

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Mina Sešek

Kavna revolucija: od zgodovine kave do blagovnega fetišizma
Coffee revolution - from history of coffee to commodity fetishism

Magistrsko delo

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Kavna revolucija: od zgodovine kave do blagovnega fetišizma

Cilj moje naloge je bil predstaviti “kavno revolucijo” skozi analizo kavne zgodovine, terminov, procesov, in marksističnih ter lakanovskih teorij. Analizirala sem tudi obstoj in uspeh globalnih kavnih verig kot del svetovne ekonomije.

Ukvarjala sem se s celotno zgodovino te pijače, vse od njenega izvora do razširitve po celotnem svetu, pa tudi zgodovino prvih kavnih hiš, družbenih dogodkov, varjenja in kave kot dela umetnosti.

V kapitalističnem ekonomskem sistemu so globalne verige mogoče, saj uporabljajo mehanizme psihoanalize in poleg svojih proizvodov navidezno ponujajo tudi drugačen način življenja.

S pomočjo analize terminov in pomembnih teorij, sem razvozlala, kako korporacije in proizvodi delujejo v sedanjih procesih, in kako ustvarjajo življenjske sloge, ki zagotavljajo užitek.

Ključne besede: globalizacija, kapitalizem, potrošništvo, kava, revolucija

Coffee revolution - from history of coffee to commodity fetishism

The aim of my work was to present “coffee revolution” which I did through analysis of coffee history, terms, processes and Marx and Lacan’s theories. I have also analyzed existence and success of global coffee chains as part of world economy.

Collecting historical data represented everything connected to this drink, where it emerged and how it spread all over the world. It also represents the history of first coffee houses, social events, brewing and coffee as part of art. In capitalistic economic system global chains are possible which are using mechanisms of psychoanalysis and offering lifestyles alongside with their products.

I wanted to answer the question, based on Žižek’s claim that buying a product in this case coffee, we get something more-surplus value which he again based on Lacan’s theory of Jouissance. I find this question/claim crucial for my paper and in order to provide answer it was necessary to analyze complex Marx’s and Lacan’s theories. By analyzing these theories, I have presented how the product itself became something more, but also going deeper in capitalism and human desires analysis I have answered the question why do people want that surplus, overpriced coffee.

By analyzing terms and major theories, I was able to understand how the big companies and products work in ongoing processes, how they are creating lifestyles giving the pleasure.

Key words: Globalization, Capitalism, Consumerism, Coffee, Revolution.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Definition of Master Thesis Topic

As we know, no matter where we had coffee emerge historically, it led to a revolution. In my master thesis the coffee is a lead star. Coffee is a very old product, it has a rich history, and today, coffee is almost a totem. Big companies, such as Starbucks, successfully sell us this simple product at high prices and we gladly accept that. There is no doubt we live in a “latte revolution” era.

Therefore in my master thesis I wish to analyze the history of coffee in order to familiarize the reader with this product and its history. I will analyze coffee since its first mentions in the historical sources until today. Apart from the history of coffee, I will research and present a few concepts such as: globalization, consumerism, global coffee chain, capitalism, etc. – these are important for understanding the position coffee has today, in times that Ponte names “latte revolution”. Further in my work, I will present how coffee nowadays, thanks to big companies, has turned into a totem. However, it is not just the coffee, but many other products also have a symbolic meaning to them. This is of essence when we ask ourselves the following questions – Why do we buy these products? Where is the secret of success of these companies? In order to explain this and provide answers, I will use and analyze important concepts of commodity fetishism and surplus by Karl Marx and Jacques Lacan. These concepts will shed more light on what human wants are and how people find indulgence in things like coffee.

The first part of my master thesis will be analytical and historical – It will give more information about the coffee itself, its etymology, and different ways of brewing, making and serving.

It presents the information and the historical analysis of coffee. In expounding on the historical information, I will provide a background and explain the etymology and changes that occurred historically as far as the coffee was concerned (going from its prohibition to globalization).

The rich history of coffee, starting from its etymology, over to different ways of brewing, serving and consumption of this beverage gives us an opportunity to analyze and examine various social phenomena and changes it brought. It gives us an overview of social positioning, globalization, trade, markets, global coffee chain and culture. (Hewitt 1872, Ellis 1774, Jezernik 2012)

Jezernik writes about its history. In Jezernik's book *Kava* the author writes about the etymology of coffee, ways of its preparation, how this beverage, depending on the period, was considered a remedy at one point or a poison at another, or how revolutionary it was, how it found its place in art, such as one of Bach's cantatas, or how it would eventually become a global commodity (from prohibition and globalization) (Gereffi and Korniewicz 1994, Fisher 1972, Gray 1902)

The overview of the history of coffee gives us a clear picture of social positioning, globalization, trade, markets, global coffee chain and culture. Coffee is and has been a part of and basically a ritual in people's everyday lives for hundreds of years, very often disguised and presented in various ways; forbidden or approved. Therefore, I would like to analyze, present and explain the history of coffee in order to showcase how its story evolved from the very beginning until today's Starbucks revolution.

In order to provide as much needed information as possible, I will focus on terms such as consumerism and capitalism but only on a micro-level, so I can give a clearer overview of the global coffee chain – commodity chain i.e. its journey to huge coffee chains where I will stop to analyze what their offer is and why we happily buy what they offer. (Edwin 1886, Rizman 2005, Roden 1977)

According to William Ukers, the reason for that is that coffee, of all drinks, was the most radical: it gave people a reason to think. In that way, it became an enemy of tyrants and speakers against freedom. (Ukers 1922)

The consumption and appearance of coffee wasn't always the same. There have been times when coffee was seen as a sign of something bad and unhealthy, and then there have been other times when people have thought of it in quite the opposite way – it is when we started to talk about coffee as a very healthy beverage, almost a remedy, a drink that basically extends life and expands the mind. (Smith 1985, Sandolin 2004)

Further in my work the focus will shift on the concepts from Marx's critique of political economy; theories such as commodity fetishism and concept of surplus value. In my work I intend to show how coffee today provides much more than just coffee itself and answer the question why we take and accept that surplus. (Gallagher 1987, Marx 1867)

Marx's theories are crucial for my paper as, in analyzing them, I intend to support my hypothesis that I will expound on in more detail in the dedicated chapter. (Teeple 2013)

In his *Capital*, Marx begins with the analysis of commodity itself – A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside of us, a thing that by its properties satisfies the human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference.

Apart from that, we will consider the general forms of value, and finally the commodity fetishism. This is a very important part of the paper. The analysis of that concept will support the subject of this paper.

There is a physical relation between physical things. But it is different with commodities. There, the existence of the things qua commodities, and the value-relation between the products of labor which stamps them as commodities, has absolutely no connection with their physical properties and with the material relations arising therefrom. There it is a definite social relation between men that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things.

Analysis of commodities by Karl Marx explains how social organization of labor is mediated through market exchange, the buying and selling commodities.

By analyzing and collecting data about coffee history and markets, I would like to explore and show how global coffee chains today are offering so much more than coffee.

Commodities, global commodity chains and surplus of commodities are also discussed by Slavoj Zizek. (Fiennes 2009)

1.2 Relevance and goals

By analyzing the history of coffee, I will be able to present how coffee has gone through different revolutions that have brought it to what it is today as a global commodity of large coffee chains which offer so much more. Every day 2.5 billion cups of coffee are consumed around the globe, but the symbols attached to coffee drinking are not the same as they were 20 years before. Coffee bar chains sell more than just good coffee – they sell social positioning. In short, global coffee chains have gone through latte revolution where consumers can choose among thousands of kinds of coffee. (Ponte 2002, Berg 2008)

The relevance of this paper will be to examine and elaborate on processes and concepts which explain how global commodities – in this case, coffee – successfully sell at an ever increasing rate. Therefore, I will focus on Karl's Marks concepts of commodities and commodity fetishism in this paper, and this will directly help to further elaborate on the surplus enjoying which is a term coined by Lacan and represents a unique collaboration between Marx's concepts and Freud's concepts. On the one hand, by analyzing the history of coffee we will learn some interesting facts, stories about this magical beverage – coffee itself – and discuss social, economic and political changes which the society has gone through over centuries, but on the other, how coffee changed in presentation and how its purpose evolved, as mentioned before, so that at one point it was considered a remedy and at another a poison, until it eventually became Starbucks. (Hart 2011)

Coffee is a good, and through its history we can examine numerous processes and stages from the perspective of economics, politics and other social aspects. A global coffee chain has undergone such a revolution (as Ponte names it the “latte revolution”) that today's consumer can choose among hundreds of variations of coffee and pay a good price for it, while at the same time the international price for the raw product is the lowest in decades. My research has shown there to be a lack of relevant articles and literature in the field; therefore I

wish to contribute by looking deeper into it, which I find essentially important. It is also very important to discuss how the global coffee chains came to existence and what else we get from buying a cup of coffee. (BBC 2001, Starbucks 2015)

1.3 Research hypothesis

The predominant hypothesis in this paper is that we buy these products with surplus value, and we are driven by mere pleasure they offer. I will elaborate on this hypothesis by analyzing the surplus value of a commodity – coffee in this case, and by analyzing complex theories and concepts such as commodity fetishism, introduced by Marx, and surplus enjoyment, invented by Lacan. The hypothesis will get us to a question: How did these changes through history lead to a coffee revolution, or as Ponte so conveniently named it, the latte revolution? By latte revolution, it is meant that global coffee chains have appeared and developed their vast offer that they have been able to sell successfully, and apart from a cup of coffee, they offer so much more, a lifestyle and totems. (Fieness 2009)

1.4 Methodology

For the purpose of this master thesis, I will use qualitative methods of research; by this, I mean the analysis of primary and secondary sources. The paper will be divided into two main parts. The first one will be based on a historical analysis of relevant literature that will set a historical background for the second, theoretical part. The second part will be an analysis of complex terms, as well as theories and texts of Karl Marx, Zizek and Lacan, the application of which will help answer the research question/hypothesis. (Alcott 1886, Shultz 1997, Yong 2008)

2. History of coffee

2.1 Etymology

In the first part of this thesis, we will look into the history of coffee; and where better to start from than the etymology of the word coffee.

The original etymon that modern languages derived their words for coffee from comes from *Kahwa* and this term was brought in 1927 by Cornelis van Arendonk, Dutch orientalist. Jezernik (2012) argues that the source of this word is quite undefined. Very quickly, the word spread to European languages, so it became *kava* in the Czech, Slovenian, Croatian and Polish languages, *kahva* in Bosnian, *kafa* in Serbian, *café* in French language, *caffè* in Italian, *coffee* in English, *Kaffee* in German and so on. Jezernik also notes in his book about coffee that this word actually was also one of expressions for wine, hence, one of the names for coffee also was – *Islamic wine*. (Hewit 1872)

In his book, Jezernik mentions a British consul in Trieste, Richard Burton (1821-1890) who claimed that Arabic word *kefa* could not be translated to European languages. Long time before Burton, Vuk Karadzic (1787–1864) knew how to translate *kef* to German and Latin language: *libido*. (Ellis 1774, Robinson 1893)

The word spread very fast through the European languages and found its place in literature. The following list (Jezernik, 2012) shows how this term spread through English, Dutch, Italian and French literature of the 15th and 16th centuries:

English and Dutch literature:

- “*coho*” Jourdain (1609)
- “*coffe*” Revett (1609)
- “*coho pots*” and “*coffao pots*” in Danvers’s Letters (1611)
- “*cohu*” Sir T. Roe (1615) and Terry (1616)
- “*cowha*” (1619) Foster’s English Factories in India
- “*cowhe, couha*” (1621), Foster’s English Factories in India
- “*coffa*” (1628), Foster’s English Factories in India
- “*coffee*” Evelyn (1637)
- “*coho* and *copha*” Sir T. Herbert (1638)
- “*coho*” Fryer (1673)

- “*coffee*” Ovington (1690)
- “*coffi*” Valentijn (1726)

French and Italian literature:

- “*caova*” Prospero Alpini (1580)
- “*chaoua*” Paludanus (1598)
- “*cahoa*” Pyrard de Laval (1610)
- “*caveah*” P. Della Valle (1615)
- “*caveah*” Jac. Bontius (1631)
- “*cave*” the Journal d’Antoine Galland (1673)

The table below lists a word for coffee in major world languages:

Table 2.1 : Names for coffee in various world languages

English	French	German	Dutch	Danish
<i>Coffee</i>	<i>Café</i>	<i>Kaffee</i>	<i>Koffi</i>	<i>Kaffe</i>
Finish	Hungarian	Bohemian	Polish	Roumanina
<i>Kahvi</i>	<i>Kave</i>	<i>Kava</i>	<i>Kawa</i>	<i>Cafea</i>
Croatian	Serbian	Russian	Swedish	Spanish
<i>Kava</i>	<i>Kafa</i>	<i>Kophe</i>	<i>Kaffe</i>	<i>Cafe</i>
Basque	Italian	Portuguese	Latin	Turkish
<i>Kaffia</i>	<i>Caffe</i>	<i>Café</i>	<i>Coffea</i>	<i>Kahue</i>
Greek	Arabic	Persian	Annamite	Cambodian
<i>Kafeo</i>	<i>Qahwah</i>	<i>Qehve</i>	<i>Ca-phe</i>	<i>Cafe</i>
Dukni	Teluyan	Tamil	Canareze	Chinese
<i>Bunbund</i>	<i>Kapri-Vittulu</i>	<i>Kopi</i>	<i>Kapi-bija</i>	<i>Kia-fey, teoutse</i>
Japanese	Malayan	Abyssinian	Foulak	Sousou
<i>Kehi</i>	<i>Kawa, koppi</i>	<i>Bonn</i>	<i>Legal-cafe</i>	<i>Houri caff</i>
Marquesan	Chinook	Volapuk	Esperanto	Breton
<i>Kapi</i>	<i>Kaufee</i>	<i>Kaf</i>	<i>Kafo</i>	<i>Kafe</i>

Source: Schivelbusch (1992).

The history of coffee is very extensive, rich and long. There are a number of important authors and sources on this subject that this paper draws from, however the main source for this historical part will be a book by Ivan Jezernik published in 2012, and it includes all the information collected and united in one book “Čarobni napoj”. The history of this drink is in a way truly magnificent, as different social and political aspects can be observed and discussed. This fact is very significant for this paper, since specific social changes and aspects are

elaborated on in it. As we move ahead from the etymology of the word coffee, over to different ways of brewing, serving and consumption of this beverage, we will have an opportunity to analyze and examine differential social phenomena and changes. This will give us an overview of social positioning, globalization, trade, markets, global coffee chains and culture. Some of the mentioned terms will be defined and analyzed in the second part of the paper in order to observe coffee through the prism of phenomena those terms denote.

As we may learn from almost every source on the history of coffee, this plant was cultivated in Yemen until the 15th century and probably much earlier. The Arabs strictly prohibited the export of coffee beans in order to prevent cultivation of coffee somewhere else. They were very serious about treasuring their product. However the Dutch brought coffee plants back home to be grown in greenhouses, successfully breaking the Arabic “embargo”. (Jezernik 2012)

Sources say that the global spread of coffee began from the Horn of Africa, namely from the province of Kaffa. It is recorded that the fruit of the plant, known as coffee cherries (the similarity is obvious, as shown in the picture below), was eaten by slaves as they realized that those beans made them more alive and that they could get through the day more easily and be more efficient. (Drinking Cup 2012)

Picture 2.1 : Appearance of the fruit of coffee plant



Source: Coffee Research Institute (2015).

