coffee grounds and the global cup

glocal consumer culture in scandinavia

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"How sweet coffee tastes! Lovelier than a thousand kisses, sweeter than Muscatel wine!"
Johann Sebastian Bach (Coffee Cantata, 1734)

Whether contemporary consumer cultures across the globe are becoming homogenized or whether they are still characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity has been the topic of a lively debate within the social sciences for more than a decade. On one side of this debate stand proponents of the homogenization thesis who argue that the proliferation of large multinational companies colonize local cultures (e.g. Ritzer 1996). On the other side are scholars who argue for alternatives to the globalization of consumer cultures and illustrate how consumers might, to follow the typology suggested by Belk & Ger (1996), resort to nationalism and a return to the roots, consumer resistance, local appropriation, or creolization. Thompson and Arsel (2004) question both the heterogenization and the homogenization strands and suggest that large, dominant corporations might forge hegemonic brandscapes. By this, the authors mean "the hegemonic influences that global experiential brands exert on their local competitors and the meanings consumers derive from their experiences of these glocal servicescapes" (Thompson and Arsel 2004: 632).

The purposes here are twofold: we wish to explore how the hegemonic brandscape may operate in a cultural context outside of North America by exploring coffee cultural discourses in the Scandinavian context. As a kind of commentary to, or re-inquiry of, Thompson and Arsel's

(2004) study of the hegemonic influence that the Seattle-based company Starbucks exerts on the US coffee culture we explore how the logic of the hegemonic brandscape becomes glocalized in the Scandinavian context. While we generally agree with the analysis and take seriously the proposition that Starbucks exerts a global structure of common difference on local coffee cultures across the globe, we wish to explore and illustrate how different local market contexts implies different competitive and positioning roles for Starbucks and the like. Secondly, and more importantly, our purpose is also a more general one: namely to explore whether there is such a thing as a specific Scandinavian consumer culture that interact with global structures in the process of glocalization. The article and the supplementary videography therefore explore how such a consumer culture historically deals with flows of the global cultural economy. Coffee culture seems an eminent site of exploration as Scandinavia constitutes the world's highest per capita consumption of coffee.

Our empirical investigations in Scandinavia, a cultural setting where Starbucks has yet not entered the market albeit gained significant cultural influence, show that there is a long-standing historically established coffee culture that exists in parallel to both a starbuckified coffee culture and a coffee connoisseurship culture. Our detailed analysis of this coffee consumptionscape illustrate that there is a plurality of cultural styles along which the different types of coffee establishments differ. At the same time, we show that there are tendencies toward the hegemonic influx of starbuckified dimensions suggested by Thompson and Arsel.

GLOCALIZATION

Glocalization, as coined by Robertson (1992), is often held to suggest an intermingling of the global and the local. However, the concept is more complex than that. Glocalization not only implies how local cultures adapt and re-interpret global influences. It impies that local—or the idea of the local—becomes global; a universal idea which becomes culturally significant exactly because of an emerging consciousness of the "world as a whole" (Robertson 1992). In the

context of marketing and branding this has been explored by Ger (1999) in her suggestion of mobilization of local cultural capital enabling local firms to "outlocal the global competition". The other dimension of glocalization means that the global always is localized; that is, re-interpreted to fit with local cultural frames of reference – as argued by Miller on Coca Cola in Trinidad (Miller 1998).

Often research in consumption and brand culture suggest that the presence of a transnational brand establishes structures of common difference (Wilk 1995) along which competing (local) brands have to define themselves. For example, in Thompson and Arsel's work, competing brand establishments have emerged as a response to the massive presence of a single brand. Put bluntly, in the US there was no local coffee consumptionscape prior to Starbucks. The authors claim that there were only 200 freestanding coffee houses in 1990 compared to 14,000 in 2003 (2004: 631).

