is here expressed through the picture of who a 'real' coffee drinker is. Hedvig remembers being accused of not being a 'real' coffee drinker by friends when they witnessed how much milk she had in her cup. She explains it as being related to how men drink coffee, which Mikaela agrees with, stating that it is a norm. Sigfridsson (2005) supports this argument and claims that men set the standards in coffee consumption. As Reckwitz (2002) explains, the product of collectively shared understandings of values and norms is displayed in human action and social order is achieved by normative agreements, truly reflected in the informants. For example, Emma states that she is a 'male' coffee drinker and that coffee should not taste like chocolate; it should be strong and black. Hedvig also speculates about male and female coffee consumers in her in-depth interview:

Hedvig: It's…like…black coffee, that's like bad asses, like the real coffee drinkers and you're an adult if you drink black coffee. Milk, it's like, yeah many…I am a feminist so now this shouldn't sound like…degrading towards women…but I would say it's like...it's pretty common that women drink with milk and men black. And I suppose that has something to do with…like social from the start, that it was cooler and harder to drink without milk and therefore you should do that.

She clearly states the desire of feeling like a tough person, which is what a male represents. However, it is of importance to point out that the goal of the practice in coffee consumption is not to aim for a male ideal, but rather what masculinity represents in society. It seems as norms in society aid a heavily prescriptive view even on coffee consumption. The ideal is not

to be masculine but it is rather society's structure of idealising the male that is displayed in coffee consumption. Molander (2011a) points to the important dimension of giving meaning and purpose to consumption when studying it through the practice perspective, which the idealisation does. The teleoaffective structure of the practice thus relates to striving for belonging and wanting to fit in, which is determined by the social norms in society (Molander, 2011a), idealising the man.

Another aspect of the practice of idealising through coffee consumption is the desire to become part of the adult world. Hedvig, the youngest informant, describes why she first started consuming coffee as a way to try something new and daring. She got a feeling of being an adult. This seems to be present in Hedvig's life today as well, as she later on in the interview describes why she consumes coffee:

> Hedvig: […] It's like a feeling, "okay, now I will drink coffee. I'm focused, I'm
> an adult and I'm structured".

Idealising adults and imitating them can thus be a way to enter adulthood. Sigfridsson (2005) points out several items, such as coffee, cigarettes and alcohol, which fill this function. Simultaneously, it is a way to signal that the practitioner is actually becoming an adult (Sigfridsson, 2005). The integrated practical understanding (Schatzki, 1996) of idealising adulthood is vital because it is not a given knowhow of how to make coffee before starting to consume it. To be able to make coffee is a prerequisite and when mastering the technique it is a way to reach the teleoaffectivity of feeling like an adult (Molander, 2011a). Therefore, when striving for adulthood it is important to point out that the practice of idealising is only present in the early stages of coffee consumption when the goal is to become an adult. However, there are different stages in the early coffee consumption that relates to idealising adulthood: The first initiating try of coffee and later on moving on to other coffee alternatives.

To drink coffee can be taught either postfigurately, by someone older, or configurately, by a peer (Sigfridsson, 2005) and both instances have been visible in the study. Tilda, 18 years old, started to drink coffee at the age of 14 at her confirmation camp. She describes the memory as the group pushing each other because they needed to stay awake and be "as cool" as the older leaders. They all thought it tasted disgusting but kept on pushing each other and at the end of the camp they all were able to drink it. Caroline also felt the pressure from friends, as she explains in her in-depth interview:

Caroline: When I was about to learn to drink coffee it was more about that I felt so corny when I was the only person who sat and had like hot chocolate when you went for a 'fika'. And I felt that I didn't drink neither tea nor coffee so I felt that "no, now I actually have to take care of this and be a little…" of a social factor, I think. […] So then I forced myself to learn to drink coffee.

On the other hand, Elina and Emma describe how they used to watch their grandparents or parents drink coffee. Elina started off by drinking it with large amounts of sugar and milk that she was given when visiting her grandparents' house. Emma's parents, on the other hand, have always been drinking black coffee and so she started with black coffee from the start. Still, the common denominator for all different stories was the goal of entering adulthood. The teleoaffectivity of the practice seems to stem from the desire to feel like an adult and being part of a group; in other words fitting in. The latter can be explained by Hedvig's declaration of why young people start drinking coffee, expressed in her in-depth interview:

Hedvig: I think it's group pressure.

Moderator: In what way?

Hedvig: If there is someone who starts and then, yes, there are people tagging along. And then it might be someone who doesn't like tea and then that person takes, "yes but then I take coffee" and then it has started.

