

Milk revolution and the homogeneous New Zealand coffee market

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Supervisor

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Abstract

It is unsurprising that, as an enjoyable and social beverage, coffee has generated a coffee culture in Aotearoa New Zealand. Part of coffee's enjoyment and culture is the range of milk types available for milk-based coffees. That range has grown in recent years. A2 Milk is a recent addition to that offering. The A2 Milk Company has experienced exceptional growth. However, my own experience as a coffee consumer in Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand, has revealed that A2 Milk is not a milk that is commonly offered in many of the city's cafés. Consequently, my research explores that lack and barista perceptions of A2 Milk within my research at The Coffee Club in Auckland's Onehunga. As a franchise outlet, The Coffee Club constitutes a representative sample of a wider cohort, the 60 Coffee Clubs spread throughout Aotearoa New Zealand.

While my research reinforces much of the knowledge about coffee culture in Aotearoa New Zealand, my emphasis on the influence of A2 Milk within that culture has revealed some interesting new insights. As my five professional barista participants at the Coffee Club revealed, rather than taking a proactive approach to A2 Milk, they were 'waiting' for one of two occurrences before considering the offering of A2 Milk. Those considerations included a 'push' from the A2 Milk Company that promoted A2 Milk within coffee culture. Additionally, my participants were waiting for their customers to ask for A2 Milk as a prompt to offering it. Given my observation that coffee menus in Auckland are homogenous, my baristas not promoting the distinction of A2 Milk constitutes a missed opportunity within a highly competitive café marketplace. The embrace of A2 Milk might enhance the artisanal skills of baristas and create an (albeit temporary) point of difference in Kiwi café and coffee culture. Additionally, and despite the positive reputation of New Zealand's coffee culture, my research suggests that Kiwi coffee culture is conservative. That conservatism lacks the enthusiasm and technologies of global coffee culture. Consequently, my exploration of A2 Milk, as a point of difference within Kiwi coffee culture, is timely.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: Guo Jingsi

Date: 12 June 2020

CHAPTER ONE: Introducing My Research and its Context

1.1 Introduction

To understand coffee culture, my dissertation begins with an exploration of some basic but important themes. These themes include my presentation and understandings of coffee and its commodified homogenisation, culture, coffee culture, globalisation, the evolution of the espresso machine, milk and milk alternatives, including A2 Milk. In presenting these themes, I move from ‘broad’ topics such as ‘culture’ toward more coffee-specific topics such as coffee culture and the place of A2 Milk within that culture. Within these topics and my movement through them, my aim is to provide my readers with meaningful information that I extend within my literature review, then carry forward into my Findings Chapter (refer Chapter Five) and my Discussion and Conclusion Chapter (refer Chapter Six). However, and to begin my writing, the following section presents my research questions and my rationale for undertaking this research dissertation. Then, I begin my exploration of culture, coffee culture, barista culture, globalisation and coffee, milk and milk alternatives and my chosen milk: A2 Milk.

1.2 Research Questions

To explore my topic, my primary question asks:

1. In what ways has ‘A2 Milk’ impacted milk-based coffee consumption in an Auckland café?

Underpinning my primary question are the following two questions:

- a. What is the range and popularity of animal and plant-based milks that are currently available to café baristas in Auckland cafés?
- b. What considerations are important to baristas in their choice of café milk offering?

Within my dissertation I interchangeably use the terms Kiwi (and Kiwi culture) and New Zealanders to describe people who reside in Aotearoa New Zealand. Kiwi, as Neill (2018) observed, is a common vernacular and largely positive term that identifies people who

reside in New Zealand. In that way, Kiwi is often a self-ascribed identifier and/or an identifier ascribed by ‘others’ (Neill, 2018). In agreement with Neill (2018), I have come to realise that Kiwi and New Zealander are simultaneously interconnected and interchangeable terms.

1.2.1 Rationale for the Research

I undertook my research dissertation for several reasons. Firstly, completing it successfully will finalise my qualification from AUT. Currently, I am completing my master’s degree in international hospitality management. When successfully completed, my dissertation will allow me to graduate with a Master of International Hospitality Management. However, while gaining that qualification has been my long-term goal, my love of coffee, and enjoying coffee with friends, solidified my desire to choose coffee and coffee culture as my research topic. In choosing coffee, milk and coffee culture, I believed that by choosing a topic that I loved, that my journey in researching it would be cushioned within its ‘ups and downs’ by my longer-term love for coffee. Essentially, being passionate about my topic ‘saw me through’ the tough times in completing this dissertation. When the going got tough, I had a coffee at my local café! Additionally, as a hospitality management student, I came to realise that within my exploration of coffee, coffee culture and milk (A2 Milk in particular), my research also exposed a wider view of Aotearoa New Zealand’s socio-culture. In this way, I view coffee and coffee culture as a mirror of and for wider cultural ways of being and becoming in Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.3 Understanding Culture

Culture is a complex construct reflecting the essence of being and becoming for individuals and groups. Geertz (1993) defined culture as an historically transmitted mode of meaning embodied within symbols. As Tucker (2017) realised, “as water is for fish, [so] culture is for humanity” (p. 7). Mediating Geertz (1993) and Tucker (2017), Hofstede (2013) proposed that culture is an inherited system of ideas expressed in symbolic form through which people communicated and developed their knowledge of and attitudes

toward life. At the same time, culture within everyday life can be an often taken-for-granted construct. For example, within the academy, each discipline, which could be considered a cultural domain, is grounded within its own language. That grounding and culture reinforces the relevance of Sapir and Whorf's proposition that, through language, human culture is both liberated yet constrained by the language we have and use to describe our culture (Whorf, 1940). In turn, language facilitates our different ways of expressing ourselves and directly reflects our understanding of the world around us. In that way, culture's verbal expression is limited by the language we have to describe it (Whorf, 1940). Nonetheless, the study of culture is an integral component of many academic disciplines including sociology, social anthropology and the wider humanities. That diversity and the languages used to convey them reflect the notion that culture, like language, is, not a 'one-size-fits-all' construct.

Reflecting this view, while people living in Aotearoa New Zealand could be seen as engaging in Kiwi culture, such a generalisation lacks accuracy (Neill, 2018). Not all residents of New Zealand share, enact or embody the same Kiwi characteristics (Neill 2018). Rather, Kiwi culture could be described as an amalgam not only of Kiwi attributes but also of many other factors that have been 'brought to' it by others, particularly migrants (Neill, 2018). Consequently, believing that all people who identify with a cultural identity express or share its ways of being and becoming in the same ways is misleading. Yet, it is within the notion of culture that we imagine our wider belonging. Benedict Anderson (1991) considered this within his notion of *Imagined Communities*. Those considerations highlighted that cultural identities and cultural generalities, while providing convenient ways to understand culture, need to be approached with caution: the construct of culture, as I previously noted, is not a one-size-fits-all notion.

Nonetheless, the lived experience of culture is expressed within the embodiment and expression of habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). Habitus, like culture, as an expression of being and becoming, is also taken for granted. Its taken-for-granted-ness can be realised within the 'things we do', our actions and, indeed, our habits. Often, our actions and habits are undertaken without even thinking about them. In these ways, the things we do come to

reflect the durable and transposable expression of our cultural history (Bourdieu, 1990; Huang, 2019). Huang (2019) stated that Bourdieu's (1990) construct of habitus could be defined as a concept that expressed the ways in which human's 'become themselves', through the development of "attitudes and dispositions" (p. 50). Thus, habitus and some habits are linked. Over time, these links reinforce the repetitions of the positive dispositions and behaviours of individuals within their cultural group (Bourdieu, 1990). That reinforcement is achieved within constructs of cultural and social capital. In this way, our enacted and embodied habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) not only provides a 'safety net of behaviours' but, within that safety net, reinforces wider, culturally shared behaviours. As Bourdieu (1990) observed, habitus incorporates the "durably installed generative principle[s] of regulated improvisations" (p. 78).

For many people, getting a morning coffee could be considered a habit, symbolically and practically illuminating habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). Similarly, but more broadly, coffee culture contributes toward our shared habitus because, via coffee culture, consumers reflect multiple expressions of their identity. Those expressions not only help us to know the world around us but, through their repetition, also reinforce our ways of being. Coffee culture provides an exemplar of how coffee's purchase not only reflects our identity but also our wider constructions of fairness. Many coffee consumers are attracted to and purchase Fair Trade coffee.¹ That choice and purchase says something about their identity. Arguably, buying Fair Trade coffee helps many consumers to assuage their feelings of consumer guilt and Western privilege (Fritsch, 2014) by engaging in coffee purchases that 'help others.'

Within a barista's² worldview, coffee's production and customer consumption can be realised as incorporating a series of tangible and intangible consumer and barista actions

¹ Fairtrade coffee is certified to be produced according to fair trade standards by the fair-trade organization, and emphasizes trade partnerships based on dialogue, transparency and respect with the goal of achieving greater fairness in international trade and supply chain participation (Fritsch, 2014).

² Barista: An Italian word meaning bartender. A barista works behind a counter, serving hot drinks (such as espresso coffees), cold alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks (Thurston, Morris & Steiman, 2013).

and rituals. These domains, when combined, create and contribute toward the notion of coffee culture. Additionally, these actions and rituals confirm and confer relative identities, including those of the barista and the consumer. The rituals inherent in those identities express shared values and norms within the behaviours and etiquette that simultaneously and almost unknowingly create and reinforce coffee culture as well as identities. However, the behaviours and etiquette constituting coffee culture find different cultural expressions. For example, in Cape Town, South Africa, youth groups described coffee shops as being havens from wider social ills (Tucker, 2017). Similarly, Jeffrey, Staeheli, Buire and Celebivic (2017) revealed that English cafés reflected the contemporary urban landscapes of both the United Kingdom and the United States of America, within their offering of an urban entertainment via coffee sales. In Ethiopia, coffee symbolises sincere friendship (Tucker, 2017). There, it is common for Ethiopians to invite friends to their homes where coffee beans are ground by hand and then brewed in a pot. That process takes more than an hour to complete. That process and timeframe serves to promote and reinforce discourse and social engagement (Felton, 2019). However, while those examples illuminate coffee culture, they are insufficient to encapsulate a deeper understanding and appreciation of it. Consequently, the following section, and later sections of my literature review (refer Chapter Three) explore coffee culture in more detail.

1.4 Coffee Culture

Tucker (2017) proposed that coffee culture incorporates the ways in which coffee is made and served as well as the place or environment where it is consumed. Lin (2004) identified that environment as the “the servicescape” (p.163). Jacob (2015) observed that coffee culture also incorporated the thoughts and feelings that consumers associated with drinking coffee. Within those considerations, coffee culture can be realised as an amalgam of ideas, practices, techniques, meanings, and connections consumers and (in the case of my research) baristas consider to be important. Those expressions of importance are displayed by barista and consumer alike (Schroeder, 2015). Furthermore,

Schenck (2019) indicated that coffee culture not only reflects shared actions and beliefs but also, within that knowledge, a distinction between coffee consumers and non-coffee consumers. In these ways, Western coffee culture mirrors the combinations of consumer attributes, preferences, rituals, ways of being and becoming that are both exercised and, for some, created within a shared coffee/café “servicescape” (Lin, 2004, p. 163). That ‘space’ is mediated by the barista’s artisanal skills, knowledge and interactions.

Like the construct of culture, coffee culture could be considered to be a taken-for-granted notion by many New Zealanders, particularly those who enjoy coffee. Illuminating that possibility is the nation’s experience of the COVID-19 ‘lockdown’. Following on from the first case being found in Aotearoa New Zealand on February 28, 2020 (Unite Against COVID-19, 2020), New Zealand ultimately went into lockdown in order to subvert the possibility of a national COVID pandemic. Beginning at level two alert status, that level quickly changed to level 4 lockdown on March 25, 2020 (Unite Against COVID-19, 2020). In level 4, New Zealanders were isolated in ‘bubbles’, worked from home (unless one was an essential worker) and all businesses (except essential services) were closed. Those closures included all cafés. However, after four weeks at level 4, New Zealand reverted to level 3 on April 27, 2020 (Unite Against COVID-19, 2020). However, level 3 permitted takeaway food purchases, café and restaurant service, and social distancing.³ Bars opened one week later. Level 2, that began on May 13, 2020 (Unite Against COVID-19, 2020) welcomed the return of Kiwi coffee culture. As *The New Zealand Herald* noted: “There’s been smiles and tears, but fewer customers than expected as cafés around the country open their doors for the first time since the country went into lockdown seven weeks ago” (NZ Herald.co.nz., 2020). Reflecting a return to business, but the need for social distancing, many cafés used innovative strategies to serve their customers’ coffees. Best exemplifying the social distancing innovations, Palmerston North’s Cyclista café

³ Social distancing is deliberately increasing the physical space between people to avoid spreading illness. Staying at least two metres away from other people lessens one’s chances of catching COVID-19 (Unite Against COVID-19, 2020).

used a toy train to deliver takeaway coffees from the barista to eager customers who queued at the café's front door ("Covid 19 Coronavirus: Cyclista Café," 2020).