In the empirical setting of this project, there are no single competitive actors or brands which define the competitive situation. Still, many of the structures of common difference established by Starbucks are winning ground but interact with a historically constituted coffee culture. This historically constituted coffee culture also comprises certain structural rules of brand competition in the coffee culture. This hence constitutes a different hegemonic struggle in the Scandinavian cultural context than in the US context. In this sense we understand the local coffee culture more in terms of a hegemonic *consumptionscape* than a hegemonic *brandscape*.

COFFEE GROUNDS: THE SCANDINAVIAN COFFEE CONSUMPTIONSCAPE

In the following section we will describe the local coffee consumptionscape. The local coffee culture and its history will be described at some length in order for the reader to be able to follow how dominant ideas of global consumption ideals are diffused. Also, the overview of the contemporary Scandinavian coffee consumptionscape describes the canvas on which the structures of common differences of starbuckification needs to be inscribed. It is crucial when

discussing globalization tendencies to remember that globalization is by no means something that happened all of a sudden during the latter part of the twentieth century when multinational companies began spreading their products all over the globe. Instead, it can be seen as the constant back and forth flow of ideas and goods that has historically characterized most parts of the world for millenniums (Robertson 1992)[1]. This perspective is for example advocated by Elliott (2001) in her analysis of Starbucks where she sees coffee as a form of transborder communication. For Scandinavia, located on the far northern rim of Europe, globalization has always been of utmost centrality. During a couple of hundred years around the turn of the first millennium Scandinavians were on the sending side of globalization as the Vikings raided large parts of Europe, Russia, and as far down as Turkey, and thus spread the Scandinavian culture. Since then, however, Scandinavia has mostly been on the receiving side of globalization and has readily adopted the behaviors gleaned from continental Europe. It is in the light of this historically longstanding willingness to accept and adopt ideas from continental Europe that the Scandinavian coffee culture must be viewed. Coffee drinking in this part of the world has been an integral part of social life for a long time and was initially introduced in Europe during the latter parts of the seventeenth century. Some like to locate the beginning of European coffee culture in London, where Brits returning from traveling in the Ottoman empire brought with them the habit of drinking coffee. The first coffee house in London opened its doors to the public as early as 1652. London coffee culture prospered for about a hundred years but then gradually lost out to the tea-drinking that we to this day associate with the Brits (Ellis 2006). Therefore, others like to point at the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683 as the starting point. When the Turks left the city, the Turkish coffee culture was left behind and the first café was opened in

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[1] One may argue that the Copernican revolution was a necessary component in the development of globalization since it constituted the possibility of one of the key elements of globalization, namely the consciousness of the world as a whole (Robertson 1992) or a global reflexivity (Waters 2001). However, the processes of increasing time-space distantiation have occurred prior to that, particularly in connection with historical world systems such as the Roman empire (Friedman 1995).

1685 in the living room of Johannes Deodat, an Armenian spy (Öberg 2005). Throughout the seventeenth century, coffee drinking was spread amongst the upper-class in Europe but the habit quickly trickled down to the lower classes who drank coffee for its invigorating qualities, and to cure hangovers and flatulence.

Shortly after the rise of coffee culture in Vienna, it was introduced in Scandinavia but for slightly different reasons. In Sweden, for example, coffee was placed on the pharmacy list of approved drugs in 1687 and was recommended for overall strengthening of the stamina. But coffee drinking quickly gained popularity outside of the medical purposes and finally became so popular in Sweden that the state saw no other solution than to ban coffee drinking in the summer of 1794 to save the state finances. Too much money was pouring out of the country and the state could come up with no other way to stop the outflow. A special police force was designated to patrol the cities and those caught in the act of drinking coffee were sent to prison (Svenska Kaffeakademien 2006). During these times, coffee houses served an important social function and were perhaps equivalent to the so-called third spaces (Oldenburg 1989) recently given sociological attention and attributed to some of the success of Starbucks (Thompson and Arsel 2004). Much of the intellectual and not least political development of Europe took place in coffee houses during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Elliott 2001; Ellis 2006; Guggenbühl 2003), and a parallel development could be detected in Scandinavia. To this day, cafés and coffee shops have served an important social role and some of the existing coffee serving establishments date back to the late 19th century, a few even earlier than that.