However, family and peers are not the only ones influencing people's coffee initiation. Society plays an important role in shaping the minds of younger people. Media and marketing efforts daily encourage consumption. Just as Kjeldgaard and Östberg (2007) state, the coffee culture in Scandinavia is similar to the British cuppa, in other words a must in social surroundings. Therefore, young people are brought up to believe that consuming coffee is a prerequisite for adults to drink. Caroline witnessed this when she felt the pressure of agreeing to a coffee offered at a job interview. Mikaela also lifts the influence of society and especially media on coffee consumption in the focus group:

Mikaela: But that's something we have been taught since we were kids, that we have seen in commercials and movies, like old traditions. It's just something that we have gotten into our brains.

Again, coffee consumption is a norm of being an adult but it also goes beyond the sheer drinking; it is also based on how the beverage is consumed. As mentioned, Emma initiated her consumption by drinking black coffee. This however, seems to be rare and all the other

informants have a clear evolvement in their coffee consumption, very often moving on from milk and sugar as a condiment to the coffee. Shove (2012) explains this by stating that when repeatedly enacting a practice, the practitioner becomes more experienced and thus the performance of the practice changes over time. In other words, adulthood is not manifested solely by drinking coffee but also through what kind of coffee and how it is consumed. The practice of idealising thus becomes more specified. Rook (1985) states that different rituals mark different passages in life. Changing consuming behaviour could be related back to changes in life situation, for example ending school, turning 18 or starting a new job, as seen in the informants. Consuming coffee can here be seen as a ritual for a young person to enter adulthood. Frida saw all her co-workers drinking black coffee and therefore decided to hold back on milk, in order to fit in. Mikaela also changed her consumption pattern when she started to study at university, from drinking lattes and cappuccinos to regular ground coffee. Emma describes in the focus group a similar experience and supports the statement that people consume different kinds of coffee depending on life situation:

> Emma: I think it really depends on which phase in life you're in. I think it has changed, you know, in all different directions. But now that you study it [consuming ground coffee] has been standard for a long time. But during one period I worked with coffee and then I thought it was fun to maybe try different types of coffee, and with different milk and everything.

Another example relating to life stage seems to be the consumption of instant coffee, which the study has proven to usually be consumed in the beginning of the consumption. Two of the older informants, Ellen and Caroline, still consume the beverage and for them it seems to have a strong convenience factor. Caroline explains that even though it does not taste as good as regular coffee it is quick and efficient. Tilda, one of the youngest informants, is a large instant coffee consumer and praises the beverage. Mikaela describes in her in-depth interview how she did not use to make any separation between instant and regular coffee when she was younger:

> Mikaela: Then I thought it [instant coffee] tasted like normal coffee, or like I couldn't taste the difference from normal ground coffee, but oh okay...of course I could taste a difference but it wasn't like… I was like "uhhh what is this?" or that it destroyed my indulgence process of the coffee. It was like…the same, you know.

Today she does not consume instant coffee at all and states that she can taste a big difference between instant and ground coffee. This could depend on her becoming a more experienced coffee consumer, but also the ideal of what a coffee consumer is and that instant coffee does not match that ideal. Hedvig, the youngest informant, has just passed the transition from consuming instant coffee to consuming ground coffee and describes how she came home one day and thought instant coffee was disgusting but could not explain why. Now she does not consume instant coffee at all and has even moved on to trying black coffee, as she explains in her in-depth interview:

> Hedvig: You know, I don't understand what it was that happened. Because I also get like, I was like "no but I'm really, I want black coffee". I was like "no but I'll go for that" and then I was like "but this is actually tasty" so I was like "but what the fuck, Hedvig. But it *is* tasty, okay". You know, like, what? And then, well, I don't know what happened.

It is evident that Hedvig is determined to evolve her coffee consumption in order to feel like an adult, idealising the definition of being an adult. As mentioned, feeling like an adult is an important step in a teenager's life and coffee is a tool in order to reach that goal (Sigfridsson, 2005). Additionally, the practitioner is given confidence and looks to be entering a new stage in life, which can ultimately be seen as a way of fitting in. The teleoaffectivity of this can be seen as having strong cultural and societal origins. As previously stated, humans are herd animals and coffee is a tool in order to reach communality. It is interesting to see that a low-involving product such as coffee can have this function.

All the above mentioned practices, no matter if they belong to the rhythmic dimension or the symbolic dimension of people's everyday lives, constitute not only a consumption situation but a way of interpreting society. This will be further developed in the subsequent section.

5. Conclusions

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In this chapter the two dimensions of rhythm and symbolism will be further developed and their impact on society will be discussed. Additionally, the relationships between the practices uncovered in the study and their meanings to the consumer will be addressed. Thereafter, the theoretical and practical contributions of the study will be provided, followed by a discussion of the study's delimitations and suggestions of further research.