1.5 Introducing Globalisation and Coffee

As Ritzer and Dean (2019) noted, contemporary Western living is predicated within the "global age" (p. 2). Globalisation, or the global age, incorporates and reflects our increased mobility, the multi-directional flow of people, goods and information. These domains and processes, according to Ritzer and Dean (2019), have resulted in the transformation of cultures, economies and politics. Consequently, globalisation has impacted coffee culture. My research has identified three waves of coffee globalisation (refer Table 1).

Table 1. Globalised Waves of Coffee Influence

<i>Wave and Time Frame</i>	<i>Coffee Globalization</i>
First Wave: 15 th – 17 th centuries	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The fondness for coffee contributed to its growth, consumption in coffee shops and trade (Schenck, 2019). 2. The spread of coffee in the Middle East in the 16th and 17th centuries caught the attention of European merchants. 3. Coffee became the first global commodity by the 17th century (Tucker, 2017).
Second Wave: 18 th century	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The emergence of specialty coffee shops. 2. Its appearance made the social experience that quality coffee consumption provided important (Boaventura, Abdalla, Araujo & Arakelian, 2018).
Third Wave: 20 th century	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Café chains became global leaders in hospitality. 2. Coffee became homogenised. 3. As Tucker (2017) noted, consumers search for unique coffee varieties to create their consumer distinction.

Sources: Boaventura et al. (2018), ICO (2015), Schenck (2019) and Tucker (2017).

However, while I recognise that coffee is a globalised product, considering it in that way, within my research, may not be the best way to understand or appreciate New Zealand's coffee culture. Consequently, I have come to view coffee and coffee culture in Aotearoa New Zealand as glocalised. The term 'glocal' is a neologism constructed by merging two

words: global and local (Roudometof, 2016). As Roudometof (2016) observed, glocalisation is distinct from globalisation. Glocalisation describes the adaptability of international products to the peculiarities of local cultures (Roudometof, 2016). Within this position, I have come to realise that Kiwi coffee culture, while impacted by global forces, is a glocalised component of Kiwi culture. Within that thinking, other common food and beverage items in New Zealand can be considered glocalised. Examples are the Kiwi-burger,⁴ as a derivative of the American hamburger, and an array of new cider beverages including feijoa.

Within coffee culture, the flat white provides an excellent coffee-based exemplar. While contested as an Australian invention, the flat white can be realised as a glocalised Kiwi beverage. Both Australia and New Zealand have myths of origin about the flat white. For instance, Australia claims the ‘discovery’ of the flat white. As Felton (2019) observed, Australian Alan Preston insisted that he was the first to use the term the ‘flat white’. However, New Zealander Frank McInnis claims ‘discovery’ of the flat white as the outcome of an incorrectly made cappuccino (Felton, 2019).

1.6 Coffee: A Homogenised Product

While recognising coffees global and glocal sensibilities, I have also grasped the notion of something else: that coffee menus are homogenised. As a keen coffee consumer, I have noticed that the coffee menu or ‘offering’ in almost every café I visit in Auckland city is pretty much the same. I note my observations, recognising the work of Galanakis (2017) and Vard (2017) in Tables 2, 3 and 4.

Table 2. Homogenised Coffee Offerings: Milk-based

<i>Coffee</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Additions/Variations</i>
Flat White	A single or double espresso with milk and a little top foam.	Soy milk / almond milk / flavoured syrups

⁴ The Kiwi burger had ingredients that were not a part of any other product (beetroot, for example), and the egg had to be cooked on a special grill which impeded operations. It was the idea of franchisee Bryan Old (“Wellington Cafe Culture,” 2014).

<i>Coffee</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Additions/Variations</i>
Latte	An espresso with milk and a milk crema on top.	Soy milk / almond milk / milk crema
Chai Latte	Steamed milk and spiced tea syrup.	Soy milk / almond milk
Iced Chai Latte	Usually made with a chai concentrate or tea, steamed milk, and a single shot of espresso, and the result is a cross between a regular latte and a chai tea latte.	Soy milk / almond milk
Cappuccino	Consists of a single espresso, on which the <i>barista</i> pours hot foamed milk, resulting in a 2 cm (3/4 in) thick milk foam on top.	Soy milk / almond milk / a light dusting of chocolate
Mocha	A blended espresso and chocolate.	Soy milk / almond milk / chocolate powder
Mocchiato	An espresso coffee drink with a small amount of milk, usually foamed.	Soy milk / almond milk / milk crema

Source: Adapted from Galanakis (2017).

Table 3. Homogenised Coffee Offerings: Non-Milk-based

<i>Coffee</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Additions/Variations</i>
Americano	An espresso diluted with hot water.	A shot (double) of espresso / hot water
Affogato	A dollop of vanilla ice-cream added to a ristretto.	Vanilla ice-cream / a shot (double) of espresso
Long Black	An espresso and it's crema.	Espresso crema / a shot (double) of espresso
Short Black	A single shot sometime served with additional water.	Served as espresso
Ristretto	A short espresso.	Served as espresso
Flat Black	Uses a cortissimo shot, which is the purest coffee extraction, instead of the double espresso.	Served as the purest coffee extraction instead of the double espresso.

Source: Adapted from Galanakis (2017).

Table 4 presents the syrups and their associated coffees.

Table 4. Homogenised Coffee Offerings: Coffee with Syrups

<i>Syrup</i>	<i>Suitable Coffees</i>
Lavender	Iced coffee: latte, coffee frappe
Vanilla	Iced coffee: latte, coffee frappe
Chocolate	Iced coffee: latte and mocha, coffee frappe
Dragon fruit	Iced coffee: latte, coffee frappe
Strawberry	Iced coffee: latte, coffee frappe
Caramel	Iced coffee and hot coffee
Pumpkin	Iced coffee: latte, coffee frappe
Gingerbread	Any hot coffee
Peppermint	Any hot coffee

Source: Adapted from Vard (2017).

Adding to coffee's homogenisation has been the standardisation of size and taste facilitated by the espresso machine.

1.7 The Espresso Machine: A Tool for Standardisation

Italy leads the way in the production of quality espresso machines. The first commercially produced machine was the *La Pavoni Ideale*. It was made in Milan in 1905 (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). *La Pavoni Ideale* reduced coffee's production time to less than one minute. However, it was not until 1948 that the *Achille Gaggia*, with its piston-powered spring-loaded leavers and 25-second extraction time, became available (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). Later, manufacturers, notably Faema, introduced semi-automatic machines which made espresso with steamed milk (J. Morris, 2019). These innovations impacted Italian and European coffee culture (Torz & Macatonia, 2016) by not only making coffees more available but by creating 'takeaway' coffee. As J. Morris (2019) noted, the effectiveness of the espresso machine also meant that cheaper beans could be blended, and that coffee's taste was not compromised.

The espresso machine produces coffee by using pressure. Pressured hot water (Vard, 2017) is passed through ground coffee into its drinking cup (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). Generally, an espresso machine uses 9 bars of pressure to mix water with 7 grams of finely ground coffee (Felton, 2019). The extraction time is approximately 25 seconds for a 50ml cup (Vard, 2017). The espresso machine can increase coffee production with some

machines able to produce six espresso shots simultaneously (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). Consequently, the espresso machine enables volume production and product consistency (Galanakis, 2017). Felton (2019) described the espresso machine as the “the greatest social revolution since the launderette” (p. 31). According to J. Morris (2019), before the evolution of the espresso machine, coffee was made in one of three ways: boiling, immersion, or percolation. Their commonality was that coffee’s flavour was extracted by its diffusion within hot water (J. Morris, 2019). However, as J. Morris (2019) explained, coffee made in those ways was not as full-bodied and was more time-consuming than the product facilitated by espresso machines. While the espresso machine has standardised production and facilitated volume production, it still relies on the skills of the barista’s ‘hand’ and the ‘four Ms’ (described in the next section). These ‘hand’ skills were refined by many coffee lovers confined to home in the COVID-19 lockdown. As *Stuff* reported, “while cafés are struggling to get back on their feet, coffee machine and pod sales are booming” (Wilkes, 2020, para. 4).

1.8 Baristas: A Key Component of Coffee Culture

In Italian, *barista* means “bartender” (Schroeder, 2015, p. 10). Consequently, in Italy, baristas serve drinks of all kinds, not just coffee. However, in the United States of America, the term barista references a person who prepares coffee. Consequently, baristas play an important role in café and coffee culture. This role, according to J. Morris (2019, p. 7), is reflected by the ‘four Ms’: *macchina*, *macinazione*, *miscela*, and *mano* (machine, grind, blend, and the barista’s hand). Morris (2010) pointed out that the combination of *macchina*, *macinazione* and *miscela* forms the basis of any espresso. As Table 4 reveals, an espresso forms the base for all coffees.

Considering the importance of the four Ms skill set, baristas could be considered to be artisans. That artisanal link is an important connection between the barista, their customers and the coffee itself. Exemplifying that, in 2000, Starbucks made it clear that baristas were the most important person in their customer’s coffee experience (Schroeder, 2015). That realisation has influenced the Western world’s perception of not only coffee

but the person who makes it: the barista. As Schroeder (2015) continued, the loss of an expert barista can damage product, company brand and company reputation. Yet, a skilled barista can enhance those domains, adding value to consumer experience because a barista mediates the relationship between the coffee, the business and its customer. As Cotter and Valentinsson (2018) observed, the interaction between baristas and customers creates the defining and positive feature of coffee production, purchase and enjoyment. Additionally, as Manzo (2015) revealed, many baristas have made it their goal to engage in coffee-themed conversations with customers that often promote an educational coffee-related focus. Consequently, the research of Manzo (2015), Samianto and Kuntjara (2016) and Cotter and Valentinsson (2018) provides important considerations in my exploration of the place of A2 milk in New Zealand's coffee culture. Baristas influence is important not only because of their skill and influence with customers but also because the milk used in coffee is another important coffee consideration. However, before moving toward those themes, I need to acknowledge that other factors reflect and influence coffee and coffee culture. These factors create points distinction and include acts of hospitality; bean roasting and blend; and the "servicescape" (Lin, 2004, p.163). However, those domains sit outside the scope of my research and consequently they are not discussed here in any detail.

Nonetheless, as Ponte (2001) pointed out, the "latte revolution" may have more to do with milk than coffee (p. 19). Similarly, Luttinger and Dicum (2006) suggested that the "Starbucks phenomenon" had revived consumer interest in coffee and in new ways of consuming it (p. 210). Those factors have, as Grabs and Ponte (2019) stated, re-commoditised and emphasised the consumer experience within coffee consumption. Consequently, consumers are being drawn to new coffee experiences. Leading those new experiences, Ponte (2001) suggested, was milk.

1.9 Milk and Milk Alternatives

According to the the New Zealand Specialty Coffee Association (2020), four milk types dominate the Kiwi coffee market (refer Table 5 below). Those milks include full cream

cow's milk. That milk, commonly called 'blue milk', is New Zealand's most popular milk (Hurwood, 2016). The second most popular milk is skim milk (Hurwood, 2016). Planted-based milks, including soy milk and almond milk, also enjoy good coffee related sales in New Zealand but fail to equal the sales volume and popularity of animal milk.

Table 5. Overview of All Milks Used in Coffee Making in New Zealand

<i>Types of milk</i>	<i>Benefit/Information</i>
Full Cream milk	A full cream cow's milk that it comparatively high in fat and calorie content.
Skim milk	Skim milk is fat-free cow's milk. It is popular with consumers who diet and/or avoid fat in their diets.
Soy milk	Soy milk is made from soybeans. Soy milk is a popular animal milk alternative.
Almond milk	Made from almonds. Popular with consumers who wish to avoid the fat found in cow's milk.

Source: Adapted from Hurwood (2016)

Plant-based milks provide animal milk alternatives (Kundu, Dhankhar and Sharma, 2018) (refer Table 6 below).

Table 6. Types of Non-Dairy Milk

<i>Types of milk</i>	<i>Information</i>
Coconut milk	Made by blending coconut flesh. Full-fat coconut milk is high in calories.
Almond milk	A mixture of finely ground almonds and water.
Soy milk	It's made by grinding soybeans. A source of protein and essential fatty acids.
Oat milk	The material is selected from oats and ground. A cereal grain derived milk.
Rice milk	Made from milled white or brown rice and water.
Cashew milk	Made from a mixture of cashew nuts or cashew butter and water.
Macadamia milk	A combination of water and about 3% macadamia nuts.
Hemp milk	Made from the seeds of the hemp plant, <i>Cannabis sativa</i> and water.
Quinoa milk	Made from water and quinoa.
Seven-grain milk	A combination of oats, rice, wheat, barley, triticale, spelt, and millet and water.

Source: Adapted from Kundu, Dhankhar and Sharma (2018).

According to Nystrom and Winston (2016), the global demand for plant-based milks is rapidly increasing (refer Figure 1).