In the latter part of the twentieth century coffee cultures flowed, creolized and materialized in new forms as a global cultural economy emerged. Italian espresso bars were hot in 1950s Soho in London, the American diner concept entered Scandinavia in the 1930s to become the working class *kaffebar* (Biering 2003) serving early morning coffee and lunch and came to epitomize Danish lunch culture (there are only a small number of these left). In the mid 1970s French inspired brasseries emerged in the urban Scandinavian centres and introduced Southern

European coffee culture to the market (albeit in the French form – *café au lait* was all the rage in the late 1980s, early 1990s). In the 1990s Scandinavia saw the emergence of both the Starbuckified coffee cultural style and a connoisseurship style with the emergence of single bars and chains of coffee shops focusing on Italian inspired coffee brewing.

We will mostly pay attention to the way coffee is served in various retail/service outlets and not particularly to the abundance of coffee serving practices in consumers' domestic spaces. But to give the reader a flavor of the plurality that can be found in peoples' household consumption, and thus give a suggestion of how intertwined coffee drinking is in Scandinavians' lives, we provide the following examples: Virtually all households in Scandinavia have a much used (and, according to the coffee aficionados, abused) coffee maker in their possession and there are several variations of drinking coffee. The variations include, but are not limited to, the Laplandish practice of putting cheese in the coffee in the arctic parts of Scandinavia to the practice of pouring coffee onto a saucer and filtering it through a sugar cube held between the front teeth that can still be observed at nursing homes in the southern parts. Coffee is an essential part of the conduct of everyday life, it is used on many social occasions and is an essential part of showing hospitality—coffee is always offered when visiting most Scandinavian homes. Coffee is traditionally integrated into the temporal structures of everyday life stemming from rural culture: coffee at 6 a.m. for breakfast, 9 a.m. for the morning break, 3 p.m. for the afternoon break served with a cookie or cake, 9 p.m. for the evening coffee (again, served with something sweet). At work, a joint coffee-making break may be used for informal discussions or negotiations. Coffee may be used as a control mechanism at times of crisis when one has to consider the situation and what to do next. The everyday coffee culture of Scandinavia bears many resemblances to the culture of 'a cuppa tea' in the UK.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

The empirical setting of our project is Scandinavia. One justification for conducting the study in this setting is that there is a strong and longstanding coffee culture. Scandinavians drink a lot of coffee; the countries have the world's highest per capita annual coffee consumption, 26.4 pounds. In comparison, the US has an annual consumption per capita of only 8,8 pounds and Italy—by many seen as the archetype of a coffee consuming nation—has an annual consumption per capita of 10 pounds (coffeeresearch.org 2006). Scandinavia is thus not a blank canvas on which the Starbuckified coffee consumptionscape can inscribe hegemonic ideas of how to structure a coffee consumption experience; Scandinavians have been drinking coffee for a long time and they drink lots of it.

The empirical focus of this project is coffee service establishments rather than consumer practices. We are interested in mapping the cultural terrain which structures the possible meanings and practices of coffee cultural consumption. Data was collected via extensive fieldwork in Stockholm and Lund, Sweden and Odense and Copenhagen, Denmark, by way of observation and description of a variety of coffee serving establishments. Most of these observations were video recorded and we supplemented the observational data with interviews with owners or employees of a variety of these establishments. Table 1 provides an overview of the locations of data collection.