The underlying meanings of coffee consumption have shown to be reflected in various levels of society, stretching from the morning routine of the individual to large societal phenomena such as collective structures and patterns. Coffee consumption can thus be claimed to be a way of structuring society, both on a micro and a macro level. This is displayed through societal rhythms and symbolism. Rhythms are created through coffee consumption by for example marking the distinctions between productivity and leisure, while symbolism sets norms on how to act in social surroundings. All these aspects have deep societal origins and they function as determinants for how society is built up and how people interact with each other. The study has shown that this is especially true for everyday coffee consumption, since it has the ability to organize societal activities, such as starting off the day, taking a break at work with colleagues, or offering coffee when having visitors.

As has been discussed in the previous chapter everyday coffee consumption is one way by which rhythms are created and manifested, on a micro level as well as on a macro level. Rhythms generate order and structure in people's daily lives and provide guidance as to when and why to perform different tasks during the day (Edensor & Holloway, 2008). Therefore, the practices found in the rhythmic dimension have rather functional and utilitarian purposes and meanings; they make life more predictable and therefore more comfortable and convenient to people. The rhythmic dimension of coffee consumption is closely connected to norms established by society and this study has shown that coffee consumption patterns are generally in conformance with how daily life at large is structured. The practices within this dimension help make distinctions between when to be productive and when not to be, thus ensuring that the collective temporal rhythms of society are preserved.

The practices of creating structure, taking a break and indulging found in the rhythmic dimension are at constant interplay, which results in rhythms being established. Creating structure is the determinant of productivity, which steers the overall rhythm of the day and the structure of specific time slots, like the morning routine. The practices of taking a break and indulging, on the other hand, determine non-productivity. Together the three practices set the frames for how daily life should be divided between production and leisure and oftentimes the three practices operate simultaneously during one single consumption situation. For example, a student who stops studying for a while to have coffee is both taking a break and indulging, while the fact that coffee is the beverage consumed indicates productivity and not leisure, thus creating structure of the day as a whole. The structure, safety and comfort that the three practices help to create provide important insights into how and why coffee has reached such a unique position in Swedish society.

Coffee consumption also has a strong symbolic dimension, where the practices of caring for others, socialising and idealising all have emotional meanings for the practitioner. Similarly to the rhythmic dimension, the symbolism can be visible both on a micro and a macro level. Coffee is a way of showing care for family and friends, but also of creating communality. Therefore, the symbolic meanings of coffee consumption are often displayed in a social environment, originating from that people have carried out the practices continuously, thus making them habitual acts of society.

Similar to the rhythmic dimension, the practices within the symbolic dimension can, and often do, operate at the same time. For example, the practice of idealising is exposed within a social surrounding, thus operating simultaneously as the practice of socialising. As mentioned, both the integrated practical understandings and normative rules (Schatzki, 1996) of idealising are shaped by and dependent on social contexts. Likewise, the practice of caring for others has a strong connection to both socialising and idealising. The premise for being able to care for other people whilst consuming coffee is that interaction with them takes place; in other words socialising. Similarly, when demonstrating a care for someone, an idealisation of what to offer might occur. For example, in-depth interview informant Caroline has a capsules machine that she never uses for herself but does when she has guests over. Clearly, she is both caring for her guests and idealising what the 'right' beverage to offer is when having visitors, indicating that these practices have to operate simultaneously.

The practices of caring for others, socialising and idealising may operate collectively to achieve one grand purpose, for example socialising and caring for others generating the feeling of belonging. More commonly, though, they express different symbolic meanings, as in the example with Caroline stated above. These illustrations aid understanding how complex and interlinked the practices that people engage in are, even those performed in a low-involving, habitual product such as coffee. Therefore, by addressing all practices and their underlying meanings a deeper and more exhaustive understanding of the consumption is gained.

It is important to point out that the practices within the two dimensions of rhythm and symbolism are in no way operating independently of each other; on the contrary, they are rather interactive and together they structure society. Even though rhythms and symbolism fulfil different functions they still exist simultaneously in society, as well as in particular consumption situations. For example, collective rhythms are a prerequisite for many symbolic practices such as idealising or socialising, since the teleoaffective structures of these practices build on a desire to belong, which is achieved by following the collective rhythms. In the same way, following the symbolic aspects is important to participate in collective rhythms. When people do not understand or follow traditions and shared symbolism they may be excluded from society; in other words, they cannot partake in the collective rhythms. Consequently, the two dimensions of coffee consumption practices are interlinked and have strong connections. The rational aspects of rhythm combined with the emotional aspects of symbolism make an important contribution to the overall ordering that constitutes society. The two dimensions complement each other and are a vital part of people's everyday lives, since they fulfil different functions that together guide daily behaviour. By uncovering and interpreting how all the practices cooperate and empower one another, compete or simply coexist a deeper understanding of the consumption situation is gained. It provides insights to how society functions and the norms and regulations of it. Also, it reveals the teleoaffective structure of consumers' deeper values and goals when performing the practices. This aids the understanding of why coffee is consumed in certain ways and its role in people's everyday lives.