Apparently, the authorities in Yemen approved and strongly encouraged coffee drinking. The first coffeehouses or “kaveh kanes” opened in Mecca and quickly spread throughout the Arab world, as places where chess was played, gossip was exchanged and singing, dancing and music were enjoyed. It is not difficult to follow the roots of modern coffee shops, to such places. Nothing like this had existed before: a unique place where social and business life could be conducted in comfortable surroundings and where – for the price of a cup of coffee – anyone could be part of a social event. Perhaps predictably, the Arabian coffeehouse soon became a center of political activity and was suppressed. Over the next few decades coffee and coffeehouses were banned numerous times but kept reappearing until eventually an acceptable way out was found when a tax was introduced on both (Jezernik 2012). As mentioned before, today millions of such businesses can be found throughout the world.

Picture 2.2 : Interior of a London coffeehouse cca 1705



Source: Drinking Cup (2012).

As Dutch brought coffee plants, they were growing them successfully by the late 1600 in India and Java. Within a few years the Dutch colonies had become the main suppliers of coffee to Europe, where coffee had first been brought by Venetian traders in 1615. (Drinking Cup 2012). This was a period when the two other globally significant hot beverages also appeared in Europe. One of the two hot drinks was hot chocolate and it was brought by the Spanish from Americas in 1528; and another one was tea which was first sold in Europe in 1610. At first coffee was mainly sold by lemonade vendors as a medicinal drink. (Jezernik 2012). This brings us to the information about the first ever coffeehouse that opened in Venice in 1683 at Piazza San Marco. It is still open for business today.

Coffee House or Wall Street?

The largest insurance market in the world (Lloyd's of London) began actually as a coffeehouse. This coffeehouse was opened by Edward Lloyd, who actually was working on preparing lists of the ships which his customers insured (Lloyd's 2015).

Coffee drinking was noted in literature for the first time in North America in 1668, and very soon after that, several coffeehouses were established in places such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston and other towns. The well-known “Tea Party” in Boston, was planned to start in Green Dragon, a coffeehouse. The interesting fact is that both Bank of NY and Wall Street were established in former coffeehouses.

The French cultivation also has an anecdote related to its beginnings: In 1720, a French officer wanted to take the coffee tree home. On his journey back, there was a storm and apparently a jealous fellow officer wanted to damage the plant by destroying one of the branches. However after the storm, the officer planted the tree in Preebar and it grew and multiplied. It is recorded that, by 1777, there were between 18 and 19 million coffee trees on the island of Martinique, and a model for a new cash crop (Cash crop is a crop grown for profit), that could be grown in the New World was in place. (Jezernik 2012, Environmental Protection Agency, 2012)

The Dutch were the first ones to spread the plant over to Central and South America, and these territories are nowadays the main continental farms for this cash crop. The coffee first arrived to the Dutch colonies around 1717, and then it spread over French Guyana and Para in Brazil.

In 1730 the British introduced coffee to Jamaica, where today the most famous and the most expensive coffee in the world is grown in the Blue Mountains.

Around the 17th and 18th centuries, Brazil was growing large amounts of sugar. As prices of sugar dropped, the capital and workforce migrated to the south, in response to a growing industry of coffee farming. By the beginning of 1830's Brazil was the world's largest producer with approximately 500,000 bags a year, followed by Cuba, Java and Haiti, each with annual production of 250,000 to 350,000 bags. The total coffee production in the world was nearly 3.5 million bags per year.

The exceptionally swift expansion of production in Brazil and Java caused the coffee price to drop, especially in late mid-19th century. However, due to increasing demand, from that point the prices only went up and peaked in the late 19th century. During this period, mainly due to a lack of transport and manpower, the expansion of Brazilian coffee production stagnated. The upward movement of prices encouraged the growth of coffee cultivation in

other producing regions in the countries such as Guatemala, Mexico, El Salvador and Colombia. (International Coffee Organization 2015)

In Colombia, coffee was brought by Jesuits in early 18th century, however it wasn't possible and easy to import coffee from far parts of the world and people were unsatisfied, so that the coffee industry remained poorly developed. The coffee industry started developing after the Thousand Days' War in order to stabilize economy and make it stronger. Railways made that import easier, and peasants who started farming coffee in mountains as well as the opening of the Panama Canal made possible for the coffee industry to bloom. (Jezernik 2012)

By 1905 the Columbian coffee production doubled. In 1905 Colombia exported five hundred thousand bags of coffee; by 1915 exports doubled. While Brazil desperately tried to control its overproduction, Colombian coffee became increasingly popular with American and European consumers. Their production rose from 700,000 to 900,000 bags and by 1919 soared up to 1.2 million bags.

In spite of all political, social and economic problems, the demand for coffee in the 20th century was enormous. In the USA, the consumption of coffee was huge and it peaked in 1946 when consumption per capita was 19.8 pounds, which meant that the consumption had doubled since 1900.

As global prices were very high, the demand for coffee growing and production increased. As decolonization started, many independent countries, such as Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, started farming coffee. This is where the most of their revenue came from. (International Coffee Organization 2015)

Seattle was a synonym for coffee in the USA. Today's revolutionary coffee culture was born there in the 1970's and it has since spread rapidly all over the world, constantly improving in the quality of taste, ambience and marketing. This is why it has successfully spread even to countries and regions which already had an established coffee tradition, such as Scandinavia or Italy. Today we have the opportunity to find a good cup of coffee everywhere, in every large city in the world. Therefore we may say, we are drinking more and, more importantly, better coffee. (Jezernik 2012)

Coffee has extreme importance in the world economy. It is one of the most valuable products in the world trade. Its cultivation, processing, marketing and trading first of all provides employment for millions of people all over the world. Coffee is an important part of economy and politics of many developing countries

The literature on the history of coffee is abundant, although only a few works have been used as a reference for this paper, but one of them is a great book by Ivan Jezernik. The book presents history of coffee in much detail and contains a huge amount of information; it is very helpful in understanding social events, as we know them today. It is an incredible compilation of sources on the history of coffee with magnificent illustrations. Jezernik writes on the first accounts of coffee, its consumption in the East, expansion through Balkans and Europe.

Jezernik says: those who loved coffee wrote very passionately in an affirmative way and those who were against it, they wrote also very passionately in a negative way. (Jezernik 2012, 95)

Therefore, those who loved coffee would exaggerate to the point of describing coffee as a remedy for everything. Ahmad bin Alavi Ba Dzabada believed that coffee was a medicinal beverage, and he spent his last years consuming coffee only, because he believed that dying with some coffee in the digestive system would save your soul. (Jezernik 2012)

As mentioned before, in this part Jezernik presents data and texts which help us to see how coffee was labeled as a medicine or as a poison. More about coffee as a medicinal beverage can be found in the European literature rather than in the Arabic.

Some Europeans wrote about coffee as a very poor tasting drink, but very healthy and beneficial. Doctor Lemery from Paris believed that coffee brought brain to life and that it could be very helpful with stomach problems. British doctor John Ray argued that coffee could help with headaches, vertigo, lethargy and cough. (Ukers 1922)

Venetian doctor Prospero Alpini wrote about Egyptians who would drink coffee over the whole day, but the most beneficial would be the first cup of hot coffee in the morning, which was very good for stomach and it helped with constipation and menstrual pain.

On the other hand, opponents had only bad words for coffee and its followers. German doctor who was in the service of King, Simon Paulli Jr. (1603–1680), wrote that coffee could cause sterility. A number of authors claimed that coffee was actually a very slow poison.

Philosopher Bernard de Fontenelle consumed coffee after every meal, and his doctor wanted to prevent such behavior by telling him that coffee was a slow poison. The philosopher agreed with him by saying: “I really do think so, since I’ve been drinking coffee for 80 years and I am not dead yet!” (Jezernik 2012)

However, coffeehouses were places where people would enjoy themselves while drinking coffee. The social aspect to this was contact building between sips of coffee and discussions, singing and other social events. Coffee was and it remained a reason to go to the coffeehouse and mingle.

By all means we could agree with British author Edward Robinson that coffee is innocent and simple stuff, and if it has some features those are more political than medicinal. (Robinson 1893)

According to sources, the official fact is that coffee was found in Ethiopia; then it was brought to Yemen where it was cultivated. In the 15th century it spread to Muslim countries, where coffee was used in rituals. It cannot be determined with certainty when people actually started consuming coffee on a daily basis. It is possible, since Yemen wasn’t really central and important to the Islamic world at that time, that they had consumed coffee for centuries before it became popular. (Jezernik 2012)

If the consumption of coffee helped during zikr ritual (something similar to meditation, involving complete disconnection from thoughts and reconnection with God), it is possible that coffee was helpful with some other problems and was used in other rituals.

The history of coffee also shows how this beverage was a part of multiple revolutions. Explanations here vary. According to William Ukers, it is probably because coffee was the most radical drink of all: it encouraged people’s reasoning. Because of that, people became dangerous to tyrants and the opponents of coffee. The first opponent was Kjar – a Beg ruler in Mecca. He realized how much people enjoyed coffee, and how coffee drinking looked like in

coffeehouses. He thus decided to ban coffee. If someone was caught drinking coffee he would be tied to a donkey and paraded through the city. (Ukers 1922)

A difference was also observed in the ways coffee was enjoyed in Europe and in the Middle East. Robert Madden, a 19th century traveler and physician, noted that, unlike Europeans (who preferred social and entertaining events in coffeehouses and establishments alike with numerous visitors), the people from the Middle East enjoyed coffee in a completely different manner – sitting on divans, smoking tobacco and drinking coffee. This observation made him think that such behavior was written in the soul and moral, since it was considered impossible to have a soul devoid of thoughts – in line with the current philosophy at the time (for example, John Locke)

As mentioned before, the European coffeehouses were places of social spirit and entertainment, such as music events, plays, literary events and other forums, with mostly tobacco-smoking male visitors.

Politics was also the main subject of discussion in coffeehouses all over the Balkans. As far as the Balkans is concerned, we can definitely say that coffee was inherited from Turks and their rule over the peninsula, but even the neighboring states accepted it.

Coffee was introduced to Europe by merchants who traveled over the historical region of Levant. The first European author to mention coffee was Leonhard Rauwolf (1535–1596), who encountered this drink while on his journey to Persia, as a drink that was sipped while very hot and having many medicinal properties. (Jezernik 2012, Cowan 2005, Roden 1994)

It is considered that coffee arrived to Europe through one of the most important maritime city-states of the time – Venice. Coffee was prepared to suit the needs of merchants from the East, but it became a luxury as soon as it attracted the attention of the nobility. Although some members of the clergy considered the drink to be devilish, Pope Clement VIII was told to have been fond of it. (Cowan 2005)

Austria

Under the influence of Turks the first coffeehouse was opened in Vienna in the 17th century. This was the first coffeehouse in Austria. The typical Austrian coffee, with milk and sugar “Mélange”, was supposedly invented by an officer from Poland. (Jezernik, 2012)

England

The oldest coffeehouse in Britain, the Queen’s Lane Coffee House, is located in Oxford. The first coffeehouse in England was opened in Cornhill. The proprietor was the servant of Daniel Edwards, a trader in Turkish goods. Edwards imported coffee and the servant was setting up the establishment. Oxford's Queen's Lane Coffee House, established in 1654, is still in existence today. By 1675, there were more than 3,000 coffeehouses all over England. During the Enlightenment, these early English coffeehouses became gathering places used for deep religious and political discussions. This practice became so common that Charles II wanted to demolish coffeehouses in 1675. (Cowan, 2005, Jezernik 2012, 121 – 123)

In Europe women were welcome in coffeehouses from Germany to England.

France

As coffee always found its way, either through merchants and travelers, or through ambassadors, it arrived to France with Mr. Galland in the 17th century, who praised the Arabs for describing and growing this plant. It was so popular at the time, that a certain amount of coffee beans were reserved for the Royal Court.

Antoine Galland (1646–1715) described Arabs as the ones who introduced coffee, sugar, tea and chocolate. Galland was informed by Mr. De la Croix, the interpreter of King Louis XIV of France, that coffee was brought to Paris by a certain Mr. Thevenot, who had travelled through the East. (Jezernik 2012, 127 – 128)

Germany

Germany adopted coffee via merchants, the same way Venice did – coffee was imported via the most prominent ports in Germany (e.g. Hamburg Bremen). It gained popularity among the nobility, subsequently spreading to the middle-class, being transliterated from French as “Kaffee”. The first coffee house was opened in Berlin in 1721.

Composer Johann Sebastian Bach, who was a cantor of St. Thomas Church, Leipzig, in the period from 1723 to 1750, conducted a musical ensemble at Café Zimmermann in that Saxon city. Sometime in 1732–1735 he composed the secular "Coffee Cantata" *Schweig stille, plaudert nicht* (BWV 211), in which a young woman, Lieschen, pleads with her disapproving father to accept her devotion to drinking coffee, then a newfangled fashion. The libretto includes such lines as:

Ei! wie schmeckt der Coffee süße,

Lieblicher als tausend Küsse,

Milder als Muskatwein.

Coffee, Coffee muss ich haben,

Und wenn jemand mich will laben,

Ach, so schenkt mir Coffee ein!

(Oh! How sweet coffee does taste,

Better than a thousand kisses,

Milder than muscat wine.

Coffee, coffee, I've got to have it,

And if someone wants to perk me up, *

Oh, just give me a cup of coffee!)

(Jezernik 2012, 141 - 143)

Netherlands

The Dutch had played the major role in European coffee history. They were first to successfully grow the plant in green houses in the mainland during the early 17th century (using artificial selection, the Dutch have started growing the variety that could survive in the northern climate), and started growing them very quickly in Sri Lanka. The Dutch have concentrated on the growing, rather than on the drink, becoming the most important supplier in Europe (from the plantations in Suriname and Java) (Jezernik 2012, 159 – 163)

2.2 Brewing, Preparation and Consumption

Coffee preparation is the process of making a beverage out of coffee beans. The process is not always the same but mainly there are few basic steps: coffee beans are roasted, then ground and finally mixed with hot water for a certain time (brewed), and poured into a container.

The preparation of coffee is different depending on location and also a period in time. We can follow the ways coffee was initially prepared if we look into the history of coffee. Jezernik gives an example: in Yemen (the original homeland of coffee) they drank very little coffee and they believed that it brought bloodstream to life. The favorite beverage of Arabian people from that country is prepared out of coffee skin, lightly steamed and crushed. They named this drink *kahwe* or *kisher*. The taste is very similar to tea. Rich people were consuming coffee out of small, sophisticated cups and common people drank out of small bowls made of rough ceramic. (Jezernik 2012, 45-50)

Coffee is a plant that grows very short, and it looks more like a bush than a tree. Carl Linnaeus assigned it under *Pentandria monogynia*. Flowers are small and white, very similar to jasmine flower. They blossom overnight and the bush appears as if covered by snow. However after the flowers fade, a fruit similar to cherries grows out and it has a very fair,

poor tasting and sticky meat, and inside it has two seeds. The seeds are light red colored initially, but as they become ripe, they have darker color.