Establishment	Location	Description	Data types		
			Observation	Video	Interview
Espresso House (2 locations)	Lund, Sweden	Americana	✓		✓
Lundagård	Lund, Sweden	Viennesia	✓		
Mormors bageri	Lund, Sweden	Bakery, Viennese remnants	✓		
Alfons Coffee Shop	Stockholm, Sweden	Culinaria – Italiana – Connoiseur	✓	✓	
Café Larté	Stockholm, Sweden	Viennesia	✓	✓	✓
Café Vetebullen	Stockholm, Sweden	Viennesia	✓	✓	✓
Café Vetekatten	Stockholm, Sweden	Viennesia	✓		

Establishment	Location	Description	Data types		
			Observation	Video	Interview
Coffee Cup (2 locations)	Stockholm, Sweden	Americana	✓		
Coffehouse by George (2 locations)	Stockholm, Sweden	Americana	✓		
Espresso House	Stockholm, Sweden	Americana	✓		
Kafferepet	Stockholm, Sweden	Viennesia	✓		
McCafé	Stockholm, Sweden	Americana, run by McDonald's	✓	✓	
Molto	Stockholm, Sweden	Culinaria – Italiana	✓		✓
Robert's Coffee	Stockholm, Sweden	Americana	✓		
Sockerbagare Anderson	Stockholm, Sweden	Bakery, Viennese remnants	✓	✓	
Sosta (2 locations)	Stockholm, Sweden	Culinaria – Italiana	✓		
Sturekatten	Stockholm, Sweden	Viennnesia	✓	✓	
Tintarella di Luna	Stockholm, Sweden	Culinaria – Italiana	✓	✓	✓
Tösses	Stockholm, Sweden	Viennesia	✓	✓	
Valand	Stockholm, Sweden		✓		✓
Wayne's Coffee (2 locations)	Stockholm, Sweden	Americana	✓	✓	✓
Baresso, Strøget	Copenhagen, Denmark	Americana	✓	✓	
Café Amokka	Copenhagen, Denmark	Culinaria with elements of brasserie	✓		
Café Europa	Copenhagen, Denmark	Culinaria with brasserie influence	✓	✓	
La Glace	Copenhagen, Denmark	Viennesia (est. late 19th century)	✓	✓	✓
Bakers Café	Odense, Denmark	Viennesia, pastry shop with coffee serving	✓	✓	✓
Baresso / Arnold Busk	Odense, Denmark	Starbuckified	✓	✓	
Café Sct. Gertruds	Odense, Denmark	Brasserie	✓		
Café Optimisten	Odense, Denmark	Alternative brasserie, Culinaria	✓	✓	✓
Guldbageren	Odense, Denmark	Viennesia, pastry shop with coffee serving and seating	✓	✓	
Marselv Grill	Odense, Denmark	Highway restaurant. Bulk coffee – Diner style	✓	✓	
University department kitchen	Odense, Denmark		✓	✓	
Statoil	Odense, Denmark	Americana, petrol station with extensive food and coffee serving	✓	✓	
University Café	Odense, Denmark	Culinaria, elements of French brasserie style	✓	✓	
Winters Kaffe	Odense, Denmark	Specialty shop, home market	✓		

The ethnographic data was supplemented with monitoring of the general popular media, website content and secondary literature. The ethnographic body of data and our readings of the general and specifically Scandinavian cultural history of coffee culture enabled us to identity three ideal typical overall coffee cultural styles: Americana, Culinaria and Viennesia. These styles existed in pure forms in many establishments and creolized forms in others.

CONTEMPORARY COFFEE CULTURAL STYLES IN THE SCANDINAVIAN MARKET

We have gathered from our empirical work that the retail outlets as well as the consumers are predominantly searching for something that can be characterized as an "authentic market offering" (Grayson and Martinec 2004). To further elaborate on this, we use the concepts of indexical and iconic authenticity set forth by Grayson and Martinec (2004) in describing the different types of establishments. In the case with coffee establishments, indexical authority implies that the retail outlet has a factual and spatio-temporal link with something else. Indexicality thus distinguishes "the real thing" from its copies (Grayson and Martinec 2004: 298). For example, an Italian style café can achieve indexical authenticity if the coffee is served by immigrants from Italy or if the coffee beans are of an Italian brand. Iconic authenticity, on the other hand, refers to situations when something whose physical manifestation resembles something that is indexically authentic (Grayson and Martinec 2004: 298). To exemplify, a starbuckified coffee shop is perceived as indexically authentic if consumers experience that it is similar to coffee shops found overseas. Grayson and Martinec are careful to point out that iconic and indexical authenticity are not mutually exclusive and that authenticity is not an attribute inherent in an object but better understood as an assessment made by a particular evaluator in a particular context (Grayson and Martinec 2004: 299).