Another fact that has emerged in the study is that the practices consumers engage in when consuming everyday coffee is highly dependent on age, life situation and personal characteristics. This is in line with Warde's (2005) statement that a practice can differ

between individuals and groups regarding how it is performed, how committed the practitioner is to its enactment and what values the practitioner aspires to obtain. For example, the novice coffee consumer seems to generally not perform the practice of indulging when drinking coffee, but rather other practices such as socialising and idealising. This can be explained by that few beginners like the taste of coffee. These differences between consumers indicate that Molander's (2011a) concept of meta-practices is less applicable for this particular consumption product. Her examination of single mother's daily dinner consumption showed that the practice of mothering overshadows other practices. However, in the case of everyday coffee consumption there is no single practice that is equally important and prevalent to all consumers; it seems highly individual. Thus, no dominating practices were discovered as in Molander's study. Therefore it seems as the importance of each practice must be considered from case to case in coffee consumption situations.

A further aspect that has become evident in the study is that power structures in society can be displayed through seemingly ordinary and simple products like everyday coffee. Even though coffee is usually considered a low-involvement product, consumers can use subtle indications to express themselves. This can be as simple as not using milk in the coffee, which, according to the respondents, signals masculinity and power. Another example of how this can be demonstrated is the view of the instant coffee consumer as not being a 'real' coffee consumer. These consumers are seen as deviant and ignorant of social codes generally accepted by society, which indicates a condemning and discriminating tone towards consumption of instant coffee. A 'real' coffee consumer, on the other hand, is seen as someone who drinks black coffee without having to add anything to it; the general perception seems to be that the stronger the coffee the more real the coffee consumer. Therefore, a noteworthy fact is that the perceptions of a 'real' and a 'male' coffee consumer coincide. It seems as the male sets the standard for how coffee should be consumed and that masculine ideals are being promoted and favoured. Consequently, these perceptions contribute to the preservation of patriarchal power structures in society. The male being the norm and thereby male ideals being strived for can explain this. That these structures can be displayed through such an ordinary product as everyday coffee demonstrates how deeply rooted they are in society. Especially remarkable is that this is true even for Sweden, generally considered a well-developed country in terms of equality.

To conclude, this study was carried out in order to uncover the underlying meanings and practices of everyday coffee consumption amongst young women. The study has shown that a wide and complex set of practices defines and determines the consumption: Creating structure, taking a break, indulging, caring for others, socialising and idealising. The study further demonstrates that these practices can be divided into the two dimensions of rhythm and symbolism, which aids a deeper understanding of the consumption. These dimensions can be used to explain what role everyday coffee consumption plays in young women's everyday lives, the second question of this paper. Coffee consumption can thus be said to fulfil both rational and emotional functions that together guide daily behaviour. Furthermore, the study has shown that the underlying practices uncovered can be seen as the foundation for how society works. The interconnections between these practices create shared temporal rhythms and collective understandings of how to behave in social contexts. The fact that consumption is an essential and often necessary part of these practices therefore speaks for the importance of consumption in today's society. Consequently, consumption can be seen as defining society as well as being the core of people's functioning and acts in daily life.

5.1 Theoretical contributions

By uncovering the underlying practices of coffee consumption in Sweden a more thematic way to interpret and categorise consumption has been provided. Moreover, a development of the Practice Theory has been made, as this study has shown how the theory can be connected to other research areas. Additionally, the study has contributed to both the BDT and CCT literature as well as linked the two views of individualism and socialism, thus filling a gap in the current consumer behaviour literature.

The study has contributed with further insights into Practice Theory (Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002; Warde, 2005; Molander, 2011) by introducing a framework that proposes a nuanced way to look at practices. By outlining the broader dimensions of rhythm and symbolism the practices have been elevated to a higher context, thus the study has facilitated a deeper understanding of how practices function and how they interplay. The categorisation of practices aids a theoretical understanding by connecting them to each other and thus presents a more exhaustive understanding of the underlying meanings of the consumption.

By using rhythm analysis (Lefebvre, 2004; Edensor & Holloway, 2008) as a tool in the categorisation of practices the study has incorporated a second theory within the frame of

Practice Theory. Thus, connecting it to other areas of research has further developed the appliance area of Practice Theory. By categorising the practices of coffee consumption into the dimensions of rhythm and symbolism the study has provided insights that contribute to a wider comprehension of how consumers function and act, beyond the one provided by Practice Theory alone.

The study has shown that the concept of meta-practices (Molander, 2011b) is not a generally applicable concept in Practice Theory. Instead it has highlighted Warde's (2005) claim that practices differ between individuals and groups and are therefore not stable. It seems as no meta-practice can be found in all coffee consumption situations since the consumption of coffee is both highly situation specific and changeable depending on age, life stage and the characteristics of the consumer.