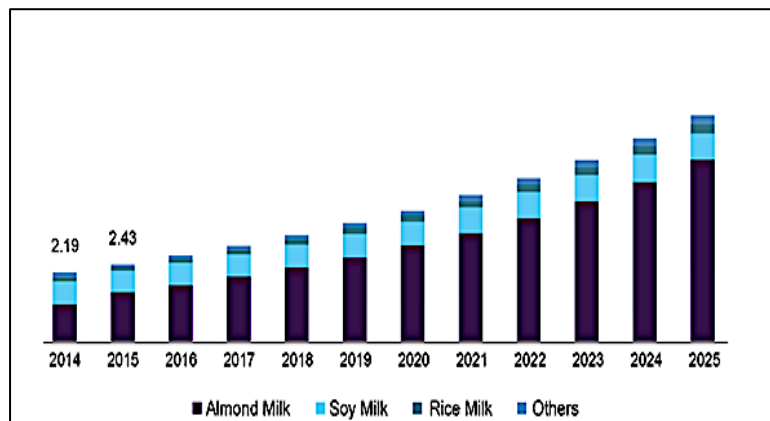


Figure 1. Dairy Alternatives Market Size in 2014-2025 (USD Billion).

Source: Nystrom and Winston (2016).

Amidst that growth, soy and almond milk are the most popular products (McCarthy, Parker, Ameerally, Drake & Drake, 2017). As McCarthy et al. (2017) observed, plant-based milks are high in protein, fat, sugar, and minerals. Additionally, Clay, Sexton, Garnett, and Lorimer (2020) indicated that the advantages of plant-based milk included consumer avoidance of growth and other hormones associated with the production of cow's milk.

A2 Milk is a recent addition to New Zealand's milk market. As a company, A2 Milk has experienced exceptional growth (A2 Milk Company, 2019). Despite that growth, and within my own observations, A2 Milk is not commonly offered as a milk option in any of the Auckland city cafés that I frequent. That lack and my observation of it forms the basis of my research.

1.10 A2 Milk

Dr Corran McLachlan founded New Zealand's A2 Milk Company in 2000 (Esty & Fisher, 2019). Before that, McLachlan studied at Cambridge University. There, he studied how the protein content of milk affected different people in different ways. He also observed that ordinary cow's milk contained two different casein (or protein) types: A1 and A2. Then, he discovered a method to identify milk that only contained the A2 protein. From that development, in 2018, the A2 Milk Company partnered with Fonterra, New Zealand's largest dairy co-operative (A2 Milk Company, 2019). Today, A2 Milk has three key A2

derived milk products: A2 Milk Lite, A2 Milk and A2 Platinum. A2 Platinum is a popular infant formula, particularly in China (Esty & Fisher, 2019). Figure 2 and Figure 3 detail the nutritional components of A2 Milk Lite and A2 Milk Blue. A2 Milk and A2 Milk Lite differ in taste, inasmuch as A2 Milk is a creamy full-bodied milk compared with the ‘lite’ version. Currently, A2 Milk products have a 11.2% share of the New Zealand milk market (A2 Milk Company, 2019).

Figure 2 presents A2 Milk Lite:

	Avg. per serve	RDI% per serve	Avg. per 100ml
Energy	515kJ (123 Cal)		206kJ (49 Cal)
Protein	9.8g		3.9g
Beta-casein A2	2.7g		1.1g
Beta-casein A1*	ND		ND
Fat, total**	3.7g		1.5g
Saturated	2.5g		1.0g
Carbohydrate	12.3g		4.9g
Sugars (Lactose)	12.3g		4.9g
Sodium	102mg		41mg
Calcium	328mg	41%	131mg
Riboflavin (B2)	0.6mg	37%	0.2mg

Figure 2. A2 Milk Lite: Contents. Source: A2 Milk Company (2019).

Figure 3 presents A2 Milk Blue:

	Avg. per serve	RDI% per serve	Avg. per 100ml
Energy	683kJ (163 Cal)		273kJ (65 Cal)
Protein	9.6g		3.8g
Beta-casein A2	2.7g		1.1g
Beta-casein A1*	ND		ND
Fat, total	8.5g		3.4g
Saturated	5.6g		2.3g
Carbohydrate	12.0g		4.8g
Sugars (Lactose)	12.0g		4.8g
Sodium	100mg		40mg
Calcium	323mg	40%	129mg
Vitamin A	107µg	14%	43µg
Riboflavin (B2)	0.6mg	36%	0.2mg

Figure 3: A2 Milk Blue: Contents. Source: A2 Milk Company (2019).

Additionally, the A2 Milk Company has recently launched a range of coffee creamer milk and flavoured products in the United States of America. These products are shown in Figure 3. However, at present, these products are not available in New Zealand.



Figure 4: Coffee Creamer. Source: A2 Milk Company (2019).

1.11 Dissertation Structure

My dissertation is structured in the following way:

Firstly, Chapter One presented my introduction to culture, coffee culture, baristas, globalisation and coffee, and the homogenous nature of the coffee offering. This Chapter then presented information about milk and milk alternatives, including A2 Milk. Chapter Two presented the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that underpin my research. Chapter Three presented my literature review within two sections. The first section explored coffee culture. The second section explored coffee and the café history of Aotearoa New Zealand. Then, Chapter Four outlined my research methodology, research design, and method. Within Chapter Four I presented my discussion of qualitative description (Sandelowski, 2000), in-depth interview techniques (Braun, Clarke, Hayfield and Terry, 2019), and thematic analysis (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2003). Additionally, I discussed and presented my operational research elements including: my participant selection criteria; my process of finding my research participants; and the collection and analysis of data from those participants. Chapter Five presented the research findings distilled from my use of thematic analysis (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2003). Chapter Six

presented my combined Discussion and Conclusion Chapter. Chapter Six began with a discussion on the effectiveness of my conceptual framework, my methodology and method, before I detailed what new findings my research brings to coffee and coffee culture in Aotearoa New Zealand. Additionally, I identified and discuss the limitations of my research, and my recommendations for ongoing research within my topic area. I concluded Chapter Six with a brief section of reflection.

CHAPTER TWO: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Chapter Overview

To explore A2 milk in New Zealand's coffee culture, this chapter introduces what I term the fundamental theories underpinning my dissertation. Consequently, I present a discussion about ontology and epistemology, the social construction of reality thesis (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969), and Woodward's (2007) position on material culture. This initial discussion is complemented by a final section, within each topic heading, that realises my conceptual framework. Within this conceptual framework, I apply the principles of the earlier theoretical framework to my research. In this way, my discussion of my conceptual framework operationalises my theoretical framework.

Furthermore, I explore these theoretical positions on two levels. The first level positions the theories within my theoretical framework. That framework outlines my theoretical understandings of those positions. The second level presents my conceptual framework. In that framework, I apply those theories to my research. Later, in the Methodology Chapter (refer Chapter Four) I expand my understanding of these positions and their operationalisation within my chosen methods. It is within that amalgam that I have positioned my dissertation within a qualitative and constructionist 'view' of the world.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework could be described and best understood as the structure or scaffolding that frames any research (Hughes, Davis & Imenda, 2019). Moreover, a theoretical framework also provides guidance for a researcher because it promotes a logical relationship between research concepts (Hughes et al., 2019). Rocco and Plakhotnik (2009) stated that a theoretical framework integrates the existing theories, relevant concepts and empirical constructs that could lay the foundation for the development of new theories.

2.2.1 Ontology and Epistemology

Al-Saadi (2014) stated that ontology reflects the study of “being” and concerns “what is” (p.1). As Lavery (2003) explained, ontology reflected the nature of the world and our understanding of it. For Al-Saadi, (2014), epistemology encapsulated a way of looking at the world and understanding it within concepts of knowledge. Klakegg (2016) proposed that epistemology involved the assumptions and nature of knowledge, and its possibilities.

As I have come to understand ontology and epistemology, and in agreement with Klakegg (2016) and Neill (2018), ontology and epistemology are interdependent concepts. For me to know reality requires knowledge in the same ways that knowing reflects our understandings of reality. Within that paradox, I consider that asking whether ontology or epistemology came first is like asking “Which came first, the chicken or the egg?” For me, ontology and epistemology help us as humans to create, understand and know our world within our everyday lived experiences.

Within that understanding, and applied to my research, ontology and epistemology are realised in how my participants and I ‘see’, understand and come to know reality and the world around us. These concepts are realised within my participants' interviews and knowledge within my Findings Chapter (refer Chapter Five) and my Discussion and Conclusion Chapter (refer Chapter Six) as well as within the Chapters that precede them. Thus, my dissertation reflects a co-creative process whereby my participants and I negotiated reality and knowledge within my wider theoretical and conceptual frameworks. Specifically, it is within my conceptual framework that knowledge and reality were transformed from my own and my participants’ experiences to the written word that you are now reading.

2.2.2 Social Construction of Reality Thesis

The social construction of reality thesis reflects the subjective nature of society and human experience (Berger et al., 1967). Specifically, Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) social construction of reality thesis explains how people construct their world and identity

through daily communication and emphasises the importance of interaction (Berger et al., 1967). According to Dalkir (2017), the key themes within Berger and Luckmann's (1966) thesis are reality, knowledge and interaction. For Berger and Luckmann (1966), and latterly Dalkir (2017), reality, knowledge and interaction are the cornerstones of our everyday life. That emphasis underscores the importance of interaction within Berger and Luckmann's (1966) notion. In this way, and considering the social construction of reality thesis (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), interaction includes all forms of communication and also Bourdieu's construct of habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). Within that consideration, the social construction of reality thesis (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) provides a seminal point of reference for researchers, like myself, who consider and believe that in order to know what is real, humankind needs to construct reality and simultaneously come to know and negotiate that 'construction' within a lived experience that is expressed within divergent socio-cultures and knowledge.

Within these understandings and applying the social construction of reality thesis (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) to my research on coffee culture and A2 Milk, the inherently interactive nature of coffee consumption, café visits and coffee culture itself are accomplished. While that interaction focuses on consuming and enjoying coffee, it is also realised through the shared interaction of language (including non-verbal language) that my participant baristas and I have used to attain and understand not only our subjective coffee and coffee culture experiences, but also its interactive communication, as presented to my readers in my dissertation.

2.2.3 Symbolic Interactionism

Like Berger and Luckmann's (1966) social construction of reality thesis, Mead's (1934) theory of symbolic interactionism emphasises the interaction between people (Blumer, 1969). According to Blumer (1969), symbolic interactionism proposes three basic realities, as follows: As Berger and Luckmann (1966) stated, (1) human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them. Moreover, (2) those meanings arise out of and are reinforced by social interaction. Consequently, (3) social

interaction results from the fitting together of individual lines of action, and interactive communications.

Considering those notions within the scope of my topic, symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934) is important to my dissertation because it reinforces the notion that humankind creates its world in order to understand it. In its most basic form, and using a flat white coffee as an exemplar, through shared knowledge and interaction, café customers know what to expect when ordering this drink, and what the rituals of ordering it and the barista skills in making it are. This understanding not only reinforces what a flat white 'is' but in doing so reinforce that knowledge and those actions for all participants. In these ways, interaction reinforces ways of being and becoming, thereby reinforcing notions of Bourdieu's (1990) habitus.

2.2.4 Woodward's (2007) Material Culture

For Woodward (2007), "material culture emphasized how inanimate objects act on and are acted upon by human beings in order to perform social functions, regulate social relations, and endow human activities with symbolic meaning" (p. 3). Additionally, Woodward (2007), in recognising the earlier work of Appadurai (2006), emphasised that within those considerations, material objects have actancy. As Woodward (2007) noted, actancy recognises the relationship between people and material items. In particular, Woodward (2007) noted that people gave meaning, emotion, and symbolic value to material things that elevated them above their simple 'use' or monetary value.

As a material object, coffee provides a medium and tool for people to acquire personal and common meaning. Moreover, materiality helps us to construct and understand our social world through tangible objects and their symbolic meanings. In these ways and within my research, material culture (Woodward, 2007) overlaps the social construction of reality thesis (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and Mead's (1934) symbolic interactionism. For me, these domains are interdependent and complementary because they promote expressions of knowledge and understanding within the sharing of coffee and coffee culture in New Zealand.

CHAPTER THREE: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction to Literature Review

This chapter presents my literature review. A literature review is important to a dissertation because academic literature presents and evaluates the significant ideas, theories and concepts about a specific topic (Rocco & Plakhotnik, 2009). According to Jonassen (2004), a literature review has four primary functions. Firstly, it builds knowledge. Secondly, it demonstrates advances in knowledge that, thirdly, can conceptualise a study. Finally, a literature review provides a reference point for the interpretation and understanding of a research project's findings.

With those concepts in mind, my literature review is presented in two sections. The first section explores coffee's origin. Then, my literature review introduces coffee culture within a history of cafés and coffee culture in New Zealand. In my final section I also explore milk's place within Kiwi coffee culture. My choice in choosing these topics for my literature review reflect how globalised and glocalised (Roudometof, 2016) domains have impacted Kiwi coffee culture.

3.2 Coffee: A Brief History

As the *Collins Dictionary* ("Coffee," n.d.a) identified, coffee is a hot drink made from roasted and ground coffee beans. Those beans, according to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Coste, 1999), are usually sourced from Latin American nations. However, *The Etymology Dictionary* ("Coffee," n.d.b) suggested that coffee beans were native to "Arabia" and "Abyssinia" (Koehler, 2017, p. 4). Adding to coffees definition, the *Oxford English Dictionary* ("Coffee," 2020) proposed that coffee is consumed with milk and/or added sugar.