AMERICANA

The Americana coffee cultural style is heavily influenced by the coffee cultural ideals of Starbucks. These ideals constitute the iconic authenticity which is referred to in an interview with an employee from the Wayne's Coffee chain – he refers to 'traditional cafés' as "not really café-like" since they are lacking certain elements laid out in the structures of common difference of starbuckification – such as music, layout, types of coffee served. As already mentioned, the dominant global player has yet to enter the Scandinavian market making room for plenty of *simile* brands. Wayne's Coffee, Coffee House by George, Robert's Coffee, Espresso House, Coffee Cup and Baresso all draw on the style originally laid out by Starbucks. According to an interview with the franchisee at an Espresso House in Lund, the owners of the Espresso House corporation travel to the US a couple of times a year just to visit Starbucks outlets and be inspired. They proudly announce that there is no difference whatsoever between Starbucks and the particular local variation of Espresso House.

In addition to these *simile* brands a number of outlets such as restaurants, hot dog stands, and gas stations utilize the structure of common difference of the coffee shop menu. We interpret this as an illustrative example of the historical openness that Scandinavian markets have to global culture. Furthermore, we discovered in Stockholm the McCafé – the world's first McDonald's café following the structures of common differences inherent in the Starbucks brandscape. This suggests that the glocalization of the hegemonic brandscape occurs at a global level of brand competition as much as it does at a local level confirming the hegemonic force of the Starbucks brandscape.

CULINARIA

The cultural style of Culinaria makes references to a number of different types of authenticity. One type is through what is perceived as an indexical authenticity through a reference to place of origin, most notably Italian cafés but also French brasseries. For example,

many of the places in Stockholm feature baristas from Italy or at least baristas fluent in Italian and have names like Sosta ("Pause" in Italian), Tintarella di Luna (a stanza from an 60s Italian schlager translating into "tanned by the moon"), or Molto ("a lot" in Italian) to further reinforce their italianness. They also have their menus written entirely in Italian. This, at closer inspection, stands in stark contrast to the faux-Italian vernacular developed at Starbucks (cf. Elliott 2001). These places go to great lengths to avoid being the "theme-parked" Italian coffee places like Starbucks. Instead, they wish to present themselves as just another hole-in-the-wall Italian coffee shop. They pretend that it is the most normal thing in the world to go through the cold Scandinavian winter and into the overwhelmingly Italian atmosphere of these places. But again, they emphasize that they "just are" as opposed to other places that are "trying to be." Hence they are mustering a legitimacy rooted in indexical authenticity. Whether they are successful in this endeavor is an entirely different story.

The Culinaria category also house a different type of connoisseur café equally obsessed with authenticity but more eclectic in their inspiration than the Italiana cafés described above. These places are a postmodern concoction of everything "authentic", the menus are comprised of fascinating juxtapositions of elements from across the globe: authentic NY style bagels with salmon and crème cheese, authentic Croque Monsieur à la Paris, authentic bulgur salads from North Africa, authentic 97% cocoa chocolate bars from Sumatra, authentic Turkish coffee, and to top it of something spectacular like the possibility to buy an espresso made with authentic Kopi Luwak, a special type of coffee where the beans have passed the digestive system of a small cat animal in Indonesia, for sale at Alfons Coffee Shop in Stockholm. Others emphasize authenticity by selling products of certain production methods such as the range of organic and "politically correct" products at Café Optimisten in Odense, Denmark. At these places, everything has either an indexical authenticity in that the ingredients are imported directly from the original sources or an iconic authenticity in that they promise to make the different dishes or drinks "just like" they do it in the original location. This obsession with the correct links to the

original locations stand in stark contrast to the "caffeinated cartography" observable at Starbucks (Elliott 2001: 374). In her analysis of Starbucks, Elliott shows how Starbucks use "Coffee Categories" that collapse space distanciation and emphasize taste rather than geography. The category "Bold Expressions", for example, consists of coffees from Arabia, Indonesia and Ethiopia. Here we see a mix of indexical and iconic authenticity brought to bear.