Previous literature on everyday coffee consumption has had a strong focus on the social aspects of the consumption situation (Sigfridsson, 2005; Kjelgaard & Östberg, 2007; Stroebaek, 2013). However, this study has taken both social and individual aspects into account to reach a more exhaustive understanding of why coffee is consumed. This has been done through considering social aspects of the CCT perspective and individual aspects of the BDT perspective simultaneously. As previously stated, the CCT perspective has an undue focus on extraordinary or even abnormal consumption (Rook, 1985; Elliott & Wattanasuwan, 1998; Thompson & Arsel, 2004; Arnould & Thompson, 2005). However, this study has extended the realms of the perspective by applying it to everyday consumption of a low-involving, habitual product such as coffee.

Moreover, the study has contributed to the BDT perspective (Bettman, Luce & Payne, 1998; Kotler & Keller, 2012). A development of the literature on low-involvement (Solomon, Bamossy & Askegaard, 1999; Laaksonen, 2010) and habits (Verplanken & Aarts, 1999; Wood & Neal, 2009; Southerton, 2013) has been made by identifying that products traditionally seen as low-involving and habitual might have deeper meanings to consumers. These products can fill important functions in people's everyday lives, such as rhythmic and symbolic, which can be detected by taking them out of their given contexts and analysing them through the CCT perspective. Thus, this study has decreased the gap between the two perspectives of BDT and CCT, thereby contributing to the consumer behaviour literature as a whole.

Finally, it should be stressed that the insights given by this study are not exclusive for coffee consumption but might well be applicable to other consumption areas of everyday life. The dimensions of rhythm and symbolism identified can permeate other consumption products, such as eating or commuting. Therefore, the framework provided in this study can advantageously be applied to other areas of consumption apart from that of coffee.

5.2 Practical contributions

The framework of practices in everyday coffee consumption developed in this study can be interpreted on a societal level, which hopefully will provide insights into marketing managers' understanding of consumers. Furthermore, it can also offer guidance in the designing of marketing campaigns. The findings show that it is important to take a comprehensive approach to consumers in the target group and identify the underlying values, meanings and practices behind their consumption. This is also true when marketing low-involvement products. Thereby, a more accurate and effective marketing plan can be developed. Support for this is found in Practice Theory, which states that consumer wants and desires are created by practices, not personal preferences (Reckwitz, 2002). Marketers may be helped by these insights and utilise the practices uncovered to truly understand consumers and develop products and marketing efforts based on them.

For everyday coffee consumption the dimensions of rhythm and symbolism have proven to be vital for understanding and classifying the underlying practices. As previously mentioned, social aspects of coffee consumption are well known to consumers and therefore naturally applied by marketers as well. These aspects are primarily found in the practices of symbolism. The rhythmic dimension, on the other hand, is not as evident, which is also reflected in marketing efforts. The focus of marketing efforts today is often concentrated on who the consumer is, and the commercials generally strive to portray that person to generate identification. However, the findings from this study indicate that there is a need to expand the idea of marketing efforts, either counteracting the prominence of symbolism by concentrating marketing efforts on the rhythmic dimensions of consumption, or to combine insights from both dimensions.

Despite the widely used application of the symbolic dimension of coffee consumption, one aspect has to a large extent been missed out: The idealisation of adulthood. This is especially

interesting for marketers with a young target group. These consumers are particularly favourable to target since they are in an initiating phase of consumption and therefore have not yet built up strong loyalties towards brands (Taylor & Cosenza, 2002). Marketers could therefore favourably use the strong intentions young consumers have to become adults, as seen in this study, in their marketing efforts. Additionally, it is vital to emphasise the different perceptions people have of coffee alternatives, as seen in the study of instant and ground coffee. Marketers could therefore use these insights and form their marketing campaigns accordingly, for example the fact that instant coffee is perceived as convenient and often consumed by younger people. When marketing this coffee alternative it would therefore be preferable to have a focus on efficiency, adulthood and convenience.

In conclusion, the overall insights into the practices found in this study paint a picture of how consumers perceive and therefore act in their consumption of everyday products. By including both individual and social elements, through Practice Theory, the study has provided a foundation for understanding consumers more comprehensively.

5.3 Delimitations and further research

This study has limitations that need to be addressed. Firstly, it has been carried out on a Master's degree level and has therefore been restricted in both time and money. The study has also had a geographical limitation to Sweden and Swedish consumers. Moreover, one demerit of the study has been the little diversification regarding informants; they have all been white middle-class women of an educated background. The chosen method of qualitative research can be criticised for aiding subjective interpretations and not systematically classifying what perceptions are considered significant. Similarly, the observations can fuel this critique since the observers' perceptions constitute the ground for interpretation. Additionally, using focus groups can be criticised as they may either prevent people expressing their real beliefs or encourage influences by others. However, we see these limitations as motivation for future research within similar areas of investigation.