Different Ways of Preparation

In Arabic states, they still prepare coffee in closed pots, and then hot water must be poured in to another pot where the fresh coffee powder is added and cooked again until they get a really strong drink out of it. They consume coffee out of small cups. A very popular way of preparation is also a standard or Turkish way of preparation, which is very specific for the Balkans and the Middle East. This process includes a few simple steps: cezve is used to boil water, and once it boils, the coffee powder is stirred in (approximately one tea spoon per cup of water) and cezve is put back on the stove to boil again, after which it should be removed off the stove and the coffee drink is ready to be poured into cups. (Jezernik 2012, 45-150, Smith 1985)

Steeping the French Way

In France they use a kind of narrow cylinder with a plunger and a filter. Boiled water should be poured, along with the coffee into this cylinder for a few minutes. At the end of the process coffee grounds are retained by the filter and drink can be served without the grounds.

Another way of making coffee without grounds by using coffee bags which are similar to tea bags, but instead they contain coffee. It is a way of preparation where grounds in disposable bags are used, much the same as for tea preparation.

The Malaysian process of preparation is also a way of making coffee without grounds and it includes a part similar to a sock, a bag in which they pour coffee and use it as a kind of filter which you can dip in hot water. (Roden 1994)

Various Ways of Filtration

Drip brew, also known as American filter coffee, is made by letting the hot water drip onto coffee grounds held by a coffee filter which is placed in a filter holder or basket. Today there are electrical coffee makers which use the same system. This kind of coffee contains

more caffeine, it is often served in restaurants all over the USA usually from pots with an orange holder, and it is known as regular black coffee. (Lavazza site)

Another variation is cold brew coffee, also known as "cold press". Cold water is poured over coffee grounds and allowed to steep for eight to twenty-four hours. The coffee is then filtered, usually through a very thick filter, removing any sufficiently small parts. This process produces a very strong concentrate which can be stored in airtight container for up to eight weeks. The coffee can then be prepared for drinking by merely adding hot water to the concentrate at an approximate 3:1 ratio, which may be adjusted. The coffee prepared in this way is very low in acidity and it has a smooth taste, so it is often a better way of drinking coffee for those with sensitive stomachs.

The flavor of brewed coffee in drip-brewing filtration coffee maker depends on the amount of coffee. The point of brewing it this way is to mix both the soft and the bitter tastes this kind of coffee has. Adding hot water occasionally and stopping the brew is a way of adjusting taste. The bitterness depends on both tastes mixed by a large brew.

As for the cold press, it is not the only "cold" method. There is also the Dutch ice coffee or cold drip coffee which involves slow dripping of cold water into the grounds. This water then slowly passes through a filter. The cold press filtration lasts for 24 hours, while the cold drip filtration shortens the process to 2-4 hours, and the taste is completely the same as with cold press preparation. (Roden 1994)

Espresso is made by forcing hot water at 91–95 °C (195–204 °F) under a pressure of between eight and eighteen bars (800–1800 kPa, 116–261 psi), through a lightly packed matrix, called a "puck" of finely ground coffee. The 30–60 cc (1–2 oz.) beverage is served in demitasse cups and sugar is often added. It is consumed during the day in cafés and from street vendors, or after an evening meal. It is the basis for many coffee drinks. It is one of the most concentrated forms of coffee regularly consumed, with a distinctive flavor provided by crema, a layer of flavorful emulsified oils in the form of colloidal foam floating on the surface, which is produced by the high pressure. Espresso is more viscous than other forms of brewed coffee. (Istituto Nazionale Espresso Italiano 2015)

The Italian coffeepot or moka pot is a three-part dish where water boils in lowest one. This pot should be placed directly on a stove or burner. The boiled water passes through

coffee grounds in the second part, the one in the middle, separated by a filter from the top level.

The result or the final product is espresso which is collected in the top section. Some of the pots come with a glass or plastic cover on the top. (Jezernik 2012)

Single-serving coffee machines force hot water under low pressure through a coffee pod composed of finely ground coffee sealed between two layers of filter paper or through a proprietary capsule containing ground coffee. Examples include the pod-based Senseo and Home Café systems and the proprietary Tassimo and Keurig K-Cup systems. (Roden 1994)

The AeroPress is another recent invention, which is a mechanical, non-electronic device where pressure is simply exerted by the user manually pressing a piston down with their hand, forcing medium-temperature water through coffee grounds in about 30 seconds (into a single cup.) This method produces a smoother beverage than espresso, falling somewhere between the flavor of a moka pot and a French Press. (Aerobie Inc 2015)

Regarding the preparation of coffee, we can find a lot of travel journals in Jezernik's book: as James Fraser notes when describing his journey from Constantinople to Tehran, it is not allowed for coffee to boil more than three times, and even that should not be for too long. Coffee is poured into small bowls which cannot hold more than one egg, and they drink coffee so hot, that very little people can actually bear that.

The consumption of coffee in Albania in the first half of the 20th century was described by travel writer Paul Edmonds: coffee cups would be placed in a shape of a circle on a plate; they would take one quick sip by which they would decrease the amount of drink left and they would put the cups back on the plate, because coffee would be extremely hot just poured out of a hot coffee maker, so this process of drinking coffee was very painful. It should be consumed with very loud slurping, so they could first drink the colder layer of beverage. While slurping is a sign of something undesired in other countries, here it was a sign of respect. (Jezernik 2012, 157-202)

A coffee pot was described in a typical way in the 17th century by Dufoury: in the Levant they use a special pot made out of copper galvanized both on the outside and on the inside with zinc and it has a special shape that couldn't be found even in France. They called

this kind of coffee pot *Ibrik*. In his book about coffee published in 1902, Arthur Gray notes that Turks never add milk to their coffee, and adding sugar would also be a crime. Of course, European and American travelers could ask for milk or sugar in Constantinople and Cairo. In European hotels, the preparation of coffee was Turkish-style, with grounds in it, and they would add sugar along with the coffee directly into the pot while brewing. (Jezernik 2012, 68-81)

British Orientalist and lexicographer Edward William Lane (1801–1876) in his book about customs and habits of modern Egyptians describes a way of coffee preparation in Egypt in the middle of the 19th century, when adding sugar wasn't really a habit yet: They prepare coffee very strong and without adding any sugar or milk. Coffee cup called *finggan is very small* and it doesn't actually keep the drink. If it is made out of porcelain or ceramic with no holder they would pour coffee out into another cup named *zarf*. When preparing coffee, first they let water to boil, then they stir in the coffee and boil the mixture for 2, 3 times, after which the pot is removed from the stove and coffee is poured into cups while it is still very hot and creamy. (Jezernik 2012, Smith 1885)

While moving through the history of coffee in this part of the work, we can observe how the plant and the beverage spread, hand in hand with the first steps of globalization, consumerism and Global Coffee Chain – which is a good prelude for the following part that deals with these terms. The books such as Jezernik's and Cowan's used as a reference for this paper show how coffee transformed from being used in rituals; how modern-day cafés emerged, and what they brought with them; how coffee and opening of the coffeehouses (pre-café) were actually a motive for the people to socialize; how these places were also used for theatre plays, political discussions, forums, musical events, etc; and finally, how it came to the creation of sub-types of coffee and the opening of large coffee chains, such as Starbucks.

In analyzing the history of coffee, we have gone through an introductory part that presents an overview of the etymology of the word “coffee”, its consumption, ways of brewing (depending on location and cultural usage) which will help us put into perspective the concepts of social positioning, processes such as globalization, mechanisms of capitalism, trade, markets, global coffee chains and even, culture. This analysis has clearly shown how

fast coffee became a popular and magical drink, how it found its place in literature and music, how it was a reason for coffeehouses to open and for people to socialize and discuss, how it was considered both a remedy and a poison and how it not only remained in focus and retained its popularity, but it became a super totem.

In the second part, I will be analyzing all the processes and theories which were mentioned in the first part, such as basic mechanisms of capitalism or globalization, processes which are directly responsible for the era of “latte revolution”. By following the history of coffee from its beginning until today, it is easy to see the exact path to a “new-age coffee revolution era”. Coffee is and has been a part, basically a ritual of everyday life, for hundreds of years. However, today it is almost a totem. Consumerism, capitalism and globalization as the processes and theories to be analyzed will show us how their interaction can make one simple product into an expensive totem.

Further in my work, I will focus on the terms such as consumerism and capitalism, but only on the micro-level so I offer a clearer overview of processes responsible and crucial for the coffee revolution.

3. Concepts of Coffee

In this part, I will concentrate on explaining the terms such as globalization, global chains and consumerism. The understanding of these terms and their diachronic analysis is crucial for the following parts of this work. We will see how changes in systems and social aspects have created a unique space in which it is possible for global chains to develop, and we will review different revolutions brought by various products. In progressing toward the concept of consumerism and relying strongly on the theory of commodity fetishism, this paper will give an insight into a huge offer of coffee varieties consumed today, and explain why people are willing to pay a higher price for coffee in Starbucks.

3.1 Coffee and Capitalism

Capitalism as a system is important to mention in order to connect it with other social aspect or terms such as globalization and consumerism. However, the analysis of capitalism

on a macro-level is not necessary for the purpose of this work, but some essential features of this system will be considered, as it creates opportunities for the establishment of global chains that offer globally popular products; in this case – coffee.

The Oxford dictionary defines Capitalism as “an economic system and a mode of production in which trade, industries, and the means of production are largely or entirely privately owned. Such private firms and proprietorships are usually operated for profit, but may be operated as private nonprofit organizations.” (Oxford University Press, 2015)

As feudal economies gradually declined, capitalism was the system which rose to prominence and became the dominant economic system in developed countries. Specific philosophies of capitalism, such as property rights and wage labor, can also be considered as a fundamental basis of representative government.

Capitalism is often closely connected with the economic growth, as production and prices are usually determined by the market rather than by governments. Private property rights provide individuals with the freedom to produce goods and services they can sell in the market. (Stilwell, 2002)

Capitalism has been criticized for emphasizing focus on profit. Also it has been criticized as this profit focus can lead to social and economic inequality. Further, it is also criticized for its emphasis on consumption, as the constant purchase of goods and services is necessary for capitalism's success. (Investopedia – Capitalism, 2015)

Main characteristics of capitalism include private property, wage labor and fully competitive markets. (Heilbroner 2008, Hyman and Baptist 2014). In a capitalist economy, the prices of goods are determined and services are exchanged. (Merriam-Webster, Inc 2015)

Economists, political economists, and historians have different analysis when it comes to capitalism and its forms. These include free market capitalism, corporatism, "third way" social democracy and state capitalism. (Heilbroner 2008, Stillwell 2002)

The decision on whether one market is free or defining private property is absolutely a matter of politics and policy. Many states have a mixed economy, which combines elements of both capitalism and centrally planned economics. (Stillwell 2002) Capitalism has existed under many forms of government, in many different times, places, and cultures. (Scott 2005)

Capitalism became a dominant system in the Western world and has continued to spread. (Scott 2005). Infant mortality was high long before capitalism. People were moving from country to cities in order to earn more money for the food. The clearest proof of this is that the population did not increase and infant mortality did not decrease until Industrial revolution. Thus a question emerged – If life was so great before capitalism in the countryside, why was infant mortality so high and population numbers considerably lower before capitalism? Answer: because life was not so great until capitalism. (Capitalism Magazine 2013)

Throughout history people could not provide for their families and their children in the first place. Therefore, children had to work. It was the industrialists that made the labor of parents more productive, so that the children had to stop working in fields or factories. In poor, non-capitalist countries they are still working in fields and factories. (Capitalism Magazine 2013)

Contrary to leftist rhetoric, passing child labor laws in these countries will not solve the problem, but will only lead to mass starvation — which is why the “poor” themselves resist such laws (it is only to the benefit of the leftist “rich humanitarians” who cry out for them). (Capitalism Magazine 2013)

The mill owners were criticized as soulless exploiters. The working conditions were described —long hours, low pay, and monotonous routine. The critics were comparing contemporary times with the Middle Ages as they believed that poverty was something new that came with contemporary systems. Their claims of increasing misery, however, were based on ignorance of how difficult it was before the capitalism. Before children had the opportunity to earn money in factories, they had been sent away in different poorhouses where they worked hard as unpaid servants. Other options were to become beggars, vagrants, thieves and prostitutes. (Hessen 2008)

The pictures that follow are examples of anti-capitalist messages:

Picture 3.1 : Famous Cola-Cola logo, an icon of globalization and capitalist economic system, is cleverly transformed into the word Capitalism



Source: Peter Says Stuff (2015).

Picture 3.2 : A classic example of anti-capitalist messages, where the whole system is presented as a pyramid supported by workers



Source: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest (2015).

This is a good point to discuss a perverse relationship between capitalism and pleasure. The ideologies and processes like capitalism and consumerism gave birth to famous products such as Coca-Cola, Starbucks or Perfumes and made them famous, totem shaped. In order to present and sell their products, these companies are advertising their products almost always connecting their products with desire and pleasure. Just a quick look on the commercials for Perfumes, Ice creams or Coca-Cola is enough to prove this. The commercials are focused on inciting desire in people. Once the desire is on, we need to satisfy it. We need to have and own, because owning a product will satisfy the urges and will give pleasure. Here we can look back to the dictionary definition of capitalism – a system in which everything is privately owned.

We may look back at the statement that capitalism is actually a system in which everything that brings profit is entirely privately owned.

Marx in Capital writes about perfect capitalism:

We enter a world of perfect capitalism: no monopolies, no unions, and no special advantages for anyone. It is a world in which every commodity sells at exactly its proper price. And that proper price is its value -- a tricky word. For the value of a commodity, says Marx, is the amount of labor it has within itself. If it takes twice as much labor to make hats as shoes, then hats will sell for twice the price of shoes. The labor, of course, need not be direct manual labor; it may be overhead labor that is spread over many commodities, or it may be the labor that once went into making a machine and that the machine now slowly passes on to the products it shapes. But no matter what its form, everything is eventually reducible to labor, and all commodities, in this perfect system, will be priced according to the amount of labor, direct or indirect, that they contain. In this world stand the two great protagonists of the capitalist drama: worker and capitalist. The worker is a free bargaining agent who enters the market to dispose of the one commodity he commands -- labor power. The capitalist faces him in the arena. He is an owner-entrepreneur engaged in an endless race against his fellow owner-entrepreneurs; he must strive for accumulation, for in the competitive environment in which he operates, one accumulates or one gets accumulated. The stage is set and the characters take their places (Marx 1867, 152)

However, a question emerges – How come that profit exists in such an environment? If everything has a price that is attached to its exact value, who gets an unearned increase? No one will raise the price above the competitive one. So if everything has its honest worth, how come there is a profit? As monopolies exist where there is no need to follow different levels

of competition and capitalists do not pay the workforce its worth, the existence of profit is possible. However, Marx says that it is supposed to be the ideal capitalism which will crash. He also offers an answer to a dilemma when one commodity is different from all others. The power of commodity is labor. A laborer and a capitalist are selling a product for exactly what it is worth, for its value, which is a value of everything that is sold and that is the exact amount of labor that was invested into it. (Commanding Heights 2015, Nelson 2002)

As previously mentioned, one of the main literature sources for this work will be the theory of commodity fetishism from Marx's *Capital*. As ideologies and processes such as capitalism and globalization and the perverse relationship between capitalism and pleasure have been introduced above, now a closer look into pleasures, i.e. human wants and desires is needed. Since the coffee revolution indeed involves capitalism and pleasure, introducing and analyzing Marx's theory of commodity fetishism is essential. In this way, introducing satisfaction and pleasure taken in material possession will be more effective. The theory of commodity fetishism will help analyze coffee as an object of fetishism. It will be discussed in more detail after the relevant terms have been introduced.