Our screening of the media reveals that the connoisseur coffee culture has a strong presence in popular culture. For example, baristas from famous cafés are giving hints and tips for those trying to brew the perfect cup of espresso or latte at home (Grossman 2006), reports are given from coffee-making courses (Utterström 2005), and the champions from the national barista championships are interviewed and given celebrity status (Sohlström 2006). The owners and employees of one of the central Copenhagen café *Europa* are active in the Danish coffee academy, the owner of Alfons Coffee Shop in Stockholm is the head of the Swedish coffee academy, and several of both the Copenhagen and the Stockholm cafés are proud to employ champions from the World Barista Championships held each year.

Rather than interpreting this refined culinary experience as an opposition to the influx of the starbuckified hegemonic consumptionscape we see it as part of a general gastronomic slow food movement not only opposing global standardized consumer culture but equally as much local consumer culture that has deteriorated gastronomic qualities - in this case a reaction against the standard filter coffee culture.

VIENNESIA

Historically, the traditional cafés in Scandinavia has been of the Viennese type. Many of these cafés have a long history and were established at the end of the nineteenth century. Some of them are even explicitly called "Wienerkafé" to really spell out the link to their central European origins. As a curious note and to reinforce the connection to Vienna, what is called a "Danish pastry" in the rest of the world is called a Wienerbröd, i.e. Viennese pastry, in the

Scandinavian countries. Largely, the legitimacy of these classic cafés is grounded in their craftsmanship in confectionary and pastries. The traditional cafés therefore gain iconic authenticity by expressing that, just like in the Viennese counterparts, the goods for sale are made in-house. Even though the baked goods are at center stage, coffee is an integrated part of the serving and plays a key role. These classic cafés are hence culturally understood as a place where high quality coffee is served.

More rustic cafés that still aspire to the ideals standard set by the Viennese cafés constitute a sub-genre among the traditional cafés. These places are more like a bakery with an attached café section. They serve coffee and various goods baked on the premises but do not aspire to the same flare that the more explicitly Viennese cafés do. While the popularity of the Viennese establishments has been fluctuating over the last decades they are currently, according to media reports, experiencing a positive trend with more visitors that spend more money (Lundbäck 2006).

A SCANDINAVIAN CONSUMER CULTURE?

Of all the establishments observed none were established as a resistance to the global coffee cultural style identified with Starbucks. We did, upon directly asking our informants, find skepticism towards the idea of establishing that specific brand in Scandinavia but the cafés were not established in opposition. This stands in contrast to the coffee cultural climate reported by Thompson and Arsel (Thompson and Arsel 2004) were the brand opposition was much more explicit. Also, while excessive coffee latte drinking among the young and upcoming is sometimes mocked in popular culture, there is no resistance towards any on the *simile* brands currently colonizing Scandinavian coffee culture in the form of e.g. doppelgänger brand images discussed by Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel (Thompson, Rindfleisch and Arsel 2006).

A potential explanation for this is the radically different political climate in Denmark and Sweden. The long standing domination of social-democratic ideas has lead to an ethos of equality