Like many products, myth surrounds coffee's origin. For coffee, that myth can be traced to the eighth century and the Ethiopian highlands (Tucker, 2017). There, a shepherd boy named Kaldi observed the stimulant properties of coffee after watching how excited goats became after eating coffee berries (Tucker, 2017). Then, Ethiopians chewed the beans for

their stimulant properties (Civitello, 2004). However, Civitello (2004) proposed that drinking coffee began around the 9th century. Then, coffee's consumption promoted its commodification. Soon, Silk Road Arab traders began trading in coffee (Tucker, 2017). Consequently, a flourishing coffee trade emerged that kept pace with and promoted coffee's consumption (Tucker, 2017).

Within coffee's growth, popularity, commodification and consumption, came its contestation. Coffee was and still is a "site of struggle" (Cohen, 2012, p. 141). Exemplifying that struggle and reflecting how coffee created wealth, in 1536, Turkey conquered the Yemen, seizing control of their coffee plantations. Additionally, the Oromo people of North Africa invaded Ethiopia in 1537 and began the domination of their coffee production. These invasions enhanced the respective monopolies that each nation exerted within the coffee market at that time. Reinforcing that dominance was a ban on exporting coffee plants (Tucker, 2017). In these ways, the financial power and profitability of coffee were firmly established and controlled by Ottoman Turks (Tucker, 2017). Consequently, around 1554, coffee became a popular Turkish drink.

However, Turkey's dominance of the coffee market was impossible to maintain. Exemplifying that, in 1616, Dutch explorers introduced coffee plants to Sri Lanka (Tucker, 2017). With that movement came an increase in coffee consumption. Consequently, many cafés opened to accommodate coffee drinkers' needs. These venues became places for people from different backgrounds to mix, enjoy coffee and communicate (Tucker, 2017). At that time, in the Islamic Middle East, coffee was a popular drink because the Islamic faith forbade the consumption of alcoholic beverages (Tucker, 2017). Yet, despite its popularity there, coffee became embroiled in Islamic debate. Reflecting that, in 1511, Kha'ir Beg, a Mecca official, spotted a group of people drinking coffee outside a mosque. He thought that coffee might cause mental disorders and public disorder (Tucker, 2017) and reflected that the *Qur'an* forbids the consumption of burnt foods (Civitello, 2004).

Later, in Constantinople in 1554, customer enjoyment of coffee and café culture was cut short when the Sultan closed the city's cafés. Before that happened, café customers enjoyed a range of social activities including political debates and playing chess while enjoying their coffees. However, the closure of the cafés can be understood today. Firstly, the noise from the café was an annoying and negative factor for some local residents. Secondly, café opponents assumed that some café customers were engaged in harmful activities, particularly prostitution. Additionally, as Tucker (2017) noted, the *Qur'an's* forbidding of the eating of burnt food (Tucker, 2017) became another influencing factor. However, café closures did not last. When Sultan Sulaiman The Great died the following year, he was succeeded by his son, Selim II. Realising the significant contribution coffee made to the local economy, via tax revenue, Selim II ordered the reopening of cafés.

J. Morris (2019) proposed that Peter Van Den Brock brought coffee beans from Mocha, Yemen, to Europe in 1616. In 1638, the Qasimi dynasty unified Yemen and for the first time monopolised the supply of coffee from Yemen and Ethiopia (J. Morris, 2019). Coffee beans from both countries were later known in the trade as "Mocha" because they were exported from the local port, Mocha (J. Morris, 2019).

Coffee arrived in London in 1652 (Tucker, 2017). Possibly reflecting another myth of origin, its arrival there was linked to a merchant named Edwards, who traded in the Middle East. It is reputed that his Greek servant made Edwards's first cup of coffee in London (J. Morris, 2019). From that beginning, coffee houses became a popular part of British socio-culture. By the end of the 17th century, the English were enjoying coffee with milk. Adding milk to coffee reduces coffees bitterness (Velten, 2010).

Laurier and Philo (2007) noted that early English coffee houses held socio-cultural significance. London's coffee houses provided venues to discuss and debate British culture and politics (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). Then, coffee houses were full of quarrelling voices which Laurier and Philo (2004) suggested contrasts with contemporary café culture.



Figure 5: Button's Coffee House, the 1700s, Covent Garden, Central London. Source: Torz and Macatonia (2016).


However, Kurlansky (2019) proposed that it was the French who first added milk to coffee. Paris was the home of the first French *café*, established in 1689. It was owned and operated by an Italian named Prokopi (Tucker, 2017). The introduction of coffee to France revolutionised its consumption. In 1710, the *café au lait*, became popular (Tucker, 2017). Its ratio was 1:1 equal amounts of coffee and milk. Soon, *café au lait* would become a popular French working-class drink. In this way, coffee became a point of social distinction (Bourdieu, 1990). That distinction echoed Brillat-Savarin's most quoted aphorism: "Tell me what you eat [drink], and I will tell you who you are" (Brillat-Savarin, 1825/2003, p. 80). Enhancing that distinction were the locations where coffee was consumed. As a broad generalisation, during the 1880s, the French upper class consumed coffee in the private rooms of their homes. Contrasting with that, the lower classes tended to consume coffee in public places (Laurier & Philo, 2007). Consequently, then as now, coffee consumption reflected Bourdieu's (1990) construct of habitus and distinction. Thus, when viewed through a Bourdieuan lens, coffee can be considered as a marker of socio-cultural and economic distinction.

These constructs were echoed in England. There, the popularity of coffee shops brought both the upper and lower classes into new social spaces. By 1709, coffee shops, that we would now know as cafés, were plentiful throughout Britain. Being so common, they provided a social space where people simultaneously conversed, gossiped, and conducted business (Laurier & Philo, 2007). However, constructs of class distinction (upper class and lower class) and gender pervaded the 18th century English coffee house (Laurier & Philo, 2007). For example, at that time, boys, including male employees, were free to gather around tables while female shopkeepers were confined to cubicles that separated them from the other coffee house customers (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). In recognising the emergent coffee culture of the day, Ellis (2006) observed that Londoners loved their coffee houses for three primary reasons: the coffee, the company and the conversation. Coffee, as Ellis (2006) continued, was one of the many “pleasures of this great city” (p. 65). That pleasure was habit forming. As Ellis (2006) commented, customers “visit[ed] such houses at least once a day, where they talked business, the news, read the papers, and often looked at each other” (p. 59).

3.3 Coffee Culture

Torz and Macatonia (2016) proposed that coffee culture incorporated heterogeneous social worlds, ethnicities and religious identities. In this way and over time, coffee culture has also reflected the technologies used in making coffee. Table 7 provides an overview of coffee making technologies, reflected within the equipment used to make it. Later in this section, Table 8 details some of the ritualised ways that people consume coffee.

Table 7. Coffee-making Rituals in Different Countries

<i>Place and Time</i>	<i>Equipment Used</i>	<i>Rituals Involved</i>	<i>Image</i>
Ethiopia 9 th Century	<i>Jebena</i> , a clay pot	Ethiopians enjoyed three ‘levels’ of coffee (Baik, 2017). The first cup is called <i>abol</i> . Then the same grounds are brewed again with fresh water to make the second round of coffee (Baik, 2017). The second round is called <i>tona</i> . That process is repeated to a third and final round, <i>baraka</i> . Roasted barley and popcorn are often served with coffee (Baik, 2017). The coffee can be flavoured with sugar, salt, spiced clarified butter – scented with the likes of cardamom and fenugreek – or the fresh herb <i>rue</i> . <i>Buna te tu</i> , means Come drink coffee with me.	
Turkey 16 th Century	The <i>cezve</i> , small copper pot with a long handle	Turks boiled ground coffee with water and sugar. Some Turks wore specific clothing when making coffee (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). The clothing included gold and silver-studded clothes (Torz & Macatonia, 2016).	
France 1800s	Drip coffee machine	The French began to put ground coffee in linen bags and pour hot water over and through it (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). This filtering principle influenced the subsequent development of French coffee pots (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). Jean Baptiste de Belloy, invented the first drip coffee machine.	
Italy 1900s	The <i>Pavoni</i> machine	Italy's Luigi Bezzera built an espresso machine that generated steam and boiling water (Torz & Macatonia, 2016). It extracted coffee at 1.5 atmospheres of pressure, directly through the ground coffee into the cup (Torz & Macatonia, 2016).	

Sources: Baik (2017) and Torz and Macatonia (2016).

While the technologies used to make coffee impact its culture, so to do the ways in which coffee is consumed, as described in Table 8.

Table 8. The Consumer Rituals of Coffee Products

<i>Place</i>	<i>Consumer Rituals</i>
Turkey	<p>Turkish coffee is a blend of high quality and medium roasted arabica beans. It has a unique brewing method. Coffee is made in a copper coffee pot. This is a method developed by the Turks, and references ‘Turkish’ coffee (Yılmaz et al., 2017).</p> <p>The Turkish ancestors called the roasting process “<i>tahmis</i>” and the beans changed colour (from green to brown) as they were roasted. The Turks ground coffee by using garlic presses (<i>dibek</i>) and mortars (<i>hava</i>). Later, hand mills were used.</p>
Ethiopia	<p>Many Ethiopians like their coffee black with a spoonful of sugar. It can also be drunk with salt, milk or butter. Coffee ceremonies are gendered, with women taking responsibility for them (J. Morris, 2019). It is rare to see a man during the ceremony, until the time of service. Instead of going to coffee shops, people hold coffee ceremonies that last 3-4 hours at home (Yoseph, 2013). Yoseph (2013) stated that the coffee ceremony symbolised honour and held high social significance.</p>
French	<p>French coffee culture is reflected within the consumption of different coffee styles at different times of the day. Usually, milky coffee is consumed in the morning, sometimes with breakfast. Espresso is not usually consumed with food, but after a meal or as an afternoon beverage. Few traditional French cafés offer takeout coffee (J. Morris, 2019).</p> <p>French culture has always emphasised romantic elegance. Their coffee culture is also integrated into the local culture (J. Morris, 2019). The French have elaborate local coffee rituals, and it is customary to taste different kinds of coffee at different times (J. Morris, 2019).</p>
Italy	<p>Many Italian’s wake to an early morning espresso (J. Morris, 2019). The <i>Naples</i> coffee⁵ is still used by some families, who keep the old methods taught by their ancestors and pass them down from generation to generation (J. Morris, 2019). It consists of two metal containers, one on top of the other, separated from the filter containing the coffee (J. Morris, 2019).</p>

Source: J. Morris (2019), Yılmaz et al. (2017) and Yoseph (2013).

⁵ *Naples* coffee is a special method of making coffee in Italy. It is made using a drip brew coffeemaker on the stove top. Naples coffee style was very popular in Italy until last century. Using very finely ground coffee in the “Neapolitan” style, this method produces coffee with a stronger taste than filter coffee (Yoseph, 2013).

However contemporary coffee culture is not restricted to cafés. A new wave of home-use espresso machines has emerged. J. Morris (2019) observed that since the turn of the 21st century, a “no rules” approach to making good coffee (p. 162) has broken geographical and traditional conceptions of coffee. Exemplifying that, for J. Morris (2019), is the home espresso machine. As J. Morris (2019) suggested, the daily ritual of making coffee has almost become a spiritual activity. That activity includes the process of making the coffee as well as grinding the coffee and ‘steaming’ the milk (J. Morris, 2019).

In these ways, coffee culture, particularly the making of coffee, is simultaneously a spiritual, aesthetic and/or secular practice for coffee lovers (Topik, 2009). Consequently, coffee culture combines actions, beliefs, rituals and special knowledge (Tucker, 2017) that, when enacted and shared alongside the conviviality of coffee conversation, constitute the key components of coffee culture.

3.4 New Zealand: A Coffee, Café History

Compared to Turkey, France and England, New Zealand has only recently begun to develop its own coffee culture (“Wellington cafe culture,” 2014). Today, cafés in New Zealand can be considered to be a significant part of C. Morris’s (2006) “culinascape” (p. 395). As the Restaurant Association of New Zealand (2018) observed, New Zealand’s hospitality industry is the nation’s third-largest retail industry. This industry, in 2018, employed almost 130,000 people (The Restaurant Association of New Zealand, 2018). Of that number, 55.7% (or around 72,410 people) worked in cafés and restaurants.

Exemplifying this evolution, Rowland (2010) reported that the earliest known Kiwi coffee shop opened in 1850 on Auckland’s Shortland Street. It was named Jonker’s Luncheon & Coffeerooms. Jonker’s opened daily between 1 pm and 3 pm. During the 1850s, New Zealand experienced rapid business growth and economic prosperity. Much of that growth and prosperity occurred in Dunedin (Rowland, 2010). There, in the 1860s, The Café de Paris opened on Jetty Street. In Christchurch, a café of the same name, operated by the Riordan brothers, opened around 1865. The Riordan brother’s café was renowned for its coffee percolator. It produced a “refreshing cup of pure coffee”

(Rowland, 2010, p. 16). Reflecting coffee's emergent distinction with Kiwi consumers of the day, Rowland (2010) observed that "This coffee was much touted in later advertisements for it was percolated in a patent Parisian Hydrostatic Percolator, said to be the only one in New Zealand" (p. 16).

Coffee and café popularity inspired others to open similar businesses. In 1871, Charles Cannings opened the St Mungo Café, in St Mungo Place, Auckland, near Queen Street. The St Mungo Café advertised to attract customers, particularly ladies and businessmen. Soon café popularity prompted their revised trading hours. Cafés now opened between 8 am and 11 pm (Rowland, 2010).