In the following part of the work, I will elaborate on the term of globalization as well as on how the process of globalization has affected coffee. Apparently, coffee today is a lifestyle. One company took one single and simple product and turned it into a way of life. Chains such Starbucks have made possible for coffee to become available to anyone, anytime, anywhere. Cheap or expensive. This part brings the story of Starbucks as a coffee chain which represents the effects of globalization in the best possible way.

How the Process of Globalization Led to Coffee Revolution

Globalization is the ongoing process of connecting cities, regions and countries much more closely together than they have ever been before. This has resulted in our lives being intertwined with people in all parts of the world via the food we eat, the clothing we wear, the music we listen to, the information we get and the ideas we hold. Because globalization is one huge process including so many aspects, it is difficult to define it. Globalization is an economic, political and cultural process. (UNESCO 2015)

Globalization is special for the increased interaction among people, and the world affected by it is also known as a “global village” in which there are no international boundaries, so the world is shrinking into a “smaller place”. The processes which “fuel” globalization are economic – profit flows and trade, and technological – information technology and informational – mass media. Very characteristic for this process are cultural exchanges, migration and international tourism. As previously noted – the world we live in has become a huge network.

Globalization, however, is absolutely not a new process, although it has accelerated rapidly since the World War II. This process is very important because of its influence on the people, environment, cultures, national governments, and economic development. (UNESCO 2015, Hart 2011, Rizman 2005)

Today the term globalization is a fashionable word often used in political and academic debates. In popular discourse, globalization is actually a synonym for a constantly growing dominance of the Western world (read: American), and for the forms of political, economic, and cultural life. Moreover, globalization is synonymous of that “networked world” or the internet revolution.

Globalization is not a one-way street in which the only factors are social and cultural values, but there is always a place for local or national interventions as a part of global processes.

Anthony McGrew describes the process of globalization as not only a process which involves connections between states and nations, but as a process of connecting continents and civilizations.

Naturally, globalization has a great influence on almost every field of business all over the world. The coffee industry is one of those fields that have been affected quite directly. Globalization as a process has changed the coffee industry completely since the 1970s. Constant changes in the global market are very positive for coffee producers and sellers. (Bolton 2010, Rizman 2005)

“One of the major effects of globalization on the coffee market is its impact on coffee prices since the 1970s”. The price of South American coffee peaked in early 1970s, reaching a price of 3\$ per pound. Since then, with ongoing globalization of coffee prices have dropped. Of course, the development of coffee industry led to overproduction, and this caused the price of raw coffee to drop to 62 cents for a pound. Since coffee was once as valuable as gold, the price of 62 cents for a pound seemed almost unimaginable. The main reason for such a dip in price comes as a consequence of coffee globalization and overproduction, i.e. an increased production of coffee all over the world. Due to overproduction, the price came down to 62 cents per pound. If we look back further into history, when the price of coffee was almost as high as that of gold, the 62 cents-per-pound price would have seemed unimaginable. (Hart 2011)

The production of coffee is tightly related to its price movements in the decades from the early 1970s onward.

As the demand for coffee was very high the prices were also high. The prices began to drop as producing countries were getting closer to meeting the demand. Long story, short, it is important to mention the influence of this fluctuations on exporting because, these countries had and have to compete in the global marketplace. The problem is overproduction, by producing more and more coffee, result are large coffee surpluses that have nowhere to go.

This process has made it simple for the large retailers who sell coffee to seek out the lowest price possible (Bolton 2010)

This situation with high coffee demand led to a mass production. The cultivation and packaging of coffee products was on mass level. “This mass production has led to corporate domination of the coffee industry that has seen a backlash in recent years”. As corporations are using pesticides on coffee beans and also unsatisfied trading practices, consumers are buying “fair trade coffee” which ensures that farmers in developing countries received a fair

price for each pound. However few main, major U.S. retailers still dominate the coffee industry.

This mass production by all means has a impact on quality. Overproduction led to a lower quality of product. This is answer to a consumer demand for cheaper coffee. However, consumers have developed coffee palates which are offering lifestyle and sophisticated interior. As they have created something more alongside with the cup of coffee, consumers are prepared to pay a higher price for a single cup of coffee after all. (Lewis, 2015)

The best example of coffee globalization is, naturally, Starbucks Company. In article written by R. Hart he starts with a question: A cup of coffee; that's all it is, or is it? He indicates that this company has created a lifestyle based on a simple product. The coffee is not an energy boosting drink which we take in the morning anymore, but it became fun. One company has taken a simple product and turned it into a lifestyle. The answer to the question how this happened is simply – Starbucks. “When one buys a cup of Starbucks coffee, they aren't buying just a cup of coffee; they are purchasing an experience.” People today can even tell the difference between coffee and Starbucks coffee.

Starbucks, although technically an American name, is a name known and spoken by people regardless where they are from or what language they speak.

The experience of Starbucks exhibits both how intellectual property rights are essential to globalization and how intellectual property rights have become globalized themselves. The globalization of intellectual property rights has helped Starbucks to protect itself internationally, where competitors in China have ripped off its name and practices, and has also affected how Starbucks does business, as in purchasing trademarked coffee from Ethiopia. By properly utilizing intellectual protection laws, Starbucks has been able to keep its name and business practices its own by preventing its competitors from crossing the line in mimicking the coffee shop powerhouse. (Hart 2011)

How the Globalization led to Starbucks

Global expansion has a great impact on successful companies. Such company is the almighty Starbucks. Starbucks was very successful in the domestic market, however very fast the leaders of this company knew how to use globalization and expand this company all over the world. In 2003, it finally expanded all over foreign countries.

Countries began experiencing the “Starbucks Effect,” which is the continuous emergence of new competitors with superior business models that force businesses to reconsider the viability of what they’ve always done. In a nutshell – if your company can’t keep up with the efficiency of the Americans, it won’t succeed (Hart 2011, Interbrand 2013)

The globalization has helped Starbucks to become international company but it also brought some problems. These problems are affecting the company itself internally and externally. The moment Starbucks expanded, the rival coffee shops started copying business model, name and even logo. Today there are a lot of companies which have copied their model, along with products, lifestyle and interior. (Kotler 2002)

Today, Starbucks coffee is a lifestyle. It is more than just a cup of coffee. If we speak about how huge brand and lifestyle Starbucks coffee and plagiarism coffees present, we could mention the Instagram and Tumbler mania, where it is routine to upload and have a photo with a cup of Starbucks.

Picture 3.3 : Photographs of Starbucks coffee on Instagram

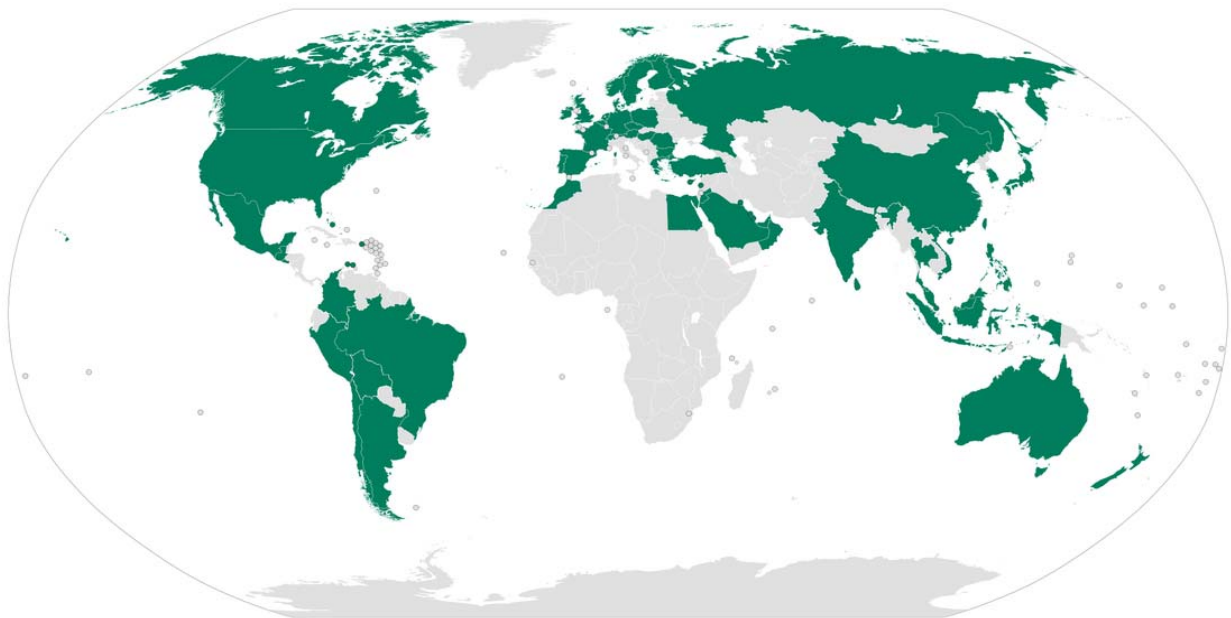


Source: Stuff_n_foodo (2015).

Starbucks has over 15000 shops in more than 45 countries, and it is an icon of globalization. They do not advertise, except that they have an online coffee club and occasionally they organize coffee-tasting.

Generally their main advertising move is to open coffee shops at high-traffic locations. In the picture below, we can observe how the brand spread all over the world and infiltrated almost everywhere – of course, green color marks Starbucks:

Picture 3.4 : Green color represents all the countries with Starbucks cafes (Wikimedia Commons 2015)



Source: Wikimedia Commons (2015).

Going to Starbucks is an event: Starbucks is letting you buy the experience, it makes you feel like a part of something. As a company, they are very successful thanks to the community they have built around them.

Starbucks knew that no one would be willing to pay 5 bucks for a cup of coffee, so they have relied on die-hard supporters, i.e. the ones convinced they have been buying some special coffee and they actually have had a part in Starbucks success. This community didn't buy their coffee because they thought the taste was better than other sorts of coffee, but

because of what having a cup of Starbucks in your hand meant. That is the lifestyle they have created. And the same thing is with Apple, for instance. For the purpose of this paper, the Starbucks example is discussed in more detail, even though there are many similar examples of global coffee chains, such as Costa Coffee or Dream Coffee, although Starbucks seems to be the best example of the “revolution” which is the topic.

Zizek has pointed well, we buy coffee or some other product for pleasure, we feel enjoyment, however guilty we may feel because of that: “Oh, no, I am a consumerist, how can I afford this 5-dollar coffee while at the same time people in Africa are starving?” Well, Starbucks as many other companies have a solution for that. If you buy this Large Frappuccino, part of your money goes to the starving people of Africa. Hence, you can finally, enjoy your coffee, no attachments no guilt. (Fiennes 2012)

In the following part I will analyze the process of consumerism which is very tightly connected with the ideologies and processes mentioned previously. We do live in a consumerist society which is a process created in capitalism and its expansion was unrestrained thanks to the system such as globalization. All these terms are very tightly connected as mentioned before, which means that expounding on one without another is pointless. Working middle class, buying products, buying coffee, sitting in coffee shops, drinking expensive lattes, trying new kinds of coffee, the whole process could be examined as the thought process of consumerism.

3.2 Consumerism or how we got trapped

Consumerism as a social and economic order and ideology encourages the acquisition of goods and services in ever-greater amounts. In the domain of politics, the term "consumerism" has also been used to refer to something quite different called the *consumerists' movement*, consumer protection or consumer activism, which seeks to protect and inform consumers by requiring such practices as honest packaging and advertising, product guarantees, and improved safety standards. In this sense it is a political movement or

a set of policies aimed at regulating the products, services, methods, and standards of manufacturers, sellers, and advertisers in the interests of the buyer. (Veblen 1899)

In the economic field, "consumerism" places an emphasis on the term of consumption. In a more creative sense the free choice that consumer thinks they have is actually in the hands of manufacturing companies. The manufacturers orient consumers in the direction of what is produced and how. (Belch and Michael Guolla 2005)

There are a few definitions of consumerism. From anthropological and biological point of view, consumerism is easily recognizable in any society (this is also observed in ancient civilizations) – it could be defined as a phenomenon of people purchasing goods in excess of their basic needs. (Swagler 1997)

However, the concept of consumerism is typically used to refer to the historically specific set of relations of production and exchange that emerge from the particular social, political, cultural and technological context of late 19th and early 20th century capitalism with more visible roots in the social transformations of the 16th, 17th and 18th century Europe. (Sandlin 2004)

Critics dispute on the cause of the consumerist society – the more positive, middle-class view claims that the growing middle class has accepted new ideas of luxury consumption and fashion which were provided by the vast, mostly Caribbean, estates specifically designed to grow and produce luxury goods, e.g. coffee, tea, tobacco, sugar (the consumption of sugar in 18th century Britain has increased by a factor of 20). Others claim that the consumerist society was either a result of political and economic necessity needed for the capitalist competition for markets and profits, or was a result of an increasing influence of international working-class organizations, which were, during an increase of technological productivity, a catalyst to develop a consumerist culture. (World Overpopulation Awareness 2010)

Many critics are pointing out that consumerism emerged out of political and economic necessity for the reproduction of capitalist markets and profits. And yet there are many claims that the consumerist society was a result of development of middle class, who wanted to participate in this luxurious fashion. The consumer society gained more prominence at the turn of the 17th to 18th century. Also the factor of an increased technological productivity is

directly responsible for the consumer culture being based on entertainment, home ownership and finally debt. People just wanted to have more and more. (Sandlin 2004, Stuart 2011) The American model is a very interesting example. It is one of the reasons why they occasionally have depression periods. People can take out loans in the amount 100 times higher than what their monthly income is. The more positive, middle-class view argues that this revolution encompassed the growth in construction of vast country estates specifically designed to cater for comfort and the increased availability of luxury goods aimed at a growing market. This included sugar, tobacco, tea and coffee; these were increasingly grown on vast plantations in the Caribbean as the demand steadily rose. In particular, sugar consumption in Britain during the course of the 18th century increased by a factor of 20. (Belch and Michael Guolla 2005)

Critics argue that colonialism was indeed a driver of consumerism, but they would place the emphasis on the supply rather than the demand as the motivating factor. An increasing mass of exotic imports as well as the domestic production had to be consumed by the same number of people who had been consuming far less than was becoming necessary. Historically, the notion that high levels of consumption of consumer goods is the same thing as achieving success or even freedom did not pre-date large-scale capitalist production and colonial imports. That idea was produced later, more or less strategically in order to intensify consumption domestically and make resistant cultures more flexible to extend its reach. (Stuart 2001, Lears 1995)

People were purchasing goods in order to please their basic needs, which is recognizable in any society, especially in ancient civilizations like Ancient Egypt and Ancient Rome. From this perspective the consumerism can be observed and presented as an anthropological and biological phenomenon. However, the concept of consumerism is bringing into connection historically the phenomena of production and exchange, which was typical for the technological and industrial period of the late 19th century or better say, European capitalism of the 19th century. (Haferkamp and Smesler 1992)

Picture 3.5 : Quote from Victor Lebow's 1955 article

"OUR ENORMOUSLY PRODUCTIVE ECONOMY...
DEMANDS THAT WE MAKE CONSUMPTION
OUR WAY OF LIFE, THAT WE CONVERT
THE BUYING AND USE OF GOODS INTO
RITUALS, THAT WE SEEK OUR SPIRITUAL
SATISFACTION, OUR EGO SATISFACTION,
IN CONSUMPTION ...WE NEED THINGS
CONSUMED, BURNED UP, REPLACED AND
DISCARDED AT AN EVER-ACCELERATING RATE."