and egalitarianism, a pragmatic political climate which has its roots in the Scandinavian societies' adaptation of Lutheran Protestantism, rural pietism and ideas of the Enlightenment. In the words of prominent Danish historian Uffe Østergaard, the Nordic region—or *Norden*—Is (self) perceived as something *"[…] non-European, non-Catholic, anti-Rome, anti-Imperialist, non-colonial, non-exploitative, peaceful, small and social democratic"* (Østergaard 1997). Peasant culture had had an early influence on political culture from around the 15th century (Stråth and Sørensen 1997) and the implementation of the Enlightenment project in Scandinavia focused on the *Bildung* of the peasant. The peasant hence represented the cultural potential in the project of Enlightenment that had been ascribed to the Bourgoisie in other Western European cultural contexts. This led to a culture of pragmatism, balancing freedom and equality: *"the Nordic peasant was too conservative to be radical but too radical to be conservative"* (Stråth and Sørensen 1997). This development has resulted in an idea of commonness in which everybody—high and low—strive to be able to identify with the middle[2]. Furthermore, that the middle is the common focal point means that seemingly contradictory societal phenomena—such as strong state welfarism and open markets—are made to co-exist within the system. This does not mean that there are no distinctions or contradictions in Scandinavian consumer culture, but that they are less acknowledged at least ideologically and discursively. This is why we see in several interviews the insistence that everybody has a right to be present in the market—from the Italian café owner who does not like but acknowledges the Americana coffee shop brands as legitimate market actors to *Café Optimisten* who most clearly embody the Scandinavian stance to social differentiation claiming *"not to believe in competition"*.

AN HEGEMONIC CONSUMPTIONSCAPE ?

Starbucks have not yet entered the Scandinavian market, yet there is immense influence as the structures of common difference established by Starbucks on what a coffee shop means are

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[2] Which is why, to this day in Scandinavia, people born and bred in even high economic and cultural capital social *milieus* will go to great lengths in explaining that they are just 'common people' (often with a reference to some ancestor who was a peasant or worker).

employed by local imitations as well as in creolized forms. The diversity of these local coffee consumptionscapes leads to the hegemony operating in a different manner. Since local coffee culture exists already the impact of the hegemonic consumptionscape is less obvious yet more complex.

What we argue is that the inherently global origins of the existing coffee cultural consumptionscape problematizes the notion of glocalization since the local part of the global-local dichotomy does not represent any kind of original authentic culture. Certain coffee cultural consumption styles may have been authenticated over time so that they have come to represent local culture (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard 2002). In the case of the coffee cultural consumptionscape, the symbols of the local (here represented by the classic cafés of the Viennesia type) and the global (Starbuckified coffee culture claiming 'European' heritage) all stem from the same socio-historical cultural origins of European coffee culture in the 17th century. Therefore, although Starbuckification exemplifies the hegemonizing force of a recent structure of common difference, it stands in relation to other structures of common difference which are locally ingrained, yet global—or foreign—in origin in an historical perspective. Both as a subset at a superordinate level—the coffee bar in general—and at the subordinate level – in relation to other structures of coffee culture. These structures of common difference occasionally materialize in creolized forms.

This creolization, in the specific context of Scandinavia, occurs through the prism of a different consumer culture than usually used for analysis in consumer culture theory. The Scandinavian consumer culture stands in contrast—and yet is compatible—to both central European ideologies as well as cultural influences stemming from North America. The Scandinavian consumer culture is characterized by its ability to absorb these cultural contradictions through a consensus making ideology which is also well-known in Scandinavian management culture (Byrkjeflot 2003). In its pragmatic acceptance of global capitalism combined with concern for minorities, its fervent implementation of the Enlightenment project combined

with state churches, its combination of extremely lax rules of employment with extreme degrees of unionization, and its ethos of egalitarian brand competition, the development of a uniform hegemonic coffee brandscape in Scandinavia seems unlikely.

However, that does not mean that Scandinavian markets are not prone to hegemonic projects in consumer culture. Many hegemonic consumptionscapes exists in Scandinavia—the Swedish state administration of the sales and distribution of alcohol, extremely strong private companies that control the dairy and meat sectors, etcetera. However, these forms of consumptionscape hegemony have been found somewhat acceptable because they first of all were local and secondly in many cases were able to find legitimacy in a close connection to 'the people'. This connection is established either through the state, through the cooperative movements (which control the major players in the dairy and meat sectors as well as a significant part of food retailing) or by having the good of the people as a basis for business philosophy as is claimed by for example IKEA. In a paraphrase of an earlier quotation, we might say that the Scandinavian consumer culture is *too conservative to be radical but too radical to be conservative.*

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