While the 1850s were a time of rapid growth and prosperity in New Zealand, Rowland (2010) noted that the years between 1880 and 1914 were regarded as New Zealand's "golden age" (p. 33) of hospitality. During that period, cafés prospered. With prosperity came a business emphasis on providing customers with an aesthetically pleasing "servicescape" experience (Lin, 2004, p. 164). Consequently, the décor of cafés and restaurants become more refined. The changing aesthetic incorporated combinations of fashion and technology. Exemplifying that, in 1900, was Messrs. Gilman and Stilwell's Strand Café in Auckland. The Strand Café was divided into sections by lush silk curtains. The café boasted cooling pipes that kept the dining sections cool and fresh in summer. As Rowland (2010) reported: "Nothing in this colony came within 'coo-ee'⁶ of it, and you will not even be able to match it in the big Australian capitals. As an urban centre, Auckland, they boasted, had arrived" (p. 50).

However, the 1920s brought a tightening of New Zealand's economy: "the great tightening age" (Carlyon & Morrow, 2014, p. 13). The economic downturn was reflected in the Licensing Act of 1917. The Act required cafés to close by 6 pm. That restriction lasted until 1920 (Rowland, 2010). Consequently, the economic downturn promoted a sombre tone throughout the nation. Many restaurants and cafés began to reflect that tone

⁶ Coo-ee: a shout used in Australia, usually in the bush, to attract attention, find missing people, or indicate one's location (Latham & Ewing, 2018).

by creating less ostentation, focusing instead on a more conservative consumer experience (Rowland, 2010).

The Great Depression of the 1930s brought further negative social and business impact. The depression dispirited many Kiwis. Consequently, cafés saw decreased sales (Rowland, 2010) although, for some people and businesses, the depression years had little impact on their daily lifestyle (Kenkel, 2017). However, after the Great Depression passed, New Zealand experienced another wave of influence impacting café and wider socio-culture: the invasion of American soldiers posted to the Pacific for World War 2.

In 1942 the arrival of American soldiers brought ‘glamour’ and, for some, romance to New Zealand’s streets, restaurants and cafés (Neill, 2009). A popular expression of the day encapsulated the changes American soldiers brought with them: “over paid, over-sexed and over here” (Te Papa Tongarewa – Museum of New Zealand, 2020). Between 1942 and 1944, 100,000 American troops arrived in New Zealand, many with the glitz and glamour that was part of American culture of that time (Te Papa Tongarewa – Museum of New Zealand, 2020). In different ways, the local population, particularly New Zealand’s female population and business communities, benefitted from the new wave of temporary American residents. In that period, roughly 1,400 New Zealand women married Americans (Te Papa Tongarewa – Museum of New Zealand, 2020). Moreover, American soldiers with ready cash revived the nation’s coffee culture (Neill et al., 2008) and wider economy. Then, as Rowland (2010) observed, American influence extended to café names. Soon, cafés called Sunshine and Florida appeared (Rowland, 2010). Additionally, instant coffee became a popular commodity and drink (“Wellington cafe culture,” 2014). The combination of a reviving economy, American soldiers and coffee conspired to create a heady brew that promoted the nation’s coffee culture.

However, the “American invasion” (Bell & Neill, 2014, p. 59) lingered and impacted more than just coffee. American soldiers caused social change., American attitudes contrasted the “conservative veneer” (Neill, 2018, p. 51) that coated the nation. American’s introduced a culture of consumption. For Kiwis, consumption contrasted the

Kiwi culture of necessity and innovation; the “she’ll be right” – “can-do” attitudes (Neill, 2018, p. 58 / p.47) that previously dominated and continue to impact Kiwi life.

Auckland’s White Lady pie cart (Neill, 2009) bore witness to much of that change. In the late 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, in the context of the American invasion (Neill, 2009) and maximising coffee’s commercial potential, the White Lady pie cart offered the great novelty of percolated coffee (Neill, 2009). The opportunity to eat fast food, particularly hamburgers, and to drink coffee added a level of relative sophistication to an otherwise conservative Kiwi lifestyle. Consequently, the White Lady became a popular ‘stop-off’ and was popular with visiting Americans. American tourists staying at the Trans-Tasman Hotel on Shortland Street, remarked that the White Lady was “the only place where you could get a decent cup of coffee in all of Auckland” (Neill, 2009, p. 24). Technology enhanced the White Lady’s coffee offering; they used a Goldie Tripolator to brew their coffee (Neill, 2009).

That ‘life’ and relative abundance contrasted post-war New Zealand. Then, the nation experienced a coffee shortage (Rowland, 2010). Filling that shortage was coffee essence. Coffee essence was a syrupy mixture combining chicory, salt, and sugar (Kwon, 2019). Coffee essence’s popularity not only reflected the coffee shortage, but also the fact that coffee was more expensive than tea (Rowland, 2010).

However, New Zealand, during the 1960s, enjoyed economic prosperity. That time was affectionately called the period of “Golden Weather” (Mason, 1962, p. 105). Then, the nation’s economy had a decade of sequential economic growth (Neill, 2018). Additionally, the trickle of European migrants to New Zealand positively impacted the nation’s café and socio-cultures. Wellington city’s café culture benefitted the most from migrant arrivals (Jolliffe, 2010). As Rowland (2010) observed, at that time, customers would drink coffee before lunch and throughout the day and into the late night. Then, Harry Seresin’s Café Gallery on Wellington’s Lambton Quay was a popular gathering place for the city’s artists and bohemian set.

However, cafés and coffee achieved a broader appeal. As Rowland (2010) pointed out, the post-war economic boom created a new niche market: teenagers. In the 1960s, teenagers had more disposable income than any previous generation (Neill, 2009). The combination of café culture and disposable income made cafés popular ‘hangouts’ for many teenagers. One popular teenage-focused café was the Kiwi Café on Auckland’s Ponsonby Road. The Kiwi Café had a much-celebrated jukebox loaded with the latest ‘hits’ of the day. Wellington’s Sorrento coffee bar, with its jazz musicians, attracted an equally young and vibrant crowd (Jolliffe, 2010). However, during the mid-1970s many small-to-medium-sized cafés began something new: roasting, then grinding, their own coffee beans. David Humphrey, owner-operator of Dunedin’s Terrace Café, became well known for his independent grinding and bean roasting. Through that distinction, the Terrace Café became the haunt of Dunedin’s late-night café-set. Later, during the 1980s, Kiwi café culture changed again, as cafés took on a décor style that reflected Kiwi lifestyle, the indoor/outdoor flow (Rowland, 2010). That flow was characterised by footpath and garden seating punctuated with sun umbrellas.

Within this history and the arrival of franchise coffee operations, including Starbucks, in 1990, cafés and coffee culture experienced exponential growth (Felton, 2019). Thus, Kiwi cafés and the coffee culture they promoted can be read as symbols of urban renewal, similar to that noted in England (Felton, 2019). With that renewal came opportunity and profit potential for astute café owners. According to the Restaurant Association of New Zealand (2018) (refer Figure 5) café culture facilitates a significant contribution to the nation’s economy. In 2018, cafés and restaurants accounted for 50% of hospitality industry sales people (Restaurant Association of New Zealand, 2018).

However, as a direct consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic and the forced closure of café outlets in New Zealand during the lockdown period, that situation has changed dramatically. Recent estimates assess that revenue has been adjusted from an expected rise of 0.2% to a fall of 25.1% in the current year (Fountain, Range, Hill & Lucock, 2020).

Food and Beverage Services Sectors	2014 (\$ millions)	2015 (\$ millions)	2016 (\$ millions)	2017 (\$ millions)	2018 (\$ millions)
■ Cafes and restaurants	4376.0	4635.2	5061.1	5531.3	5670.1
■ Takeaway food services	1961.5	2142.4	2339.8	2599.4	2747.6
■ Catering services	614.8	661.5	735.5	836.5	880.4
■ Pubs, taverns and bars	1346.5	1379.7	1446.4	1553.2	1617.8
■ Clubs (hospitality)	345.0	333.0	346.0	371.0	370.4
Total New Zealand	8643.8	9151.8	9928.8	10891.4	11286.3

Figure 6: 2018 Food and Beverage Sector Sales. Source: The Restaurant Association of New Zealand (2018).

Clearly, coffee holds an important position in culture and identity. For many cultures, coffee is not only a drink, but also a medium that communicates messages, social values, interaction and rituals. In this way, coffee expresses its actancy (Woodward, 2007) and showcases how interaction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Mead 1934) not only communicates coffee culture, but in doing so helps us to create and simultaneously understand the world around us.

CHAPTER FOUR: Methodology

4.1 Introducing Methodology and Method

To begin my Methodology Chapter I would like to distinguish two important themes: methodology and method. To do that, I draw a parallel between methodology and method and my distinction between my theoretical framework and conceptual framework. In the same way that my theoretical framework informed my applied theoretical knowledge within my conceptual framework, so too does my methodological theory inform my method. In that parallel, method reflects the application and operationalisation of my theoretically informed methodology. With that in mind, my Methodology Chapter is presented in sections that introduce and explore my research methodology and methods within qualitative description (Sandelowski, 2000), in-depth interviews (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2003) and thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2019). Applying these methodologies later in my dissertation facilitated the information I needed to complete my Findings Chapter (refer Chapter Five), and my Discussion and Conclusion Chapter (refer Chapter Six).

4.2 Qualitative Description

Qualitative description explores flexible ways of analysing complex data from a naturalistic perspective (Wong & Dhanesh, 2017). Sandelowski (2000) indicated that the purpose of qualitative description was to “understand a phenomenon, a process, or the world view of people involved in the process or phenomenon” (p. 335). More recently, Wong and Dhanesh (2017) supported Sandelowski’s (2000) position by proposing that qualitative description was an effective way to check the invisible or deep meaning within a text or participant experience. Accordingly, qualitative description does not require over-explanation or the researcher’s deep interpretation of research data (Sandelowski, 2000). Rather, as Sandelowski (2000) proposed, qualitative description’s strength in research is that it facilitates the description of the research participants’ experience as presented in their everyday language and, in doing so, reflects their everyday experience and voice.

Barnham (2015) suggested that qualitative description provides an in-depth understanding of people's attitudes, behaviours, and motivations. For Barnham (2015) this is achieved through the researcher's thoughtfulness within sampling, data collection, and analysis. Extending that, Wong and Dhanesh (2017) proposed that qualitative description's strength reflects its emphasis on 'why' participant believed a topic to be important. Consequently, Wong and Dhanesh (2017), like Sandelowski (2000), suggested that qualitative description empowers researchers toward a deeper understanding of their research topic that extends well beyond the surface appearance of the researched phenomenon.

It is within these considerations that I regarded qualitative description (Sandelowski, 2000) as the methodology most suited to the exploration of my topic. However, my arrival at that decision reflected a longer methodological journey. I draw my readers' attention to Appendix A. There, I overview my wider methodological considerations and provide a rationale for each regarding its suitability, or not, for my research.

4.3 Thematic Analysis

As Braun et al., (2019) explained, thematic analysis reflects a research method that systematically identifies, and organises participant data through the recognition of themes that emerge from what participants 'said'. Sandelowski and Barroso (2003) proposed that thematic analysis facilitates the transition from description to interpretation. Mediating that, Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas (2013) indicated that thematic analysis identifies themes in research data via analysis patterns. Consequently, thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2019) is ideally suited to qualitative description because, as Braun, Clarke and Weate (2016) proposed, thematic analysis provides "a purely qualitative, detailed, and nuanced description of the data" (p. 213). Additionally, as Vaismoradi et al. (2013) pointed out, thematic analysis is suited to qualitative description because qualitative description stresses that researchers do not overinterpret their participants' data. Rather, the emphasis within qualitative description is on the researcher recounting the participants' experience

in the participants’ own words. Table 9 presents my operationalisation of thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2019).

Table 9. My Process in Using Thematic Analysis

<i>Process</i>	<i>Details</i>
The first stage	Becoming familiar with the data (by creating in-depth interview transcripts) and identifying initial themes and items of potential interest
The second stage	Generating initial codes or themes that identify important features of the data relevant to the research questions
The third stage	Searching for other themes and participant ‘meanings’
The fourth stage	Reviewing all potential themes toward the goal of thematic refinement, combination or discard
The fifth stage	Re-defining and re-identifying themes
The sixth stage	Weaving together the analytic narrative and data segments, and relating the analysis to existing literature

Source: Adapted from Braun et al. (2019).

4.4 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews are a qualitative research technique that, according to Barnham (2015), includes studying the thoughts, opinions or situations of research participants within an active discussion and/or interview. Barnham (2015) also proposed that in-depth interviews provided contexts enabling the exploration of data that, through the interview, facilitated the researcher’s deeper understanding of the topic.