Source: What Do I Know? (2007).

One of my favorite quotes regarding consumerism is Dave Ramsey's paraphrase of the famous 1998 film "Fight Club" line – "We buy things we don't need, with money we don't have, to impress people we don't like" (Ramsey 2009)

We may as well make a reference to the movie "They live". It is a great example of how consumerism works. The main character comes into possession of magical glasses through which it is possible to see truth and how everything is a scam. By not wearing these glasses people are avoiding truth. In one particular scene the lead character wears the glasses and he can finally see the truth and how everything is not as it seems. In one moment he wants to show his friend the truth and he begs him to put the glasses on, however he doesn't want to. They finally get into a fight, but the friend still does not want to wear the glasses, because – the truth is not that much fun.

Elaborating further on consumerism is very important for this work, as further on it will be necessary to better understand the concepts of commodity and surplus. As previously noted, people purchase goods to satisfy their basic needs, however we live in a society in which we purchase goods in order to please ourselves. Further on in this paper we will go

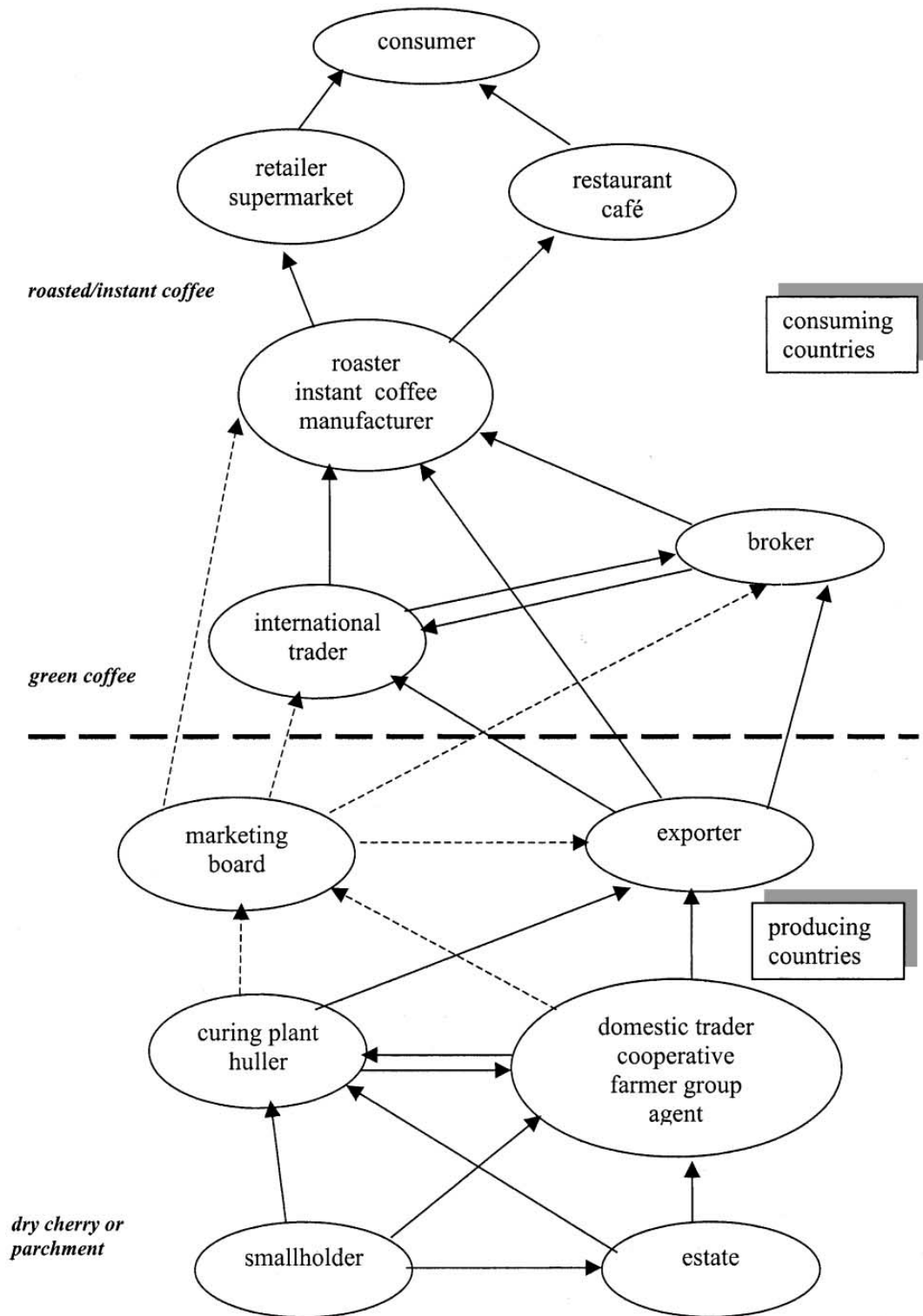
deeper into the analysis of terms of needs, desire, pleasure and enjoyment. (Sandlin 2004)
(Stuart 2001)

The next part analyses the term of global chains and coffee chains in particular. However, I do not wish to go too deep into the analysis of economic aspects of global chains, but in using Ponte's and Gereffi's works, I would like to introduce a few main aspects in order to better understand how one simple product turned into a large business symbol and one of the largest commodity chains.

3.3 Coffee Revolution and Birth of Global Coffee Chains

Coffee is a very large business, as a commodity it is worth more than gas, gold or sugar and corn. Ponte and Gereffi write about global commodity chains, in this case coffee chains. As Ponte points out, coffee goes a long way from bean to cup:

Picture 3.6 : Global Coffee Chain



Source: Ponte (2002).

In this graph, we can observe Ponte's way of presenting the way and chain, i.e. how it works. We can clearly see that it starts from a smallholder and their land.

The graph shows how the trade of coffee works. At the bottom of the graph we have a smallholder growing coffee on their estate, which is the beginning of the whole process. The next step is a curing plan huller, a machine which is used to process coffee. From this point, coffee goes to a domestic trader who buys coffee from smallholder and sells it to their connections – exporter. The exporter sells the product to international trader. The next step which is showed in the graph is manufacturing and the end of the process is coffee in markets and restaurants. At the top of the graph is the most important link in this chain – the consumer.

Historically, Brazil and Colombia have been the top world coffee producers. In the 1990s, however, this category includes Robusta coffees of all origins, and here, Vietnam is by far the largest producer, but Cote d'Ivoire, Indonesia and Uganda are also major players. In normal supply conditions, market prices are the highest for the Colombian Milds category, followed by other Milds, Brazilian Naturals, and finally the wide spectrum of Robustas (Robusta is a sturdy species of coffee bean with low acidity and high bitterness; it is used primarily in instant coffee, espresso, and as a filler in ground coffee blends.)

Understanding the global coffee chain will show how this chain works.

Coffee is grown mostly in Brazil, where its value is quite low. European buyers, and chains that buy coffee, buy it at a low price. There is a very high discrepancy between the price paid to the coffee growers and the price paid by a chain such as Starbucks, and the price paid by the end customer. The price difference can be observed throughout decades, using the data available at ICO. (Ponte 2002, International Coffee Organization 2015)

3.4 Latte Revolution

Every day millions of cups of coffee are being consumed, however the symbols attached to coffee drinking are not the same as they were decades ago, thanks to new consumption patterns, fair trade, organic coffee growing, etc.

Every day, about 2.25 billion cups of coffee are consumed in the world (Luttinger and Dicum 2006). Yet, the act of – and symbols attached to – coffee drinking are not the same as they were 20 years ago. New consumption patterns have emerged with the growing importance of specialty, fair trade, and organic coffees. (Ponte 2002, 2-10)

Coffee houses and bars have spread rapidly. These places, not only are they selling coffee but they are also selling ambience, atmosphere and a lifestyle. They are selling a unique experience. In a way, what Ponte has named “Latte Revolution” is a situation in which consumers can choose among hundreds of kinds of coffee. Today, alongside thousands of coffee tastes and kinds, there are hundreds of variations when it comes to coffee origin, brewing and grinding methods, flavoring and packaging. On the other hand, the prices of green coffee were never this low.

In this part of the paper, the pattern of global value chains will be presented. I will rely mostly on Ponte and Gereffi as main sources for this part.

The main framework of global value chain, would look like this: costs economics – production networks – technological capability and development and good business plan with learning part in order to identify roles and ways of managing the process of global value chain. There are five types of managing the global chain of value which include: hierarchy, captive, relational, modular and market, which can be very variable. (Ponte 2002)

The huge changes in world economy in the past few decades are indisputable. This especially concerns international trade, industrial processes and organization. Two of the most important new features of the contemporary economy are the globalization and consumerism.

This enormous growth of industrial capacities especially in the developing countries, and international corporations are definitely influencing and have impact on innovation focus, processes, production, marketing, manufacturing and services.

As we have previously reviewed the two parts of this framework, we can conclude that on the one hand, we have a short theoretical part which helps understand types of managing inside of a market and other processes which are involved, and on the other, there have been the corporate vertical processes that have been presented.

The purpose of this part in this paper and the use of Gereffi's work as a reference is to help better understand management, structures and producing in global market processes to which we refer as a global value chain.

Presenting and understanding the global value chain is very important in order to elaborate on the evolution of global organizations, in this case coffee organizations and chains.

In researching the global value chain, we examine various processes of global production and distribution which are integrated in GVC. In this way we can also understand the positioning and chances the developing countries have in the global market. Gereffi points out that further development of management or governance (as he refers to the management of a global value chain) will be useful in preventing poverty by upgrading the economic development and by securing employment (Gereffi and Kornewiecz 1994, Gereffi, Humphrey and Sturgeon 2005)

The previous chapter completes the first large part of this thesis. It is rounded up with the "coffee revolution" and Starbucks as the inspiration for the work. The historical background has shown to us that coffee has been here for a long time and that it has somehow always been very popular. The historical part also proves that the "coffee revolution" is not a phenomenon characteristic of a modern era. I have analyzed theories, processes and ideologies, which has been a logical step to take in order to put into perspective the "latte revolution" as a product of modern age thanks to these processes and systems.

3.5 Coffee Enjoyment – Analysis of the Great Theories

The analysis of the global coffee chain wrapped up the previous part of this paper. Several terms have been analyzed in order to present the systems and processes in which specific products and companies operate and have been very successful. We live in a period in which these processes are ongoing and it is necessary to elaborate on them. In this part of the work I will present the theory of commodity fetishism by Marx and theories of surplus value. This part of my paper helped me understand products, and the coffee as such a simple product. Big companies are selling lifestyle alongside the products and in this part that follows we will be able to gain more insight into why people are buying them.

Marx's Commodity Fetishism

I have previously introduced and mentioned that I will use great theories by Marx and Lacan in order to analyze the perverse connection existing between capitalism and pleasure, but also in order to better understand the terms such as pleasure or enjoyment, being that the main hypothesis of the paper is that we enjoy “latte era” and that we consume various coffees for mere pleasure.

By analyzing all the previous terms, and by connecting coffee with globalization and consumerism, we get to questions mentioned before in this thesis, where we question today's cup of coffee. A cup of coffee or is it something else? When we talk about coffee, we keep coming back to Starbucks, because today is all about Starbucks. One enormous company took a product and made a lifestyle of it. It's exactly what the subject of this work is – yes, we drink Starbucks coffee, and yes, we pay a lot for it: we are consumerists, but why? I wish to explain that feeling we get, that surplus they sell along with coffee. What is that surplus and why do we gladly take it? This is something that Slavoj Zizek also wonders and by following in his footsteps I will discuss commodity fetishism and surplus enjoyment as this will help gain better understanding of the subject. Upon explaining these theories it will be clear why people want to buy a product, and enjoy it. Which mechanisms add to our enjoyment of expensive, creamy, Starbucks coffee? I will commit my attention to commodity fetishism and

surplus theories as very important theories for this work which have an assignment to support questions and answers in it. (Fiennes 2012, Hart 2011, Ponte 2012)

Picture 3.7 : Starbucks advertising message assuring us the company knows their coffee is the best for us



Source : Sodahead (2015).

Commodity fetishism is characteristic of the Frankfurt School of philosophy, especially in the work of the sociologist Theodor W. Adorno, which describes *how* the forms of commerce invade the human psyche; how commerce casts a person into a role not of his or her making; and how commercial forces affect the development of the psyche. In the book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944), Adorno and Max Horkheimer presented the Theory of the Culture Industry to describe how the human imagination (artistic, spiritual, intellectual activity) becomes commoditized when subordinated to the "natural commercial laws" of the market.

To the consumer, the cultural goods and services sold in the market appear to offer the promise of a richly developed and creative individuality, yet the inherent commodification severely restricts and stunts the human psyche, so that the man and the woman consumer has little "time for myself", because of the continual personification of cultural roles over which he and she exercise little control. In personifying such cultural identities, the person is a

passive consumer, not the active creator, of his or her life; the promised life of individualistic creativity is incompatible with the collectivist, commercial norms of bourgeois culture (Adorno and Bernstein 2001)

“A commodity is an object outside of us that satisfies human wants. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference” (Marx 1867, 7)

In his *Capital*, Marx discusses terms of values and commodities. He cites examples of useful values such as iron or paper.

He explains and presents how every product involves human labor. He is also giving a question to think: what is common for all these terms? The answer is – values. Hence, everything that includes human labor has a value. The second question is served – how do we measure values? Marx gives an answer to this; the value is determined by quantity of human labor – how much work was invested. Karl argues that commodity is something very trivial: commodities with human work included are meant to satisfy human wants. He also mentions that whenever they are, they have influence on brain and muscles:

“This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labor, so soon as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities” (47)

Marx is explaining commodity fetishism as a mysterious part of human labor.

Marx uses the story of Robinson Crusoe as an example in order to elaborate on and prove the existence of commodity fetishism. On this example Marx has showed that Robinson, with his labor was producing, but only to satisfy his own needs. He did not produce for some imperial company.

These examples are very useful and it is truly easier to understand the point. He cites a few more examples.