By expanding the research, such as having a different selection method for the focus group, choosing people of different ages or a wider geographical area, new aspects can prevail. This study has, as mentioned, only included women but it would be interesting to replicate the study on men to discover if men and women perform the same practices when consuming coffee. Additionally, by excluding men the study has left out an important part of the

consumption society. This aspect might also be a reason to question the transferability of the study. The study has been carried out on a selected group and on a specific product, thus the findings presented may not be transferable to all consumption situations.

However, the study has provided further insights to an everyday, low-involving product by combining CCT and BDT perspectives with Practice Theory and pin pointed the role this product has in young women's daily lives. The identification of rhythm in everyday consumption is an area of limited investigation (Southerton, 2013) and poses an interesting and insightful area of study, which should be further investigated. Additionally, by developing the concept of dimensions, in this study rhythm and symbolism, a more comprehensive understanding of practices and Practice Theory as a whole will be reached. It is a systematic and structured way to present results and could definitely be further developed. As Warde (2005) points out, the ideas of Practice Theory applied to consumption is rather unexplored and it would be interesting to see further studies that can provide a richer empirical foundation for the findings from this study.

Finally, we believe this study will be both of interest and aid for theorists within consumption and marketing research based on the insights it has provided into everyday consumption of a typical low-involving product. The study has hopefully also offered practical relevance to brand managers, decision makers, consumers and other stakeholders.

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7. Appendix

Appendix 1.

Interview Guide Julie Ørnstrup Hansen

Interview conducted on 14 February 2014.

Theme 1: Understanding of Nescafé *Original* and *Mixes* and the market

- Describe the Nescafé brand! Number of products? What is the thought behind the product design? Placement in the store?
- Describe the target groups of Nescafé Original and Nescafé Mixes. Age, gender, lifestyle, community, living arrangement, interests, user occasions?
- How do you see the buying process of Nescafé *Original* and *Mixes*? Where is the decision made? Is it a habit, an impulse, contemplation, convenience or other?
- Who do you see as your main competitors (other instant coffees, ground coffee etc)? What would be a substitute to your products? How is Nescafé positioned against the competitors?
- What is your pricing strategy? How did this strategy develop? What is the reason behind the chosen strategy?
- What is your perception of the attitude towards the brand today?

Theme 2: Communication strategy

- What kind of communication channels are Nescafé (*Original, Gold, Espresso*) using today (advertising, PR, in-store promotions etc)? How successful/less successful is each of these? Where do you put the most effort? Are you using a specific communication model? Where do you sell the products? Do you perform any price promotions? Where do you perform price promotions (in-store, magazines etc)?
- What is the main focus of your communication?

Theme 3: The new marketing campaign

- What is the scope of the campaign (geographically, time frame)?
- What are the intentions and objectives of the campaign (that consumers should try, become users, increase current usage, create awareness, brand building etc)? What do you think will be the effects of the campaign on the target group?
- Describe the design of the campaign? Advertisements and commercials?

Appendix 2.

Interview Guide Susanna Molander

Interview conducted on 22 February 2014.

Theme 1: Molander's Research

- Tell us about your research into the everyday dinner!
- What was the most surprising result from your research?

Theme 2: Practice Theory

- Why is it purposeful to study everyday phenomena from a Practice Theory perspective?
- Why is it important to study the context in consumption situations?
- Can you elaborate on your theory of 'meta-practices'?

Theme 3: Practice Theory connected to coffee consumption

- How would you, with your expertise in consumption from a Practice Theory perspective, tackle the everyday coffee drinking as a research subject?
- Do you have any tips on what is important for us to consider in our study?

Theme 4: Miscellaneous

- How have you worked systematically with your empirical material? How did you work with the analysis of the material? How did you manage to keep an analytical distance when you were present during the dinners?

Appendix 3.

Interview Guide Hedvig

Interview conducted on 18 March 2014.

Theme 1: Informant's coffee consumption in general

- Can you tell us a little about your coffee drinking?

- Why do you drink coffee?

- What is it that is so tasty about coffee? How does it taste ? When does it taste at its best/worst ?

- When and why did you start drinking coffee?

- What do you normally eat with your coffee?

- Can you describe a typical coffee drinker?

Theme 2: Situation specific coffee consumption

- Can you recall any special coffee experience you have had? Why was it special?

- Do you always drink the same kind of coffee or does it depend on the occasion?

- When, during the day, do different coffee alternatives fit in the most?

- When is coffee most important/unimportant to you and why?

- Do many of your friends drink coffee?

- How is the "coffee culture" at your school?

- How do you drink your coffee?

- How do you drink coffee at home? Who buys coffee for the home?

Theme 3: Coffee knowledge

- What is important when you choose coffee?

- Which coffee brands do you know of?

- Which coffee brands do you prefer and why?

- Which coffee brands do you *not* prefer and why?

Appendix 4.

Interview Guide Mikaela

Interview conducted on 27 March 2014.

Theme 1: General questions based on practices found in Focus group 1

- Can you tell us how you start off a weekday?

- When did you start feeling like an adult?'