Additionally, Bradshaw, Atkinson and Doody (2017) proposed that in-depth interviews aided researchers in effectively sourcing detailed information about a participant’s thoughts, experiences and actions. As Bradshaw et al. (2017) explained, there are three basic interview questioning techniques. These are structured, semi-structured, and unstructured questioning techniques. In interviews, researchers usually follow a schedule of prepared questions. However, deviation from that schedule, where necessary, might glean ‘deeper’ participant information (Adams & Cox, 2008). Those deviations could include the researchers use of semi-structured and unstructured questions. Although structured interviews (fixed questions) collect fixed data, they tend to make interviewees

nervous, while semi-structured interviews tend to promote a more flexible and relaxed relationship between the participants and the researcher (Bradshaw et al., 2017). Additionally, as Bradshaw et al., (2017) observed, an unstructured interview question facilitated an open-ended participant response. Within the wider construct of qualitative description, Sandelowski (2000) recommended using semi-structured and open-ended (unstructured) interview techniques to avoid restricting participant responses. This process encourages participants to express themselves freely, which provides researchers with useful, rich, deep, and meaningful data (Kennickell, 2017). Such data, according to Bradshaw et al. (2017), reflected how participants constructed and experienced their world ontologically and epistemologically.

Consequently, I used structured, semi-structured and unstructured interview questioning techniques (Bradshaw et al., 2017). Appendix C presents a list of indicative questions that I used as my base questioning format.

4.5 Finding and Securing Participants

I located my research participants using purposeful sampling. As Etikan, Musa and Alkassim (2016) explained, purposive sampling is also known as “judgment sampling” (p. 4). Purposeful sampling reflected my deliberate choice of my participants based on their attributes of knowledge or experience related to my topic (Leavy, 2017). As Leavy (2017) noted, purposeful sampling is commonly used in qualitative research because it facilitates the location of information-rich participants and, consequently, well-informed and deep data. These attributes made purposeful sampling my preferred choice.

Yet, as Schreier (2018) stated, due to the subjective nature of participant selection, purposeful sampling may not provide a representative sample of the wider population. That point reflects a limitation within my research (refer Discussion and Conclusion, Chapter Six).

My research involved interviewing five baristas. They were all employed at the Coffee Club in the Auckland suburb of Onehunga. Each participant considered themselves to be

a professional barista and had at least three years' coffee industry experience (refer Table 10).

Table 10. Participant Information

<i>Participants</i>	<i>Participant information</i>
Harrison	Coffee Club barista, 29 years old. Barista for five years.
Elsa	Three years at the Coffee Club, 29 years old. Barista for three years.
Amanda	Five years at the Coffee Club, 32 years old. Barista for five years.
Frank	Coffee Club barista, 35 years old. Barista for 10 years.
Patrick	The judge of New Zealand Latte Art Championship 2019, 45 years old. Barista for 15 years.

As a franchise business, Onehunga's Coffee Club provided my research with an excellent venue to research my topic. Because of their work experience and coffee knowledge My five experienced baristas co-created, for me, a well-informed purposeful research sample. Similarly, as a business, the Coffee Club is a high-volume café. It sells at least 300 coffees per day. That volume, combined with my baristas' expertise, provided my research with a valuable insight into café culture and the role of milk within that culture.

My first contact with any potential participant was via email. After I had established that contact with the baristas at the Onehunga Coffee Club, I introduced my research topic within a discussion that included my Participant Information Sheet (refer Appendix D). From that discussion I then emailed my Participant Information Sheet to my potential participants. After a period for 'consideration to participate', I was delighted to find that all my potential participants agreed to participate in my research. To confirm this, I asked my potential participants to sign a research Consent Form (refer Appendix E). While signing that form and agreeing to participate, any participant's contribution was voluntary and they could withdraw from my research at any time, and for any reason. Fortunately, none of my participants withdrew from my research.

4.7 Ethics in Research

My research collected primary data. Consequently, I sought ethics approval from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC). After completing my EA1 application, ethics approval for my work was granted on December 11, 2019, under reference number 19/457. The notice of that approval is presented in Appendix B. During my research, a change was made to my ethics application which allowed me to conduct my interviews via Skype technologies. This amendment was necessitated by the COVID-19 pandemic.

CHAPTER FIVE: Findings

5.1 Overview of Findings

This chapter presents my research findings. I distilled my findings from my considerations of the emergent themes that were informed by my use of thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2019) (refer Table 9). Additionally, in reporting my findings, I was cognisant of the principles of qualitative description (Sandelowski, 2000). Specifically, important was my awareness that my findings should reflect my participants' voices, not my own voice or my interpretation of what my participants told me. Consequently, what I came to realise was that what my participants told me about A2 Milk and coffee culture reflected their ontological and epistemological considerations of those domains. This knowledge and these themes are noted in Table 11, below. Following Table 11, my Findings Chapter sequentially presents and explicates these themes.

However, key to understanding and appreciating my participants' positioning and knowledge about A2 Milk was my 'discovery' that A2 milk was not used or offered to customers at Onehunga's Coffee Club. Nonetheless, my participants knew about and had used A2 Milk in other coffee-making activities. Additionally, my participants realised the potential of A2 Milk in similar ways to how they perceived other milk alternatives including soy and almond milks.

Table 11. Emergent Themes Derived from Thematic Analysis

Barista realisations of coffee and coffee culture
Barista' skills in making coffee
Barista considerations of milk-related health issues
Barista acknowledgement of A2 Milk's potential in coffee production
Barista comparisons of coffee and coffee culture between New Zealand and Europe
Barista realisations of milk hierarchies and plant-based milk influence

5.2 Coffee and its Culture in New Zealand

All five baristas realised that coffee and coffee culture occupied a special place in the daily life of many Kiwis. My participants told me that many Kiwi customers at The Coffee Club viewed coffee as *not* just a regular drink. Coffee was something ‘special’.

As Amanda, who served around 300 coffees per day, stated:

I think Kiwis like to wake up in the morning and drink coffee. Some people drink an average of eight cups a day. Throughout the day. They prefer to spend time with their families where wi-fi is available. Coffee culture in New Zealand, it's a natural thing. People take away coffee when they go shopping, including to the bank.

Frank Qiang, who has worked at the Coffee Club for five years continued, adding that:

Coffee culture is closely related to our life. Coffee [in New Zealand] means what tea means to the East. In fact, there are similarities between tea and coffee. Tea originated in the East; the Chinese have always had the custom of making tea. Tea also forms tea culture and tea ceremony. People also make tea in a variety of ways such as west lake Longjing and Fujian oolong tea. Like tea, coffee has its own recipe and culture. From the history of coffee, we can see that coffee has always been closely related to Western civilization. Every country has a culture about coffee. Countries like France and Italy created many machines and tools for coffee. Like oolong tea and Longjing tea, there are many types of coffee: Americano, latte. The creation of these tastes and tools is a cultural symbol. Coffee, like tea, has a unique personality. Coffee doesn't taste as soft as tea; it has more impact. I mean ... the taste is more intense. Tea is more in line with the east to soft strong personality. I think coffee reflects the characteristics of westerners' pursuit of freshness and independent personality.

Another busy barista participant, Harrison, commented that:

As a barista, I make about 200 cups of coffee a day. I think the coffee culture in New Zealand has been developing. There are so many new cafés coming into the market that I often feel that it's very competitive. It is prosperous in this country. But the other thing about coffee culture is that the prices are very reasonable. Despite high spending in places like Auckland, a large double latte costs NZ\$4 to NZ\$5.50. New Zealand's coffee culture belongs to the masses, not the aristocracy. People like lattes and are keen on flat whites.

Yet, Patrick, a judge at the 2019 New Zealand Latte Art Championships, and another barista at The Coffee Club, proposed that New Zealand's coffee culture was not cutting edge. Supporting that he noted:

I think New Zealand still has a relatively backward coffee culture. People here are very slow to accept new things. For example, new types of coffee, such as nitrogen coffee,⁷ are not popular in New Zealand because they are expensive.

As for nitrogen coffee, which is brewed cold and infused with nitrogen to improve its taste and texture. It's different from ordinary coffee. It comes straight out of the tap and the customer drinks it cold, not hot. And it's smoother and sweeter. And nitrogen coffee requires the equipment that unique widgets source cans are expensive and difficult. I cannot see the coffee shops in New Zealand introducing these kinds of coffee. Perhaps people have become accustomed to the familiar coffee culture, perhaps because the equipment used in the new coffee is expensive. They may have a hard time accepting this new kind of equipment or culture.

In discussing coffee and coffee culture in New Zealand, almost all participants agreed that coffee and its culture were an important part of everyday life for many New Zealanders. Within that realisation, coffee and coffee culture were compared to themes reflecting the participants' own ethnicity (tea and its symbolism, ritual and cultural importance, in Asia). Reflecting that, and possibly because my participant baristas were all employed in a commercial café setting, they all realised that coffee and its culture existed within an overlay of competition and price point. However, Kiwi coffee culture was also perceived to be lacking, and behind international trends. Nitrogen coffee provided that exemplar.

Adding to the comparison that my participants made between their own ethnic background and coffee knowledge was their comparison between Kiwi and European coffee cultures. As Amanda observed:

⁷ *Nitrogen coffee*: Nitrogen creates small bubbles in black coffee and gives it a thick and creamy texture and milky foam by injecting colourless, odourless nitrogen (Bloom, 2017).

New Zealanders wake up every morning and start drinking coffee. The coffee habits of New Zealanders are different from those of Europe in terms of time. In many European countries, people prefer afternoon coffee. The café is as busy between 3pm and 6pm as it is in the morning. In New Zealand, however, people are apparently more eager to drink coffee in the morning. If you walk into a coffee shop in Europe at 3pm, it is crowded while in New Zealand it is completely free at the same time.

Harrison had similar experiences:

I worked as a barista in the UK for a year. It was particularly busy at 2pm. Office workers are used to meeting each other for coffee in the afternoon. When I returned to New Zealand, I found that work hours had been adjusted to an extremely early hour. I had to prepare coffee for the first morning rush at about seven o'clock.

While busy times for baristas differed between their European experiences and their New Zealand experiences, customer product choice also differed, as Patrick's observations about the flat white revealed:

The flat white has always been the pride of New Zealand. there is no doubt that it belongs to New Zealand. It's a local specialty and now it's all over the world. It is more popular than lattes in New Zealand. It doesn't taste like a latte. A latte has a creamy layer of milk on the surface. Flat white has a thin layer of creamy milk with a shiny finish.

Frank proposed that:

Drip coffee is very popular in Europe and America. There is almost no drip coffee in New Zealand. Instead, it's Americano. Considering its unpopularity, it is not on the menu at our café. But customers can order it if they really want [it]. This means that Kiwis prefer more intense, caffeinated tastes. Many business people like to order an Americano in the morning, perhaps thinking it will help them perk up.

Elsa drew décor comparisons between the cafés of Europe/America and those in New Zealand. She pointed out that:

My impression of a New Zealand café is warm and local. They are a little different from the coffee shops in Europe and America. In Europe and America, we are used to seeing contemporary specialty coffee shops, chain coffee shops

such as Starbucks. But in New Zealand, coffee houses feel more like neighbours, warm and friendly.

My participants differentiated Kiwi coffee culture from that of Europe. My participants' distinctions included that New Zealand coffee culture featured unique products and café styles. For my participants, New Zealanders tended to buy and consume coffee in the morning. Another key distinction within Kiwi coffee culture was the flat white. Additionally, my participants believed that Kiwi cafés reflected a more bespoke décor and not one prescribed by franchise standardisation. In these ways, my participants realised how Kiwi coffee culture differed from other coffee cultures.

5.3 Barista Skills: The Four Ms and More

Unsurprisingly, given the skills needed to make a great coffee, all of my barista participants realised the importance of a barista skill set in coffee production and culture. For them, the attention to detail in every cup of coffee they made impacted their perceptions of a 'quality coffee'. As Elsa proposed:

I make almost 200 cups of coffee a day, and holidays like Christmas that number doubles. New Zealanders are obsessed with coffee and their pursuit of refinement. There are many factors they would like to focus such as latte art, the temperature of the milk and even the appearance of the coffee cup.

Possibly reflecting his coffee-judging background, Patrick stated that New Zealand's baristas have always been committed to the pursuit of high-quality latte art. For him that commitment reflected the spirit of a barista as a craftsperson. He commented:

The New Zealand level of latte art is world champion. We are concerned that latte art has a direct impact on coffee quality and customer satisfaction. And this technology is a combination of many factors. First, milk quality is closely related to latte art. Baristas need to choose good quality milk that is scalable. Another thing that I think is most important is the skill of the barista. It's a feeling that comes from training day in and day out, and it is a kind of touch. Experienced customers can easily see the skill of a barista.

Harrison clarified how the type of milk used impacted latte art and therefore consumer perceptions of coffee. He observed that:

Latte art requires milk quality and firmness. Many types of milk are not suited to creating fine latte art. For example, soy milk and other plant milks lack fat. That lack means that they are not good for latte art because they separate quickly. As with any milk or coffee it all depends on the experience and feeling of the barista. Some baristas, for example, can tell if the milk is at the right temperature just by hand feel.

However, honing those skills and feelings was not easy for some participants. As Amanda experienced:

In my coffee training, it was a challenge just to remember the coffee terms. Then I found that the bigger challenge was remembering the feel of the latte art. To reduce the cost of my learning, I practiced making milk foam with soy sauce instead of coffee and made milk bubbles with rinsing water.