One of comparative examples is on the feudal mode of production:

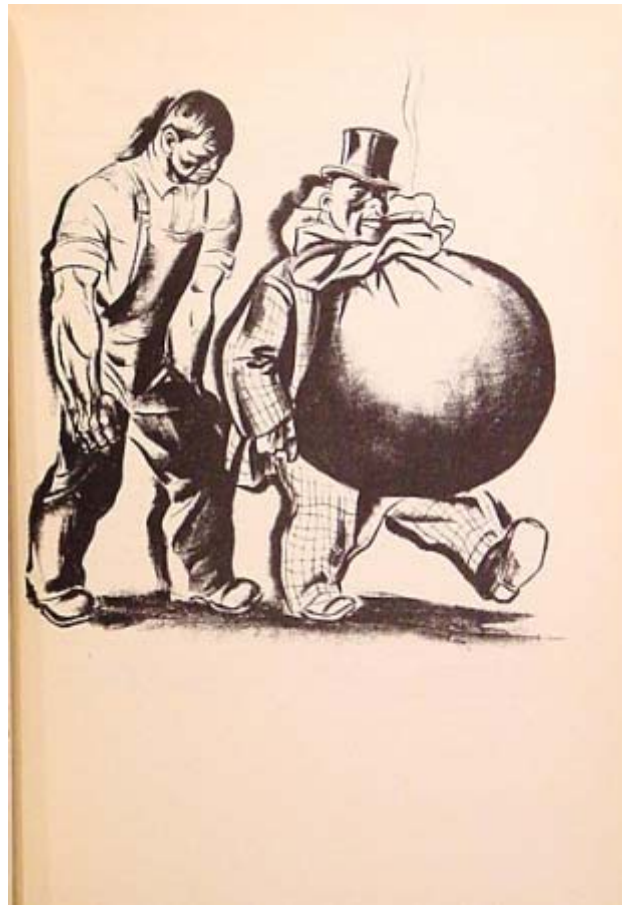
“Personal dependence characterizes the social relations of material production as much as it does the other spheres of life based on that production. (For this reason) there is no need for labor and its products to assume a fantastic form different from their reality. They take the shape, in the transactions of society, of services in kind and payments in kind. The natural form of labor, its particularity – and not, as in a society based on commodity production, its universality – is here in its immediate social form”. (Commanding Heights 2015, 22)

The third example which Marx has presented is an example with a peasant family where the social division of labor has occurred based on gender and age.

The fourth example is where Marx makes a comparison. He presents the nature of production and the system of exchange through the so-called “planned control” system – socialized production.

Marx envisions this “association of free men, working with the means of production held in common” to show “in full self-awareness” decisions can be made on the allocation of labor and material nature in satisfying needs by producing use-values. (22)

Picture 3.8 : An illustration from one edition of Capital



Source: Gellert (1933).

Here I wish to give my own insight on the theory of commodity fetishism by analyzing it and applying it. However I wish to present some specific examples in order to elaborate on the commodity fetishism. In short, under the capitalism, an object is overpriced with intention to make us believe, it has extreme value, hence, it is being fetishized. A good example would be any commercial created to present and overprice a product. This could be examined through a simple analysis of specific advertisements for any famous product, usually commercialized by famous people i.e. superstars. By a superstar we intend a person which is talented and has great public appeal.

These kinds of commercials are basically short movies in which superstars, male or female, are presented. The plot always emphasizes the use of advertised products by a

superstar (perfume, coffee, any beverage or food); exactly what makes those superstars desirable, uncatchable, famous, successful, beautiful, happy and so on. In this exact way it is possible to add a surplus value to products. A similar effect is achieved if you include these products in blockbusters; movies. Actors drinking Starbucks, for instance. By using these advertising tricks, large companies are promising a “better life”. Many other companies besides Starbucks, such as Apple or Nike, employ these mechanisms.

By analyzing the mechanisms of advertising and its examples it is possible to answer the question – Why people are prepared to pay large amounts of money in order to provide these products for themselves?

Having used the described mechanisms of advertising, companies add value to their products. It is this kind of products that will have a fetishist character. People will desire them. Eventually the products will become part of so many aspects. They will become status symbols. This is, basically, a hallmark of capitalist, consumerist society. This society is constantly making us consume – more and better.

Starbucks is a great and shiny example of a capitalist company which has succeeded not only to sell us a very expensive cup of coffee, but also a lifestyle. This company also came up with genius idea: Pay extra 80 cents in order to help Africa. Buy a product and do something moral. Do this repeatedly, every day.

Commodity fetishism is very tightly connected with theory of surplus.

Surplus – From Surplus Value to Surplus Jouissance

In this part of paper I wish to explain more about human wants. In order to do that I have chosen both the theory of surplus by Karl Marx and Lacan’s theory of jouissance in order to present human wants and needs in the best possible way.

The definition of the word **surplus** in Merriam Webster dictionary reads: the amount that remains when use or need is satisfied. (Merriam-Webster, Inc. 2015b)

Marx writes on surplus value, arguing that the surplus value is something that only a capitalist would produce. Our capitalist, as Marx refers to him, he wants to make something that has a value, but not only a use value, but surplus value, something he can charge extra.

Value Creation Process

According to Marx, the value of each commodity includes the quantity of labor invested in it, as well as the working time and social conditions. Here I wish to give an example. There is a Swiss brand named Zimmerli lingerie. They produce what at first glance looks like regular cotton lingerie. However one piece of their cotton lingerie costs approximately between 70 and 100 Euros. This is a great example of surplus and additional value. How do they do it? Their main references in every commercial is the use of European cotton, hence they emphasize that is not Chinese or any other kind of cotton, but Swiss-made. They also present videos of women making that cotton. They also emphasize that sawing women are highly paid. The final product is made by hand of some other women and this process by all means lasts so much longer than any other. At the end, a pair of very expensive knickers are created.

When comes this surplus-value? It cannot come either from the buyer buying the commodities under their value, or from the seller selling them above their value. For in both cases the gains and the losses of each individual cancel each other out, as each individual is in turn buyer and seller. Nor can it come from cheating, since even though cheating can enrich one person at the expense of another, it cannot increase the total sum possessed by both, and therefore cannot augment the sum of the values in circulation. (...) This problem must be solved, and it must be solved in a *purely economic way*, excluding all cheating and the intervention of any force — the problem being: how is it possible constantly to sell dearer than one has bought, even on the hypothesis that equal values are always exchanged for equal values? (Engels 1878)

The theory of commodity fetishism was an effective way to analyze and provide the introduction for the discussion about human wants and desires. However, by introducing the Lacan's *jouissance* as well it will be possible to elaborate, in a more effective way, on these aspects, which are important for my main hypothesis.

Lacan's *jouissance* applies psychoanalysis, Freud's theories and Marxism in order to elaborate on the terms of enjoyment and pleasure. This is necessary, since one of the hypotheses argued for in this paper is that people are consuming and fetishizing products, in this particular case coffee, for mere pleasure. This is why understanding of enjoyment and pleasure and differences between them are essential to this work.

Lacan's Theory of *Jouissance*

Lacan's theory of surplus helps understand human wants more accurately. The Lacanian world of desire, fantasy, *jouissance* and the real world are completely different from traditional political philosophy as he is referring to Freudian work.

Lacan's theory of surplus is a synonym for *jouissance* which is a French word for enjoyment.

Psychoanalysis has become quite important part in social and political theories, especially in continental and radical leftist circles. This huge change, psychoanalysis becoming a part of traditional thought, is provided by Lacanian i.e. Freudian psychoanalysis. Lacan re-developed Freud's work by focusing on language as the structuring element of human subjectivity and social life.

No longer bound to the clinic, psychoanalysis has been increasingly utilized by political theorists. A central discourse within the development of political psychoanalysis has been a return to the Marxist tradition.

This is how Lacan presented the model of surplus. He saw Surplus *jouissance* as an object A. Object A can actually be a synonym to unknowable X. The unknowable X is actually a symbol of process through which we seek and give answers.

Surplus *jouissance* is embodied through object A. Object A can be considered to be the residue of symbolization, the unknowable 'X' that forever eludes the symbolic and produces a multitude of symbolic responses through which the subject seeks to give it form. Lacan says that object A is a connection between Real and *Jouissance* because it embodies both cause and desire.

The process of desire is driven by gap it has with Real and that is a reason why object A is a cause of desire.

“What actually lies underneath desire is the truth. Underneath is loss, by loss he is referring to loss of enjoyment from which we extract the function of surplus enjoying”. This reunion and analysis of Marxism and psychoanalysis was mostly driven by work of great Lacan. His work is mostly controversial, especially his usage of Marxism. The philosopher who continues to use and apply Lacan’s work is Slavoj Zizek. The main goal for me here in this part is to prove that the theory of surplus creates a new space for critique of capitalism. But also, it will be easier to understand human wants and facts which drive us and make us to possess and worship material.

Lacan claims that human condition is determined by a constant battle between lack and excess. According to Lacan, the human condition is constituted by a complex dialectic between lack and excess. Lack could be explained through language barriers which are the reason for a blockade between subject and other. Lacan called this gap the Real. The Real, however, is actually the gap i.e. lack and gap is referring to a not only lack but also excess. This lack is naturally repressed by subject. The subject has urge to regain the absent, to fill the “hole” this state Lacan called *Jouissance*. Although in English *jouissance* is often translated as enjoyment, it is not simply enjoyment, but rather it goes beyond this into a kind of troubling, excessive pleasure that includes elements of transgression, sexuality and suffering.

Here I wish to emphasize the difference between what Lacan calls enjoyment and pleasure.

It is necessary to separate these two terms, in order to better understand both terms.

For enjoyment, he says, it is something that is in the domain of what is socially and culturally and even bodily harmless, legitimate ways of satisfying needs.

“The key lies in the questioning of what enjoyment is about. Enjoyment is limited by natural processes. But to tell the truth we know nothing about these natural processes.” (Gallagher 1987, 67)

While, Pleasure is something that is out of system something that is connected with death drive :

But this is where the term enjoyment enables us to show the point of insertion of the system. In doing this we are no doubt going outside what is authentically involved in knowledge, what is recognizable as knowledge, and are referring ourselves to the limits, to an outside field as such, the one that Freud's word dares to confront. Because you must not forget that it is not by looking at how people behave that the death drive can be discovered. We have the death drive here. (Gallagher 1987, 88)

In order to analyze the concept of jouissance we can distinguish two points. The first one would be the subject of language extract, something that is experienced by body and the second one would be the response to the lack using fantasy

Zizek claims that there is no jouissance for subject before surplus. As such, social analysis should always focus on this order, rather than considering it to be a secondary effect. Nonetheless, neither should the fantastic form of jouissance be dismissed; the operation of jouissance can only be understood as a relationship between modalities – an excessive compensation for an original lack, one which is simultaneously both imaginary and very Real

“Repetition is founded on a return of enjoyment. And what is properly articulated by Freud himself in this connection is that in this repetition itself, there is produced something which is a defect, a failure.” (Gallagher 1987, 123)

“It is in Beyond the pleasure principle that Freud forcefully marks that what constitutes in the final term the true support, the consistency, of the specular image in the system of the ego, is that it is sustained within by, that it only clothes this lost object by which enjoyment is introduced into the dimension of the being of the subject”(Gallagher 1987, 47)

“Marx demonstrated – without, I have to say, throwing it into relief - about the production which he calls surplus value and not surplus enjoyment. Something changed in the Master's discourse at a certain moment in history. ”(Gallagher 1987, 92)

This knowledge shows its roots here, in the fact that in repetition, and in the form of the unary trait to begin with, it is found to be the means of enjoyment – of enjoyment precisely in so far as it goes beyond 17.6.70 XV 83 the limits imposed, under the term of pleasure, on the usual tensions of life.” (Gallagher 1987, 111)

This Lacan's model shows how desire can never be satisfied. At one point subject discovers that desire has not been fulfilled and moves onto another object; this is a process of hysterical consumption in capitalist surrounding

Secondly, the subject seeks out antagonisms upon which to externalize the impossibility of total jouissance. This explains the transgressing nature of jouissance; the subject acts against themselves in order to explain away the impossibility of a return to unity

Zizek gives a great and famous example of an object A. He describes it through something simple as Coca Cola. Coke is a beverage with no nutritional benefits, it does not own a single characteristic of an alcoholic drink, for example possibility of calmness. Basically this drink is deprived of all necessary properties of a satisfying drink. Coca Cola is here presented by Zizek as mysterious X. Actually everything that is left from this drink is X. Hence the, desire is never satisfied, therefore we continue to want. The X in Coke is actually the surplus and here the surplus is bigger than enjoyment. Therefore Coca-Cola as a company has excellent understanding of Lacan's jouissance which can also be seen in their slogans; such as: "Coke is IT" and a more imperative slogan: "Coca-cola Enjoy". (Sewersociety 2008)

The description of Diet Cola by Zizek begins by noting that Coke has a huge amount of sugar and a small amount of caffeine. That used to be the case at least until Diet Cola and Coke Zero broke through. Now even sugar is removed, so they are literally selling one big "nothing" in a can. The marketing campaign has revealed at one point the use of Lacanian theory, which is definitely clear, since they are selling useless colored water.

Their campaign is very proud of Coke Zero. The marketing campaign presents it as a perfection. They have created a product which has the same taste as original one except all the downsides has been removed. They are practically selling this product as healthy drink using advertising slogan which asks: "Why can't all the good things in life come without downsides".

Through this part of paper we can observe how the analysis of *jouissance* and its dynamic of lack and excess elaborates on capitalism itself. The subject's desire can never be satisfied. Instead of satisfaction we have a huge gap wanting more and more (through this claim, the consumption is also elaborated). Through consumption subject believes that it is on the path to wholeness.

However, the manipulation of surplus-*jouissance* is obvious in capitalist advertising however this manipulation is source of profit

Surplus Value

Zizek emphasizes that surplus value is something that occurs in capitalism. He also emphasizes that surplus value is something that is above labor

In his first book, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, Zizek famously argues that Marx 'invented' the Lacanian symptom by detecting a constitutive exception within capitalism, a necessary excess or imbalance which, rather than signaling the imperfect realization of these principles, reveals the truth of their constitution.

The same symptomatic structure exists in relation to the production of surplus value. Once labor becomes a commodity – that is, for sale on the market, it is negated through its own fair exchange. The worker is exploited not because they are underpaid (they are in fact, fully compensated for their labor power), but because of the very position in which the worker exists; having to sell their labor as a commodity.

The characteristic element of surplus-value, is the existence of exploitation however if the worker is fully paid there is none, officially. Zizek is labeling class in this contest.

The aim of capitalist concept is to avoid inner contradictions. Further, McMillan writes that capitalism cannot be stable with the existence of *jouissance*. Therefore the existence of constant revolution is undeniable. This is why the capitalism is the essence, a remedy, for systems in crisis.

Zizek's notion of class creates another aspect of his identification of surplus jouissance and Marx's surplus value as structural particles of capitalism. Zizek's notion of class is considered to be an inspirational moment for both concepts, especially if we consider commodity fetishism as the fundamental base of surplus jouissance in the capitalist subject.

The surplus is tightly connected to poverty in capitalism. Poverty is practically necessary, without poverty the capitalist wage system would be unable to function. In capitalism the repression of poverty is undeniable. However, it is an important and unavoidable part of capitalism. The capitalist dynamic game of lack and excess creates poverty and allows the subject to repress its existence.

The capitalist responses to poverty are the proof of repression, existing as superego solutions and purifications such as charity. However, poverty is by all means ignored and disregarded in capitalism.