- Describe your morning routine!

Theme 2: Informant's coffee consumption

- Can you tell us about your coffee drinking?

- What role does coffee play in your everyday life?

- Why do you drink coffee?

- How do you drink your coffee?

- When is coffee the most important/unimportant to you?

- What is it that is so tasty about coffee? When does it taste at its best/worse?

- Is there anything that is negative about coffee? How important is that to you?

- What is the difference between drinking coffee alone and in a group?

Theme 3: Develop on found practices from Focus group 1

- What did you want to achieve when you started to drink coffee?

- When did you start drinking coffee on a regular basis?

- How do you think coffee and health go together?

- During the last focus group interview we discussed how people push forward meals through coffee consumption, why do you think they do that?

Theme 4: Miscellaneous

- Are there trends in coffee consumption?

Interview Guide Caroline

Interview conducted on 2 April 2014.

Theme 1: Informant's coffee consumption

- Can you tell us about your coffee drinking?
- Why do you drink coffee?
- What is it that is so tasty about coffee? When does it taste at its best/worse?
- How do you drink your coffee?
- Describe how you prepare your coffee!
- When is coffee most important/unimportant to you?
- What kind of coffee do you like the most?
- How do you choose your coffee?
- When did you start drinking coffee and why?
- What do you normally offer when you have visitors?

Theme 2: Instant coffee

- What do you think about instant coffee?
- What do you think about the Nescafé Mixes that you have tried?

In-depth Interview Informants

Caroline, age 23, from Älta. Studies Business Administration at Lund School of Economics and Management in Lund. Lives with her partner in an apartment in Lund.

Hedvig, age 16, from Lund. Studies first year at high school Cathedral in Lund. Lives with her parents in Lund.

Julie Ørnstrup Hansen, Brand and Insight Manager of Nescafé Nordic. Works at Nestlé Headquarters in Copenhagen.

Mikaela, age 22, from Stockholm. Studies Social Science at Campus Helsingborg in Helsingborg. Lives in a shared apartment with a friend in Lund.

Susanna Molander, Ph.D. in Marketing at Stockholm School of Economics, expert in Practice Theory. Has written the dissertation "Mat, kärlek och metapraktik: En studie i vardagsmiddagskonsumtion bland ensamstående mödrar", 2011, about single mothers' everyday-dinner consumption from a Practice Theory perspective.

Appendix 7.

Focus Group Informants

Elina, age 24, from Markaryd. Works as a nurse in Lund. Lives in her own apartment in Lund.

Emma, age 26, from Karlshamn. Master's student in Industrial Engineering at Lund Institute of Technology in Lund. Lives in an apartment with her partner in Lund.

Fanny, age 30, from Lund. Works as a nurse in Lund. Lives with her partner in their own apartment in Lund.

Frida, age 27, from Karlshamn. Master's student in Economics at Lund School of Economics and Management in Lund. Lives in a students' corridor together with seven other people in Lund.

Hedvig, age 16, from Lund. Studies first year at high school Cathedral in Lund. Lives with her parents in Lund.

Mikaela, age 22, from Stockholm. Studies Social Science at Campus Helsingborg in Helsingborg. Lives in a shared apartment with a friend in Lund.

Nina, age 20, from Gävle. Studies Political Candidate at Lund University, Lund. Lives in a students' corridor together with 13 other people in Lund.

Tilda, age 18, from Staffanstorp. Studies final year at high school Spyken in Lund. Lives with her parents in Staffanstorp.

Interview Guide Focus Group 1

Conducted on 10 March 2014.

Theme 1: Associations, emotions and top of mind of coffee

- What pops to mind when you hear the word 'coffee'?
- What feelings do you get when thinking about coffee?
- What do you associate with the word 'coffee'?

Theme 2:Informants' coffee consumption

- When and why did you start drinking coffee?
- Describe how you make your coffee!
- When and why do you drink coffee?

Theme 3: Coffee knowledge

- What brands of coffee do you know?
- Which coffee brands do you prefer and why?
- Which coffee brands do you *not* prefer and why?

Interview Guide Focus Group 2

Conducted on 27 March 2014.

Theme 1: Practices

- When did you start feeling like adults?
- What signifies an adult?
- What is communality?
- How healthy are you?
- Describe a morning routine?

Theme 2: Instant coffee

- What can you say about what you have just tasted?
- When would you use this?
- What do you think about instant coffee?
- What part does instant coffee play in everyday life?
- Do you normally drink instant coffee?
- What do you think about the different Mixes?
- During what occasions would you drink Mixes?
- What do you think about the packaging?
- Did you know of the products before they were given to you?
- Can you describe the products?
- Can you compare ground coffee to instant coffee?
- What role does instant coffee play in everyday life?