Nonetheless, making coffee itself was also a key barista skill. As Frank commented:

Although a large percentage of customers prefer milk-based coffee, there are still customers who would like to order a cup of drip coffee. Drip coffee requires baristas to accurately control the time and weight of the beans. It needs a normal press and grind. Water should be limited to about 600 milliliters, with about 25 grams of coffee beans. The final taste needs an acidity balance to provide the perfect black coffee. We say barista is a profession that requires constant learning and training. We need to accept constantly updated coffee machines and coffee-making methods that go with them.

Consequently, for my participants, it was the perception of their customers' desire to enjoy a quality coffee that was their primary motivator in their development of their artisan-like barista approach to coffee making. Within that mindset and to exceed customer expectation, my participant baristas strived for excellence in every aspect of their coffee making. Latte art was both an expression of excellence and an added level of barista skill reflecting customer service, speed and efficiency, coffee tasting. My baristas' desire for excellence reflected the other Ms simply because, without a quality espresso, no amount of 'dressing-up' would alter its taste quality. It was interesting, and a reflection of the baristas' own quest for knowledge and coffee excellence, that one participant mentioned the skillset necessary to make drip coffee considering that is not a commonly requested coffee type.

5.4 Hierarchies of Milk

Latte art opened-up a wider theme of participant discussion that reflected their thoughts about milk. My participants noted that The Coffee Club's milk selection changed to meet its customers' needs.

According to Amanda, cow's milk was the most popular type of milk she used as a barista. Amanda recounted:

I make about 200 cups of coffee a day. Almost all of them are milk-based coffee. Blue milk, you can also understand it as fresh animal milk [cow's milk]. It is the most commonly used coffee for our customers.

Patrick commented that:

More and more people are sensitive to milk [animal milk]. Fresh milk always provides excellent taste for customers. However, soy milk and coconut milk are very popular now. Fresh animal milk like whole milk is the most popular. But now almond and soy milk are becoming popular. I think plant milk will soon surpass animal milk.

However, Elsa felt differently. For her, cow's milk was not going to be replaced by plant-based milks anytime soon. She reasoned that:

Our café uses whole milk, skim milk (all animal milk), soy, almond milk. Personally, I think the texture of the fresh milk is perfect. New Zealanders' coffee culture insists on mugs, texture and sensitivity to the temperature of milk. So, milk's full fat will give them better texture, including the quality of the latte art. However, latte art using soy milk burns easily. Skim milk rises and falls in temperature and lumps easily, affecting texture as well.

Supporting Elsa's view, Frank added:

Although plant-based milk like oat milk and soy milk are becoming more popular and their sales are getting better and better, animal milk is still the main part of [our] sales.

Consequently, my barista group realised that full cream cow's milk ('blue milk') was the most popular milk that they used in their daily coffee making. However, they also acknowledged that soy and coconut milks were popular alternatives to cow's milk. This

knowledge and realisation reflected the contact that my baristas made with their customers who asked for different types of milk in their coffees. In this way, it was not only the type of coffee that customers ordered, but also the types of milk that went with that choice that constituted barista milk knowledge. Within that consideration, a clear hierarchy of milk (for coffee) existed for my baristas, with ‘blue milk’ at its apex.

5.5 Participant Views on A2 Milk

While my barista participants were familiar with the milks that were currently offered at The Coffee Club, The Coffee Club does not offer A2 Milk as a customer option. Nonetheless, my participants were curious and knowledgeable about A2 Milk and its ‘place’ in Kiwi coffee culture. As Patrick realised, A2 Milk offered health benefits. His knowledge of these benefits not only revealed his awareness of his customers’ needs but also the point of difference that A2 Milk might make to his barista knowledge and skill in the future. As Patrick commented:

As baristas, we are willing to pursue better milk. I am concerned that many customers are becoming more and more aware of health problems. They began to focus on the coffee itself, and milk is now essential to making coffee. There is a real possibility that customers will seek A2 Milk in the future to solve both taste and health problems for them.

Yet, he tempered his enthusiasm within his emphasis that New Zealand consumers were somewhat conservative and slow to try new products. As Patrick continued:

As I mentioned before, coffee is part of Kiwi culture. However, New Zealanders are slow to accept and are less likely to accept new things. A2 Milk is a new thing, so it’s hard to get them to try something new. New things that are common in European cafés may be hard to accept in New Zealand.

Amanda proposed that A2 Milk would emerge as the result of customer request, rather than a café initiative. She remarked:

Maybe we’ll consider A2 Milk in the future when a customer asks for it. But not every kind of milk is suitable for making coffee. Every type or brand of milk is tested many times by a barista before serving customers. For example, whether the milk quality is fine and smooth, whether the consistency is suitable for latte

art, and whether the sweetness makes the coffee taste good. For some milk, such as soy milk, the texture is different from brand to brand. Our coffee shop has also compared many milk brands when choosing milk. Later we found that no matter which brand, the milk quality of whole milk is more suitable for making coffee. But some types of milk like soy milk, really tests the quality of milk. Blue milk was chosen because its soy milk is more controlled than other coffee brands, such as latte art. Its milk is highly scalable, but many brands of soy milk are easy to paste. Customers and I are waiting for A2. If one day A2 Milk enters the coffee market, I think I will focus on testing whether soy milk of A2 is suitable for making coffee. Suppose it is very good in texture, and it is not easy to paste the latte art.

Elsa proposed that the introduction of new types of milk could enrich New Zealand's coffee culture:

I think A2 Milk has some potential. Because it is a new product for the New Zealand coffee market. The development of new milk brands must be a good thing. And now that many coffee shops are considering milk brands other than Anchor, A2 Milk is an option.

Yet, Elsa also pointed out that A2 Milk faced existing strong competition. As she noted:

Anchor has a long history in New Zealand. Anchor is the most popular milk brand which be used in cafés in New Zealand. There are many options such as full-fat, non-fat, high-calcium milk and the cost is appropriate. I know that the market price of Anchor milk for coffee is about NZ\$2.60, while the discount price for long-term buyers like us is about NZ\$2.30. There is a huge demand for milk in coffee shops. I have heard that A2 has been adopted in Australia, and its cost is similar to that of Anchor.

Interestingly, Elsa added:

They [customers] don't really care about the milk brand, they actually care about the types of milk such as soy milk, whole fat. This should be a consideration for café operators.

Finally, as Frank explained:

High-quality milk is a good partner for making coffee, which is what baristas need to pursue. I have observed that A2 currently sells well in European and Australian coffee markets, which has a certain market and development value. It

is a pity that we do not see A2 introducing coffee-specific milk in the New Zealand market at present and we are waiting for ‘approval of A2. There are still no convenient channels to buy [A2 Milk]. We are willing to try it if there is the right channel. I think the quality of the coffee the café provides to the customer is a priority. There is no denying that the cost is also very important.

All of my barista participants expected A2 Milk to enter the New Zealand coffee market. However, the baristas saw that entry happening in different ways. While some participants expressed the view that using A2 Milk would be customer driven, others were aware that the A2 Milk Company needed to give an indication of the milk’s suitability, as one barista noted they were not seeing A2 introducing coffee-specific milk in New Zealand. In noting those positions, my participants clearly placed the locus of control in using A2 Milk outside of their direct sphere of control, rather than taking the initiative and giving the milk ‘a go’. That finding contrasts with the possibility that Kiwi coffee culture lags behind global trends inasmuch as a new coffee trend could be born on New Zealand: by using A2 Milk. That point notwithstanding, the dominance of the Anchor brand and cost factors were also factors that influenced my baristas’ views about milk.

5.6 Summary

In concluding my Findings Chapter, I present, in Table 12, a synopsis of themes that were presented in this chapter.

Table 12. Summary of Findings

<i>Themes</i>	<i>Summary of Participants’ Views</i>
Coffee and Coffee Culture in New Zealand	There are two direct differences between New Zealand and European coffee culture: coffee products and café style.
Barista Skills: The Three Ms and More	The pursuit of excellence in barista skills is a constant pursuit of customer satisfaction. The artisan spirit also encourages my participants to practice coffee techniques such as latte art and drip coffee making.
Hierarchies of Milk	Milk has always been popular with customers. My baristas acknowledged the growing popularity of plant-based milk and its growth potential.

<i>Themes</i>	<i>Summary of Participants' Views</i>
Participant Views on A2 Milk	Several factors influenced my participants' views on A2 Milk's place in Kiwi coffee culture. The first suggested that A2 Milks 'arrival' within coffee culture depended on two factors: (1) customer requests, and (2) a marketing drive from A2 Milk Company that presented A2 as a café milk. Compounding that was the suggestion that Kiwi coffee culture was not at pace with international trends.

I carry the themes in Table 12 forward into my Discussion and Conclusion Chapter (refer Chapter Six). In that chapter, I present my discussion of these themes cognisant of my literature review (refer Chapter Three), my contribution to new knowledge, my research limitations and my recommendations for future research within my topic. However, I begin my next chapter by reflecting upon the effectiveness of my theoretical and conceptual frameworks and my methodology and method.

CHAPTER SIX: Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter presents my discussion and conclusion chapter. I have chosen to combine these topics into a single chapter because doing so avoided the needless repetition of much of my data. I begin by discussing how my theoretical and conceptual frameworks, and how my methodology and method, ‘worked’ in responding to my research questions. Then, from my Findings Chapter (refer Table 12) I distill my findings in a comparison to literature (refer Chapter Three: Literature Review). Additionally, I provide a way forward for my research. Within that forward view, I identify my contribution to research and academic knowledge about coffee, Kiwi café culture and, of course, the essence of my dissertation, the place of A2 Milk within that culture. In realising that more research is necessary and that within my own research there were limitations, I provide an overview of the factors limiting my research dissertation. Finally, I conclude this chapter, and my dissertation, with a reflective statement. In that section, I consider my research journey and in doing so reveal how ‘doing a dissertation’ and engaging in primary research has impacted upon me. However, before presenting those sections, I remind my readers of my research topic and research questions.

6.1 Revisiting My Research: Topic and Questions

The purpose of my dissertation was to understand the impact of A2 Milk within New Zealand’s coffee culture. Consequently, and in consideration of my literature review (refer Chapter Three) and my findings (refer Chapter Five), I respond to my research questions. Those questions are:

1. In what ways has ‘A2 Milk’ impacted milk-based coffee consumption in an Auckland café?

Underpinning that question were two secondary questions:

- a. What is the range and popularity of animal and plant-based milks that are currently available to café baristas in Auckland cafés?

- b. What considerations are important to baristas in their choice of café milk offering?

6.2 Discussing My Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

6.2.1 Ontology and Epistemology

As I have developed my topic knowledge, I have noticed a corresponding change how I understand knowledge and what constitutes reality. Until I explored the world of research I found, within my other academic learning, ontology and epistemology to be daunting topics. Now I have come to consider them in new ways. My participants' knowledge and shared realities were the keys to my now deeper understanding and appreciation of ontology and epistemology. As I came to know my participants within a research setting, I came to understand that what they told me and how they shared that information not only reflected their personalities, but also their worldviews, knowledge and understandings of coffee, coffee culture, and A2 Milk. Consequently, within that awareness, I have come to a better understanding of how the previously daunting topics of ontology and epistemology are integral parts of our everyday life and interactions. That vernacularity was reflected in my participants' knowledge and realities in the context of my research topic.

6.2.2 The Social Construction of Reality Thesis (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Adding to my understanding of ontology and epistemology was my coming to terms with Berger and Luckmann's (1966) notion of the social construction of reality. Like the concepts of knowledge and reality, until my dissertation, I had not paused to consider how we 'make sense' of our world. Realising that humankind constructed 'our world' in order to understand it was a significant step in my self-comprehension. Concepts of coffee culture, rituals in making coffee, recognising baristas' artisanal skills, and the gendered themes in coffee rituals allowed me to realise that we do construct our world. Further, I realised that my dissertation explored multiple 'constructions'. In doing so, and congruent to the thesis itself, I realised that my work not only reinforced the notion of a constructed reality (indeed, multiple realities), but in doing so and in communicating these realities

to my readers, I engaged its central premise: interaction. Consequently, my research not only realised the construction of reality but, by relating my participants' narratives to others, I have reinforced it with interactive communication.

6.2.3 Material Culture and Actancy (Woodward (2007)).

While in my dissertation research I have recognised constructs of material culture and actancy (Woodward, 2007), I have the feeling that I could have done more within these notions. Obviously, coffee is a material item. Coffee's actancy is located within coffee culture. Within coffee culture lie the feelings, emotions, meanings and values that coffee aficionados bestow upon the material item, coffee. These symbolic attributions constitute its actancy (Woodward, 2007). While my research has included coffee culture, its primary focus has been the impact of A2 Milk within that culture. However, and as a key finding within my research, it was my participants' lack of realisation of A2 Milk's sales potential that also reflected their lack of recognition of A2 Milk's actancy. That actancy, albeit in the minds of A2 Milk's consumers, constitutes a significant point of difference within the existing milk market. Because there is inconclusive scientific evidence (Nystrom & Winston, 2016) of the effectiveness of A2 Milk proteins, it could be suggested that the attributes ascribed to it by its consumers could be read as attributes of actant materiality.