If the problem is capitalism as a system, the question is what is the alternative system? A traditional leftist would say, Marx's communism. However, Marx's communism has been rejected by Zizek and other psychoanalytic critics mostly because of its totalitarian character.

At the end, maybe Coca-Cola and Marxism have more in common, both attempting utopia by endeavoring to retain the object without the obstacle that propels the cause.

So, what does Zizek offer as a radical political solution? Absolutely nothing. Instead, he advises for us to live for radical politics, as Zizek would state in his own manner: "I have a hat but I have no rabbit". (Sewersociety 2008)

It is no surprise that Coke was first introduced as a medicine – its strange taste does not seem to provide any particular satisfaction, it is not directly pleasing and endearing; however, it is precisely as such, as transcending any immediate use-value (like water, beer or wine, which definitely do quench our thirst or produce the desired effect of satisfied calm), that Coke functions as the direct embodiment of "IT," of the pure surplus of enjoyment over standard satisfactions, of the mysterious and elusive X we are all after in our compulsive consumption of merchandise. The unexpected result of this feature is not that, since Coke does not satisfy any concrete need, we drink it only as a supplement, after some other drink has satisfied our substantial need – it is rather this very superfluous character that makes our

thirst for Coke all the more insatiable: as Jacques-Alain Miller put it succinctly, Coke has the paradoxical property that, the more you drink it, the more you get thirsty, the greater the need to drink more of it - with its strange bittersweet taste, our thirst is never effectively quenched. So, when, some years ago, the publicity motto for Coke was "Coke, that's IT!" we should discern in it the entire ambiguity: "that's it" precisely insofar as that's NEVER effectively IT, precisely insofar as every satisfaction opens up a gap of "I want MORE!" (Fiennes 2012)

4. Conclusion

The aim of my work was to present “coffee revolution” which I did through analysis of coffee history, terms, processes and Marx’s and Lacan’s theories. I have also analyzed the existence and success of global coffee chains as part of the world economy.

Historical background has shown a number of facts related to this drink – where it emerged and how it spread all over the world. It also gives the history of first coffeehouses, social events, brewing and coffee as an art. The history of coffee is very rich and I found it more than a useful and good example to analyze various processes and social phenomena. History of coffee is a rich field through which we can observe different social events and aspect. The coffee had many faces through history. Once it used to be a medicinal drink, sometimes it was almost illegal, poisonous drink. Somewhere was normal to drink coffee and somewhere it was a rarity. Rich cities had coffeehouses, where coffee was a reason for socialization and different forums. In some parts it was served by women and without milk and somewhere with milk and cream by men.

My main hypothesis has been that people are buying coffee and other products which carry a surplus value out of mere pleasure, leading to a question which processes have led to coffee revolution. I have also showed that purchasing basic overpriced products and satisfying desires is possible in capitalism and processes which are part of capitalism such as consumerism.

The creation of global coffee chains such as Starbucks in capitalism brought about the coffee revolution. By analyzing processes and systems such as consumerism, capitalism, globalization it is possible to understand differences between capitalism and previous economic systems.

In this economic system, global chains which are using mechanisms of psychoanalysis and offering lifestyles alongside with their products are possible.

One of my aims has been to answer the question, based on Zizek’s claim that buying a product, in this case coffee, we get something more – surplus value which he again based on

Lacan's theory of Jouissance. I find this claim crucial for my paper and in order to provide an answer, it was necessary to analyze complex Marx's and Lacan's theories. By analyzing these theories, I have presented how the product itself becomes something more, but also going deeper into capitalism and human desires analysis I have answered the question why people want that surplus, overpriced coffee.

To answer the questions, I have divided my paper in three parts – historical, which sets a background for the second part, where I have elaborated on the main terms (ideologies and processes which are part of capitalism), and the third part in which I analyze Marx's theory of commodity fetishism and Lacan's theory of Jouissance that merges Marxism and psychoanalysis, both crucial for this thesis.

The first part of the work was based on historical analysis of carefully chosen literature in order to create a historical introduction for the second, theoretical part. My main literature source was Jezernik's book which also gave me an idea on how to structure the first part of my thesis.

In the first part, I have presented history of coffee from its beginning to different consumption and brewing patterns. I have started in short with the etymology of the word itself. Further, I have presented the diffusion of coffee around the world, the opening of first coffeehouses and how they worked depending on culture and even standard. First examples of coffee references in art, especially in literature, are also presented in the first part of the paper. The paper itself has moved in the direction of linking history of coffee to what it is nowadays. To do that, it was necessary to analyze terms such as capitalism and globalization.

The second part introduces the processes and terms mentioned previously. Globalization is a term of great importance, it is the best way to present spreading relations and global consensus all over the world and it is mandatory if the next terms will be capitalism, consumerism, and global chains. In this part I did not concentrate on any of terms in economical or macro level but more in micro level, presenting some main characteristic in order to make a bridge between the first and the third part of paper.

Capitalism is an economic system which is characteristic for globalization and in which global chains are possible and successful. Great part of capitalism is directed to global

production. Further I have explained Consumerism which is tightly connected with processes I have mentioned before.

Consumerism is a subject often connected to a development of middle class and their ability to purchase goods. In my paper all this processes are connected to a coffee, especially Starbucks coffee global chain and their success in creating coffee revolution. I have also collected data on Starbucks as one of the great examples of globalized chains..

Neither of the processes, terms weren't analyzed too deeply, but the main characteristic were given in order to introduce with third part in which I have used complex theories in order to explain human wants and desires, so I could understand why people buy stuff and why they are willing to pay more to get something special with the product, some lifestyle or story, because this is the point of the paper.

In this part where I was analyzing terms, I was also writing about global coffee chain based on paper by Stefano Ponte, who was writing on similar subject. His work mainly has economical character but for my work it was useful, as he has presented the correct motion of global coffee chain its spreading, market and prices changing.

By analyzing terms, I was able to understand how the big companies and products work in ongoing processes, how they are creating lifestyles giving the pleasure.

Coffee is a very old product, that came in the 15th century from Yemen and it still very popular, it is part of new processes as it was part of old ones. Coffee was banned; coffee was a status symbol, as there were times when only rich people could drink coffee. Today coffee is not forgotten, it is a totem. One big capitalist, corporate company made a totem out of coffee, a lifestyle, a must-have. Starbucks Coffee is a daily must-have and people will pay a good price for it. However, this company will justify the amount of money and a status symbol and every other attribute by being involved in humanitarian actions. The coffee and coffeehouses are still a place and coffee is a reason for people to go those places and communicate.

In the previous part, I have showed the influence of processes such as globalization on coffee. I have also showed that, today, companies are selling some kind of a fairytale alongside with a cup of coffee. However, I needed to understand why people want that lifestyle. What makes these products so special? In order to understand and explain this, in the

third part I have analyzed theories of commodity fetishism and surplus value. I have analyzed Marx's theory of commodity fetishism, which was crucial for my master thesis.

By analyzing the theory of commodity fetishism in the first place, I was able to understand what commodity is and what the processes are which are included in the creation of commodity that make people buy them. By analyzing commodity fetishism, I have also showed why people have the urge for commodities and how products obscure the real economic value.

Capital is Marx's criticism of the capitalist system in which he reveals laws of capitalist production. The theories that I have used are actually explained in the initial chapters of volume one, *Capital*. Marx explains that commodity has a value and it meets human want. Value connects all the commodities so they can be exchanged with each other. This is what was needed for further elaboration in my master thesis.

Further, Marx has developed a theory about surplus value, additional value. Surplus value is a final crucial subject and I have been analyzing both Marx's theory of surplus value as well as Lacan's theory of surplus value – *jouissance*. Lacan actually used Marx's theory, but in a psychoanalytical manner. His theory is even more concentrated on study of human wants.

I have used the writings and examples on the same subject about coffee, Coca-Cola etc. from Slavoj Žižek, today's most famous analyst of Lacan.

Lacan is connecting Marxism and theories of psychoanalysis. He based his theory of *jouissance* on Marx's theory of surplus and he connected it to psychoanalytical theories. He claimed that an object is a form of pleasure that has no value, and it exists merely for pleasure. Therefore his theory was crucial for this master thesis as it helped me realize and show that people buy products and give extra money for them because they purchase for that surplus value which gives them great pleasure.

By analyzing these major theories, I have showed why people buy specific products and why they are willing to purchase the lifestyle which they get as a surplus with the product.

My Own Insight or What Did I Do

As already referred to before, the predominant hypothesis of this paper is that we buy and enjoy products in this particular case, coffee, for mere pleasure.

This hypothesis opens up a question – How did the changes through history lead to coffee revolution, or as Ponte calls it, “latte revolution”?

By first introducing the history of coffee followed by social changes and terms such as globalization and consumerism, I have presented the path from how this beverage was introduced to how it became a coffee revolution in the form of Starbucks. Having explained the terms such as globalization or the main characteristics of capitalism, it has become much easier to understand how Starbucks has evolved. As the systems changed, and globalization ensued, there was room in which it was possible for one simple product to become a huge totem. However in order to understand the success of these totems, and coffee in this case, it was relevant to understand human wants and desire. The use of texts based on Lacan’s theory of surplus assisted in the elaboration on this matter.

In the end, the analysis of surplus value from Marxism to Lacan’s enjoyment helped me present coffee as a perfect example through which it is possible to observe why the selling of objects with questionable value is successful? My answer which I have drawn from all the used literature is – because we have needs which we need to satisfy, and processes such as consumerism which exist as a part of capitalism are able to both incite and satisfy those needs.

In one way, a system such as capitalism which gives us endless choices in literally every aspect of life is actually earning on our urges, wishes, needs and fetishisms but on the other hand it gives us such pleasure.

And made a lifestyle out of it. They sell the coffee and tons of sugar rolled up in a perfect story, we drink it, we feel better, we share the story they offer. We arrange flats as they arrange their coffee shops, we have cups with their signs, and we start a day and a working day with a cup of that lifestyle.

In French, *jouissance* means orgasm. When we do something we like, or when we come to possess an object we want, it is a series of orgasms for us, and the orgasm is an ultimate symbol of enjoyment. “I had a cup of Starbucks coffee, I had a first sip and it made me come, it is so good I can’t imagine my day without it” – this could be an exclamation of a consumerist in the capitalist world using a product which is globalized, world brand and trendy.

Today, Starbucks coffee is a lifestyle. It is more than just a cup of coffee. If we speak about how huge brand and lifestyle Starbucks coffee and plagiary coffees present, we could mention the Instagram and Tumbler mania, where it is routine to upload and have a photo with a cup of Starbucks. In which way people are presenting their little morning routine, having pictures with their totems.

Starbucks found a way how to sell a five-buck cup of coffee. They found a way by using Lacanian concept just as Coke did to respond to human desires. People are constantly coming back, both because of desire to feel wholeness and enjoyment. In my paper I have used Starbucks as an example although there are many alternative coffee chains, however Starbucks was the first to make a lifestyle and revolutionize the sale of a simple product such as coffee. People are not buying Starbucks coffee because it tastes better than other, but because having Starbucks in your hands has a special meaning. That is the lifestyle they have created and which they are successfully selling every day.

One of the specialties of this paper was to present the history of coffee and connect it with what we have today. When we speak about coffee nowadays, it is unavoidable to mention global coffee chains. Using Starbucks as an example of coffee revolution in my paper was important in order to present that famous lifestyle and surplus value which we get along with every cup of their coffee, which they have been selling successfully for 30 years. This is possible in the described systems and in a consumerist society in which we live. I have

explained the surplus value and commodities through the use of Marx's Capital and his theories. The commodity is something trivial and obvious; however its analysis shows quite the opposite.

In order to analyze and answer the question, i.e. the hypothesis, the theory of commodity fetishism, Marx's Capital and Lacan's and Zizek's theories of surplus value were all necessary.

The thesis which heads this paper is referring to a today great coffee chain, mostly I am using a Starbucks as example as it is an icon of this "Latte Revolution" we have today as Ponte says. There are many different coffee chains today but they exist as copy of Starbucks, first global coffee chain. This "Latte Revolution" embodies all phenomena and terms that are important in social sciences. It is a great example that gives an opportunity to present and research processes such as Globalization or Consumerism. As I have strived to answer the question – why do we buy these commodities, why do we pay for Starbucks, how did Starbucks succeed as an iconic brand, as a lifestyle – I have used Marx's commodity fetishism theory in order to explain fetishized products which exist in capitalism, but first of all to come closer to human wants. In order to scratch the surface I have presented and elaborated Lacan's theory of surplus – Jouissance as well as some of the Zizek's work on the similar subjects.

In short, under capitalism, an object is overpriced with the intention to make us believe it has an extreme value; hence, it is being fetishized. Through the analysis of commodity fetishism I have understood that in capitalism, a product has a certain mask under which the true economic value cannot be seen. In capitalism, conditions are set in order to sell an overpriced product. By analyzing history, I have concluded that "coffee revolution" is not something that necessarily exists in modern period. It was always popular in a good or bad way, cheap or expensive. People have enjoyed coffee all over the world for centuries.

However in capitalism and systems such as globalization, consumerism and so on, the conditions in which a chain like Starbucks can thrive are possible. Nevertheless, people are still enjoying their coffees more than ever. This product has been fetishized for centuries and it is just getting more fetishized. Based on the analysis of systems, we have come to the conclusion that this is possible, because these processes have the key needed to wake and

satisfy human wants; by using psychoanalysis, these ideologies are capable of creating fetishized products which will have a satisfying function.

We want coffee and capitalism is offering it anywhere and everywhere, any kind. It has a simple role of pleasure giver (here I can refer again to the perverse relationship between capitalism, i.e. processes which exists in capitalism such as consumerism, and pleasure)

Capitalism gave birth to a coffee revolution in which the mechanisms of psychoanalysis are embodied. These mechanisms make it possible to explore desires and to satisfy them.

People have indulged in coffee for centuries long before Starbucks. However Starbucks has brought a possibility to choose among four hundred kinds of coffees and it is available virtually in every corner of the world.

5. Povzetek v slovenskem jeziku

Cilj moje naloge je bil predstaviti “kavno revolucijo” skozi analizo kavne zgodovine, terminov, procesov, in marksističnih ter lacanovskih teorij. Analizirala sem tudi obstoj in uspeh globalnih kavnih verig kot del svetovne ekonomije.

Ukvarjala sem se s celotno zgodovino te pijače, vse od njenega izvora do razširitve po celotnem svetu, pa tudi zgodovino prvih kavnih hiš, družbenih dogodkov, varjenja in kave kot dela umetnosti. Zgodovina kave je zelo bogata, in v njej sem našla dober primer za analiziranje različnih procesov in družbenih pojavov. Kava je raznoliko področje s pomočjo katerega lahko opazujemo različne družbene dogodke in aspekte. Skozi zgodovino je kava služila različnim namenom. Včasih je bila zdravilna pijača, včasih skoraj ilegalna, strupena pijača. Ponekod je bilo pitje kave povsem običajno, ponekod pa redkost. Bogata mesta so imela kavne hiše, kjer je bila kava razlog za socializacijo in različne forume. V nekaterih delih so kavo brez mleka servirale ženske, in v nekaterih delih so jo z mlekom in smetano servirali moški, analiza kavne porabe.