Theme 3: Coffee consumption

- Do all your friends drink coffee in the same way?
- Why do you drink coffee? (Most important reason?)
- What is the best feeling about drinking coffee?
- What role does coffee play in your everyday life?
- What would happen if you didn't get your cup of coffee in the morning, at noon and after dinner?
- What do you normally eat with the different coffees you consume?

- Are there differences between female and male coffee drinkers?
- Why do you take a cup of coffee to relax and indulge yourself?
- Is it different to have coffee with the parents than alone/with friends?
- What relation is there between health and coffee?

Theme 4: The Nescafé Mixes Commercial (show commercial to the informants)

- Have you seen this commercial before? What do you think about it? What do you think the idea behind it is? Is this in line with how you would use the product?

Observation Guide

1. What?

- Establish that the observation subject is within the target group
- Describe the observation subject: Is she alone or in company? Are there other people present? Does she seem to be in a rush or is she relaxed?
- Describe the context: Room, people, artefacts etc.
- Describe the situation: Time of day, date etc.

2. How?

- Describe the different tasks the observation subject carries out and in what order
- Describe *how* the observation subject carries out the tasks: Does she seem to know exactly what she wants or does she hesitate? Time consumed? Experience?
- Describe interaction with others

3. Why?

- Approach the observation subject
- Ask questions about the behaviour and meanings, the choices made and consumption patterns of coffee

Appendix 11.

Observation Subjects

Frida, age 27, from Karlshamn. Master's student in Economics at Lund School of Economics and Management in Lund. Lives in a students' corridor together with seven other people in Lund. Has a boyfriend who she often sleeps at.

Ellen, age 25, from Gothenburg. Studies Business Administration at Lund School of Economics and Management in Lund. Lives in a shared apartment together with a friend in Lund. Has a boyfriend who sometimes spends the night at her place.

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Consumer Behaviour

Maning up by skipping milk in the coffee?

The way you drink your coffee can be revealing of who you want to be

May 15th 2014, 14:57 | From the print edition

Using milk and sugar in the coffee? Maybe it is time to reconsider. A recent study shows that the everyday cup of coffee sends clear signals about the person drinking it. And masculine ideals seem to be particularly easy to communicate – just choose black coffee. The study, carried out at Lund University, Sweden, targeted the deeper meanings of daily coffee consumption and found that, among other things, it is an effective way of self-expression. Not the least because it is discrete and can be done without attracting much attention from accompanying parties.

”The type of coffee or the way it is consumed can describe a person comprehensively” says researcher Alicia Menth Nyqvist. “For example, not using milk in the coffee signals masculinity and power”. The study shows that there are widespread preconceptions that men drink coffee strong and black. It also reveals that the male coffee drinker is the ideal.

People seem anxious to be perceived as ‘real’ coffee drinkers. Once again, the stronger and lesser milk, the realer the coffee drinker. “Many of the informants in our study have a clear picture of who a real coffee drinker is. It is someone who does not need to add anything to the coffee”, says Menth Nyqvist. “If you drink your coffee without anything in it you are considered to really like it. Otherwise you do not really like the taste of it and then you are not qualified as a real coffee drinker”. So, if you want to communicate being a real coffee drinker, the decaf-vanilla-skim milk-latte has to go right into the bin.

A legitimate question is: What lies behind these stereotypes? According to researcher Linda Gustad people are affected by their surroundings in their everyday consumption. She explains that the people we interact with on a daily basis, like family and friends, have a great impact. Also, and not surprisingly, media and society have major influences. This might not be breaking news but the fact that these ideals are reflected in such a simple thing as the everyday coffee definitely is.

Together these influences create an idealisation of how coffee should be consumed depending on what you want to express about yourself. "The picture of for example the male coffee drinker is heavily influenced by the norms in society. It seems as these norms have extreme impact even on basic products such as coffee" says Menth Nyqvist.

An interesting observation is that the view of the 'real' coffee drinker coincides with the 'male' coffee drinker. It therefore seems as the male sets the standard for how coffee should be consumed and that masculine ideals are being promoted and favoured. However, Gustad stresses that striving to be a male coffee drinker does not equal striving to be seen as a man. It rather relates to what masculinity represents in society. For example, the study showed that drinking coffee 'as a real man' (i.e. without milk and sugar) is considered to be cool and hard. Therefore, the male ideal seems worth striving for.

This all leads to that coffee consumption contributes to the preservation of power structures in society. The fact that perceptions of masculinity and femininity can be displayed in such an ordinary product as the everyday coffee shows how deeply rooted they are. Particularly interesting in this case is that the study was carried out in Sweden, one of the top-countries on equality in the world. The fact that men are expected to drink coffee black while women are expected to add milk leads to inequality structures being reproduced. Gustad states that it is important that these kinds of patterns are revealed and exposed. That taken-for-granted norms and gender-specific stereotypes are constantly questioned. Only then can we move towards true equality.

So, next time at a café, take a look at what people around you order. This might say something about what they are striving to be.

By John Doe