Moja glavna hipoteza je bila, da ljudje kupujejo kavo in druge proizvode, ki služijo presežni vrednosti, iz golega užitka. To me je vodilo k vprašanju, kateri procesi so vodili h kavni revoluciji. Pokazala sem, da sta kupovanje osnovnih predragih proizvodov in ugajanje željam mogoča v kapitalizmu, in procesih, ki so del kapitalizma, kot na primer potrošništvo.

Iskala sem odgovor na vprašanje, osnovano na Žižkovi izjavi, da s kupovanjem proizvoda (v tem primeru kave) dobimo več – presežno vrednost, ki jo je osnoval na podlagi Lacanove teorije o Užitku (Jouissance). To vprašanje se mi zdi ključno v moji nalogi, da bi poiskala odgovor, pa sem morala najprej analizirati kompleksne marksistične in lacanovske teorije. Z analizo teh teorij, sem predstavila tudi kako je proizvod sam posebi postal nekaj več. S poglobljeno analizo kapitalizma in človeških želj, sem odgovorila na vprašanje, zakaj si ljudje želijo predrago, precenjeno kavo.

Analizirala sem zgodovino kave z namenom, da bi spoznala bralca s tem proizvodom in njegovo zgodovino. Analizirala sem kavo od prvih omemb v zgodovinskih virih, pa vse do današnjega dne. Razen same zgodovine kave sem raziskovala in predstavila tudi nekaj koncept kot so globalizacija, potrošništvo, svetovne kavne verige, kapitalizem, itd. Ti koncepti so bili pomembni za razumevanje položaja kave v današnjem svetu, v času, 2 ga

Ponte imenuje »latte revolucija.« V nadaljevanju mojega dela, sem predstavila kako je kava, zahvaljujoč velikim podjetjem, postala totem v sodobni družbi.

Kljub vsemu pa ni samo kava, temveč veliko drugih proizvodov, ki imajo prav tako simbolni pomen. To je pomembno pri odgovarjanju na vprašanja zakaj kupujemo te proizvode in kje leži skrivnost uspeha teh podjetij. Da bi to pojasnila in poiskala odgovore, sem uporabila in analizirala koncepte Karla Marxa in Jacquesa Lacana, kot so blagovni fetišizem in presežna vrednost. Ti koncepti so osvetlili naravo človeških želja, in kako ljudje najdejo užitek v stvareh kot je kava.

Bogata zgodovina kave, vse od njene etimologije, pa do različnih načinov varjenja, serviranja in uživanja te pijače, mi je ponudila priložnost za analiziranje in preučevanje različnih družbenih fenomenov in sprememb, ki jih je prinesla. To nam ponudi pregled nad družbenim položajem, menjavo, trgov, svetovnimi kavnimi verigami in kulturo.

Jezernik piše o kavni zgodovini. V njegovem delu Kava razglablja o etimologiji kave, načinih priprave, in o tem kako je bila ta pijača, odvisno od časovnega obdobja, smatrana kot zdravilo v določenem obdobju, in strup v drugem. Piše tudi o tem, kako revolucionarna je bila, kako se je znašla kot del umetnosti, tako kot npr. ena izmed Bachovih kantat, in pa, kako je sčasoma postala svetovna dobrina. Jezernikova knjiga je bila ključna pri nastajanju mojega dela.

Pregled kavne zgodovine mi je omogočil jasno sliko družbenega položaja, globalizacije, trga, svetovnih kavnih verig in kulture. Kava je bila del in hkrati ritual vsakdanjih življenj ljudi že stotine let, pogosto predstavljena na različne načine, prepovedana ali odobravana. Torej, analizirala, predstavila in razložila sem zgodovino kave, z namenom, da bi predstavila kako se je kavna zgodovina odvijala vse od njenega začetka pa do današnje Starbucks revolucije.

Začela sem z etimologijo kave.

Prvotni koren, iz katerega sodobni jeziki črpajo besede za kavo, izhaja iz termina *Kahwa*, ki ga je v letu 1927 predstavil Cornelis van Arendonk, nizozemski orientalist. Jezernik (2012) trdi, da je izvor tega termina dokaj nedefiniran. Zelo hitro se je beseda razširila med evropskimi jeziki; postala je *kava* v češčini, slovenščini in poljščini, *kahva* v

bosanščini, *kafa* v srbsščini, *café* v francoščini, *caffè* v italijanščini, *coffee* v angleščini, *Kaffee* v nemščini itd. Jezernik v svoji knjigi navaja tudi, da je bila ta beseda prvotno izraz za vino, in tako je bilo eno izmed besed za kavo, tudi *islamsko vino*.

Zgodovina kave je zelo razširjena, bogata in dolga. Obstaja obsežno število avtorjev, ki so pisali na to temo, in moje delo črpa iz teh virov, vendar pa je glavni vir za zgodovinski del te naloge knjiga Čarobni napoj Ivana Jezernika, ki je bila objavljena v letu 2012, saj vključuje zbrane in združene v eni knjigi. Zgodovina te pijače je na nek način prav čarobna, saj so v njej razvidni različni družbeni in politični vidiki, o katerih je mogoče razpravljati. To dejstvo je bilo pomembno za moje delo, saj v njem razglabljam o določenih družbenih spremembah in vidikih. Ko se pomikamo od etimologije kave proti različnim načinom varjenja, serviranja in uživanja te pijače, se ponudi možnost za analiziranje in raziskovanje različnih družbenih fenomenov in sprememb. To nam omogoči pregled družbenih položajev, globalizacije, menjave, trgov, svetovnih kavnih verig in kultur. Nekaj od omenjenih terminov sem definirala in analizirala v drugem delu te naloge, z namenom da bi raziskala kulturo kave.

V drugem delu sem analizirala procese in teorije, ki so bili omenjeni v prvem delu, kot na primer osnovne mehanizme kapitalizma in globalizacije, procesov, ki so direktno odgovorni za obdobje "latte revolucije." S pomočjo kavne zgodovine od njenih začetkov, pa vse do danes, je enostavno razbrati, katera je pot do obdobja New-age kavne revolucije. Kava je danes, in je že dolgo bila, rutina v vsakdanjem življenju že stotine let. Kljub temu, pa danes ni le to, ampak je pravzaprav postala totem. Potrošništvo, kapitalizem in globalizacija so procesi in teorije, ki sem jih analizirala, z namenom, da bi razbrala, kako je njihova interakcija iz enostavnega proizvoda ustvarila drag totem.

V nadaljevanju sem razložila termin kapitalizem kot pomemben sistem, s katerim sem povezala tudi druge družbene vidike in termine, kot sta globalizacija in potrošništvo, vendar pa analiza kapitalizma na makro-nivoju ni bila potrebna za moje delo. Uporabila sem nekaj esencialnih lastnosti tega sistema, saj prav te omogočajo velikim korporacijam, ki ponujajo popularne proizvode (v tem primeru kavo), da se uveljavijo.

Slovar Oxford definira kapitalizem kot ekonomski sistem in način proizvodnje, v katerem so trgovina, industrija, in sredstva proizvodnje v veliki meri ali celo popolnoma v

zasebni lasti. Take zasebne firme in lastništva ponavadi delujejo za zaslužek, vendar so včasih tudi neprofitne organizacije. (Oxford University Press 2001)

Ko je fevdalna ekonomija postopoma upadala, je kapitalizem kot sistem pridobil na vrednosti in postal dominanten ekonomski sistem v razvitih državah. Specifična načela kapitalizma, kot so pravice do privatne posesti in plačano delo, lahko smatramo tudi kot osnovna načela reprezentativne vlade.

Kapitalizem je pogosto povezan z ekonomsko rastjo, saj proizvodnja in cen ne nadzoruje vlada, temveč trg. Pravice do zasebne lastnine omogočajo posameznikom svobodo do proizvodnje dobrin in uslug, ki jih lahko prodajajo na trgu. (Stilwell, 2002)

Analiza terminov omogoča dobro začetno točko za razpravo o perverzni povezavi med kapitalizmom in užitkom. Ideologije in procesi, kot so kapitalizem in potrošništvo so omogočile razvoj slavnih popularnih proizvodov kot so Coca-Cola, Starbucks in Perfumes, ter jih naredile slavne, skoraj totemske. Da bi predstavila in prodajala proizvode, ta podjetja skoraj vedno oglašujejo njihove izdelke v povezavi z željami in užitkom. Samo bežen ogled reklam za parfume, sladolede ali coca-colo je dokaz za to. Tukaj se lahko ozremo nazaj na slovarsko definicijo kapitalizma kot sistema, v katerem je vse v privatni posesti.

Glavni cilj analiziranja globalizacije kot procesa je bil predstaviti uspeh Starbucksa. Podjetje Starbucks je vedelo, da bi bil redko kdo pripravljen plačati 5 € za skodelico kave, zato so se zanašali na zveste podpornike, torej tiste, ki so bili prepričani, da kupujejo posebno kavo, in so v resnici zaslužni za uspeh Starbucksa. Ljudje, ki so bili del te skupnosti, niso kupovali kave, ker bi se jim njen okus zdel boljši od okusa kav drugih ponudnikov, temveč ker jim je skodelica Starbucksove kave v roki, pomenila nekaj posebnega. Podobno se je dogajalo s podjetji, kot je npr. Apple. V moji nalogi sem podrobneje razglabljala o primeru Starbucksa, kljub temu, da obstajajo podobni primeri svetovnih kavnih verig, kot na primer Costa Coffee in Dream Coffee. Starbucks se mi je zdel najboljši primer tega, kar Ponte imenuje "kavna revolucija." Razloge za izbiro Starbucksa navajam v svojem delu.

S pomočjo analize potrošništva kot procesa sem zaključila, da ljudje kupujejo dobrine z namenom, da bi zadostili svojim osnovnim potrebam, kar je očitno skoraj v vseh družbah, specifično v antičnih civilizacijah kot v starem Egiptu in antičnem Rimu. Gledano iz tega vidika lahko potrošništvo predstavlja tudi antropološki in biološki fenomen. Kljub temu pa

proces potrošništva bolj povezujemo z zgodovinskimi fenomeni proizvodnje in menjave, ki so tipični za tehnološko in industrijsko obdobje poznega 19. stoletja, oz. evropskega kapitalizma 19. stoletja.

Analiza in razlaga teorij kot je blagovni fetišizem sta bili potrebni za nadaljni dele moje naloge. Blagovni fetišizem je lastnost, ki jo razlaga frankfurtska šola filozofije, posebno sociolog Theodor W. Adorno. V svojih delih opisuje kako različne oblike trženja vplivajo in okupirajo človeško psiho, kako trženje prisili posameznika v vlogo, ki si je ni določil sam, pa tudi kako tržovske sile vplivajo na razvoj psihe. V knjigi Dialektika razsvetljenstva (1944) sta Adorno in Max Horkheimer predstavila teorijo kulturne industrije, da bi opisala, kako človeška domišljija (umetniška, duhovna, intelektualna aktivnost) lahko postane sama po sebi komercialna, če je izpostavljena "naravnim komercialnim zakonom" trga.

S pomočjo analize blagovnega fetišizma se je postopoma odpiralo vse več vprašanj o človeških željah, in o njih sem razglabljala v nadaljnjem delu naloge. V pomoč sta mi služili tako Marxova teorija presežka kot tudi Lacanova teorija o užitku. S pomočjo teh dveh teorij sem

Slovar Merriam Webster presežek definira kot količino, ki preostane, ko je porabi in potrebam že zadoščeno. (Merriam-Webster, Inc. 2015b)

Marx piše o presežni vrednosti in trdi, da je kapitalist edini, ki bi proizvedel presežno vrednost. Naš kapitalist, kot mu Marx pravi, si želi proizvesti nekaj, kar ima določeno vrednost, vendar ne le uporabno vrednost, temveč presežno vrednost, torej nekaj, s čimer lahko dodatno zasluži.

Psihoanaliza je postala pomemben del v družbenih in političnih teorijah, specifično v kontinentalnih in radikalno levih krogih. Lacan je tisti, ki je uvedel to veliko spremembo in omogočil, da je psihoanaliza postala del tradicionalne misli. Zaključila sem, da je Lacan ponovno razvil Freudovo delo in sicer tako, da se je osredotočil na jezik kot osnovno lastnost človeške subjektivnosti in družbenega življenja. Lacan trdi, da je človekov obstoj determiniran s stalno bitko med pomanjkanjem in ekscesom. Človekov obstoj naj bi konstruirala prav kompleksna dialektika med pomanjkanjem in ekscesom. Pomanjkanje si lahko razlagamo kot jezikovne ovire, ki so razlog za blokado med subjektom in drugim. Lacan je to blokado, oz. ta razkol imenoval The Real (Tisto Realno). The Real pa se ne

nanaša le na pomanjkanje, ampak tudi na eksces. To pomanjkanje subjekt naravno zatira. Subjekt ima potrebo po tem, da bi ponovno pridobil, kar mu manjka, da bi zapolnil praznino. To stanje Lacan poimenuje *jouissance*. Njegova teorija o *jouissance* se pogosto prevaja kot teorija o užitku, vendar *jouissance* ni le užitek, temveč gre za težaven, ekscesen užitek, ki vključuje elemente transgresije, seksualnosti in trpljenja.

Da povzamem, teza, ki naslavlja to nalogo, se nanaša na današnjo veliko kavno verigo, predvsem Starbucks kot ikono »latte revolucije,« kot jo poimenuje Ponte, ki poteka v današnjem času. Danes obstaja veliko različnih kavnih verig, vendar obstajajo bolj kot kopija Starbucks, ki je bil prva zares globalna kavna veriga. »Latte revolucija« uteleša vse fenomene in termine, ki so pomembni v družbenih vedah. Je popoln primer, ki odpira možnosti za raziskovanje globalizacije in potrošništva. Ko sem iskala odgovore na vprašanja – zakaj kupujemo te izdelke, zakaj plačujemo za Starbucks, kako je Starbucks postal tako ikonična znamka, praktično življenjski slog – sem uporabila Marxovo teorijo blagovnega fetišizma. S tem sem pojasnila, kaj dejansko so fetišizirani proizvodi, ki obstajajo v kapitalizmu, hkrati pa se približala naravi človeških želja. Da bi dosegla še več, sem predstavila in razglabljala o Lacanovi teoriji o presežku in užitku, tako kot tudi o nekaj Žižkovih delih na podobno temo.

Na kratko, v sistemu kapitalizma so proizvodi in storitve precenjene z namenom, da bi ljudje verjeli, da imajo ekstremno vrednost. Posledično so proizvodi in storitve fetišizirani. S pomočjo analize blagovnega fetišizma sem ugotovila, da v kapitalizmu proizvodi in storitve nosijo nekakšno masko, zaradi katere ne moremo ugotoviti njihove dejanske ekonomske vrednosti. V kapitalizmu so pogoji popolni za prodajanje precenjenih produktov. S pomočjo analize zgodovine sem zaključila, da kavna revolucija ni nekaj, kar bi v današnjem svetu dejansko obstajalo. Kava je bila od vedno popularna na dober in na slab način, bila je draga in poceni. Ljudje so že dolgo uživali kavo po celotnem svetu.

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