6.3 Discussing the Practicalities of Methodology and Method

The practical implications of my research reflect how concepts of knowledge are realised within notions of Kiwi identity, coffee as materiality and coffee culture, and the place of A2 Milk within each domain, as understood by my participant baristas. These understandings have provided valuable insights into the professional baristas' worldviews, particularly on coffee, milk and coffee culture in Auckland, New Zealand. In this way, my research has provided insights into and understandings of coffee and its culture from a unique perspective: the baristas' perspective. These insights and understandings, while limited to my participants' experiences, also facilitated a deeper understanding of coffee culture and of A2 Milk within commercial coffee culture. For example, my research revealed, and in some cases confirmed, the following practical issues:

- Coffee is a key component of everyday life of many New Zealanders. In this way, Kiwi coffee culture has come to reflect the rituals and practicalities that other beverages hold in other cultures. Specifically, my participants suggested that coffee in New Zealand, in terms of its consumption importance, ritual and symbolic meaning, equaled that of tea in Asian cultures.
- Similarly, my baristas reinforced the importance of their artisanal skills and virtuosity. These skills were used in making every cup of coffee perfect. In this way, my research reinforced the importance of practical skills commonly known in barista circles, as J. Morris (2019) stated, as the four Ms (*macchina*, *macinazione*, *miscela*, and *mano*).
- Additionally, coffees like the flat white were reinforced, within my research, as representing more than ‘just a coffee’. Coffees, including the flat white, connoted, in practical and material ways, symbolic representations of Kiwi identity.
- Offering both a practical and positive direction for Kiwi coffee and coffee culture were my participants’ realisations that Kiwi coffee and coffee culture appeared to be slow to embrace contemporary change. Best exemplifying that reluctance was the absence of nitrogen coffee in New Zealand and the suggestion that Kiwi coffee culture was, compared to international coffee culture, conservative. In practical terms, these positions offer the industry entrepreneurial potential and café differentiation within an almost homogenised coffee ‘menu’. Yet, my participants lacked a sense of autonomy, preferring to wait and see what customers wanted or how the A2 Milk Company might market their A2 Milk product to cafés.
- In revealing these practical issues, my research also demonstrated the effectiveness of my choice of qualitative description (Sandelowski, 2000), participant interviews and thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2019) as methodology. Because of those methodological choices and their research application within method, the voices of my participants, as expert, professional baristas, have illuminated my topic in a unique way. Rather than realising the practicalities of my methodology and method as researcher-driven interpretative findings, my

research findings (refer Chapter Five) are unique because they directly present the voices of my baristas and, in doing so, highlight the potency of qualitative description (Sandelowski, 2000) in maximising subjective participant experiences.

6.4 Discussing and Concluding My Research Findings

6.4.1 Coffee and Coffee Culture in New Zealand

My participants differentiated Kiwi coffee culture from that of Europe. For them, that difference was reflected within two domains: unique products, timing or coffee consumption, and café style. For my participants, the flat white best represented a unique coffee product. Felton (2019) indicated that the flat white was a coffee with a contested ‘point of origin’ that reflected the friendly rivalry between Kiwis and Australians. Yet, my participants all insisted that flat white was a Kiwi product. Neill (2018) supported that view too, suggesting that flat white coffee was part of kiwiana and therefore Kiwi identity. These associations promoted other insights. Firstly, New Zealand's coffee culture is comparatively young (Jolliffe, 2010). Secondly, coffees like the flat white reflect Felton's (2019) observation that milk-based coffee popularity not only promoted coffee's evolutionary trends, but in doing so reflected the late 20th century global trend toward milky styles of coffee. In these ways the flat white reflects the growth of consumer taste and the aesthetic appreciation of coffee culture. These aesthetics resonate within globalised constructs. As Felton (2019) observed, “gentrification means the world is one big flat white” (p. 11).

Additionally, for my participants, Kiwi café décor provided another point of difference. They observed that Kiwi cafés reflected a bespoke and customised décor and not one prescribed by franchise standardisation. Their observations supported Rowland's (2010) position. As Rowland (2010) observed, as Kiwi cafés flourished, they began to reflect a combination of fashion and technology (Rowland, 2010) within their “servicescape” (Lin, 2004, p163). Décor themes were extended to reflect a cornerstone of Kiwi architectural design, the indoor-outdoor flow (Rowland, 2010). These changes, for my participants, realised coffee and coffee culture as being part of everyday life for many Kiwis.

6.4.2 Barista Skills: The Four Ms and More

As professional baristas, my participants strived for excellence in every aspect of their coffee making. They mentioned that latte art was both an expression of that excellence and that it added another level of barista skill that reflected professional customer service. My participants all suggested that good latte art required constant practice and ‘hand’ technique. Latte art also reinforced Kiwi identity within coffee making. For example, the Kiwi fern, created in the milk’s foam, was an often-seen Kiwi motif on latte art. Latte art as a point of distinction and barista skill is actively promoted by the New Zealand Specialty Coffee Association (2020).

However, a barista’s skill extended in latte art builds on more basic things: making coffee and creating relationships with customers. With these skills, Schroeder (2015) recommended that baristas could be considered to be artisans. As Schroeder (2015) realised, a skilled barista can enhance café business by adding value to consumer experiences because a barista mediates the relationship between the coffee, the business and its customer. To exceed customer expectations, my baristas’ desire for production excellence reflected that skill and, more importantly, the four Ms (Schroeder, 2015). Without the development of the four Ms within a quality espresso, no amount of ‘dressing’ (like latte art) could alter the taste of a poorly made coffee. For my participants, the ‘hand feeling’ (*mano*) of the barista was particularly important. *Mano* guided my baristas, with their operation of the espresso machine (*macchina*), the coffee grind (*macinazione*) and steamed milk work. For one participant barista, the technique of perfecting drip coffee was an important skill to master. While he admitted that drip coffee was (comparatively) not popular in New Zealand, he was nonetheless compelled to perfect its technique. Similarly, as Manzo (2015) noted, baristas made it their goal to have coffee-themed conversations with their customers, which often promoted a focus on coffee education. While customer barista conversations were not mentioned by my participants, my baristas took pride in their ‘hand ‘skills’ as exemplified by them in their discussions about latte art. In this way, making a perfect coffee was aesthetically enhanced by my participants’ professionalism.

6.4.3 Hierarchies of Milk

For my *barista* group ‘blue milk’ (full cream cow’s milk) was the most popular milk that they used in their coffee making. Yet, my participants were also aware of the growing popularity of plant-based milks. As Nystrom and Winston (2016) noted, the global demand for plant-based milk is growing rapidly. Moreover, McCarthy et al. (2017) also observed that the benefits of plant milk include helping consumers avoid growth and other hormones associated with animal milk production. Despite recognising the trending popularity of plant-based milks, my participants believed that ‘blue milk’ was at the apex of milk-based coffees. Driving that knowledge was customer choice.

Yet, within their awareness of alternative milks, my participants engaged a position of anticipation and inaction regarding A2 Milk. Their current ontologies and epistemologies (Lavery, 2003) made it hard for them to look beyond existing milk options, knowledge and realities. Rather than taking an entrepreneurial position and proactively offering A2 Milk to café customers, my baristas had a ‘wait-and-see’ perspective. That position starkly contrasted the belief that Kiwi coffee culture was not at pace with overseas coffee culture trends, and provides an entrepreneurial opportunity for both baristas and the A2 Milk Company.

6.4.4 Participant Views on A2 Milk

My barista participants were positively disposed to A2 Milk. However, their positivity was tempered by the fact that they did not use A2 Milk in their coffee production at The Coffee Club. No participant barista proactively recognised the milk’s potential as an offering within the current range of milks that The Coffee Club offered. Rather, my participant baristas were ‘waiting’. That waiting reflected two streams of participant thinking: (1) that A2 Milk would be offered in response to customer request, and/or (2) that the A2 Milk Company needed to ‘showcase’ A2 Milk as a coffee option. Adding to that reluctance was the assertion by some participant baristas that Kiwi coffee and its culture were not at pace with contemporary international trends. This combination raised the possibility that, through a lack of barista initiative, one ‘lack’ fuels ‘the other’. As the

A2 Milk Company is a Kiwi company, A2 Milk's protein differentiation surely contributes not only to its uniqueness as a milk but, for Kiwi coffees like the flat white it signifies Kiwi uniqueness in multiple ways. Using A2 Milk could be read as a signifier of Kiwi coffee culture leading the world, rather than lagging behind it. In this way, and considering the Kiwi identity concept of "she'll be right" (Neill, 2018, p. 58), baristas could create a point of significant difference in what I have identified to be a homogenised café coffee menu. Using A2 Milk before other competitors would create a marketing and advertising point of difference. Additionally, using A2 Milk could be promoted as an additional skill complementing my baristas' current artisanal toolkit. That skill reflects Ponte's (2001) point about the "latte revolution" having more to do with milk than it does with coffee (p. 19). As Ponte (2001) stated, milk offers coffee consumers new experiences. Those experiences, in the case of A2 Milk, could also maximise the health benefits of A2 Milk as identified by Esty and Fisher (2019).

In these ways, given the popularity of milk within coffee's history and cognisant of Bourdieu (1990), then as now, coffee can be read as a symbol of socio-cultural and economic differences that, in A2 Milk use, can be realised via 'distinction'.

6.4.5 Identifying My Research Contribution and Answering My Research Questions

In completing my dissertation, cognisant of its limitations, I have come to realise my contribution to the academy in the following ways.

In response to my primary question:

1. In what ways has 'A2 Milk' impacted milk-based coffee consumption in an Auckland café?
 - There seems to be a reluctance to use A2 Milk for coffee making.

- My participant baristas are in a ‘wait-and-see’ state. They are waiting for instructions from the brand company or consumer prompts to offer A2 Milk at The Coffee Club.
- That reluctance may reflect an emergent Kiwi coffee culture and the perception that Kiwis are slow to embrace new products and change. Yet, this finding also raises questions about the role of the barista as an arbiter of taste or a follower of taste. Similarly, my baristas contrast the literature promoting the notion that baristas engage with customers in coffee-informed conversations. A customer-based conversation about A2 Milk would sit well with the notion of barista as consumer coffee educator.

In response to my underpinning questions:

- a. What is the range and popularity of animal and plant-based milks that are currently available to café baristas in Auckland cafés?
- b. What considerations are important to *baristas* in their choice of café milk offering?
 - ‘Blue milk’ (full cream cow’s milk) was the most popular milk used and offered at The Coffee Club.
 - While the growing popularity of plant-based milk has potential, my baristas believed that the dominant position of ‘blue milk’ was unlikely to change.
 - The quality of the milk used in coffee production was the most important barista consideration. For baristas, customers and academics (Schroeder, 2015), milk quality was reflected in the coffee’s taste and customer satisfaction.

6.4.6 Concluding my Findings

In this chapter, I have discussed my theoretical and conceptual framework. Then, I played a methodological role in answering my research questions. In answering my research questions, I not only compared the content of Chapter Three but also combined ontology

and epistemology (Lavery, 2003). I found that my participants reflected their worldview, knowledge and understanding of coffee, coffee culture and A2 Milk. The décor of the café provided another difference, and for my participants, these changes have made coffee and coffee culture part of the daily lives of many New Zealanders. However, within the range of their knowledge of alternative milk, my participants adopted an expectant and inactive attitude towards A2 Milk. This may be due to their current ontologies and epistemologies (Lavery, 2003) which make it difficult for them to move beyond existing milk choices, knowledge and reality. In addition, the social construction of reality thesis (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) is also a supplement to ontology and epistemology. We do construct our world. This is reflected in the concept of coffee culture, the ritual of making coffee, the recognition of the artisan skills of the barista, and the role of gender in coffee rituals. The role of material culture and actancy (Woodward, 2007) illustrated the materiality of coffee. My barista group's skill in latte art builds on the more basic elements of the 4 Ms. They brewed coffee and built relationships with customers through coffee.

6.5 Research Limitations

I approached my dissertation with a mindset that emphasised the prudent choice of methodology and method that would best suit my topic. However, as I near the completion of my work, I have come to realise that my dissertation has limitations. Consequently, I note the following points:

- My dissertation has limitations because, since the work is a 60-point dissertation, I only had six months to complete it. A longer period of time may have allowed me to engage customers (as well as my baristas) at The Coffee Club. Furthermore, my research could have presented a more rounded view of coffee, coffee culture and the impact of A2 Milk.
- Another limitation was my comparatively small sample size. My research focused the feedback from only five baristas. If I had more time it may have been prudent

to explore the experiences of other baristas in other cafés. In that way, my research may have presented a wider view of A2 Milk, coffee and Kiwi coffee culture.

- The COVID-19 pandemic imposed further research limitations. Because of the pandemic, face-to-face interviews were not possible. Instead I used Skype technology. While technology facilitated my interviews, I wonder whether, in using technology, my interviews lacked meaningful human contact and interaction. From that consideration I have come to realise the importance of face-to-face communications.
- Similarly, the COVID-19 pandemic impacted my research abilities because visits to the AUT Library were impossible during lockdown. Consequently, I had to rely on electronically sourced materials. Fortunately, and while I acknowledge this as a limitation, the AUT e-library is well resourced and I was able to locate the resources I required.
- Additionally, the COVID-19 pandemic impacted my communications with my supervisor. Having decided to go home to China for the Christmas holiday season, I became stranded there because of various lockdowns and the closure of international travel. Even now, as I near the completion of my dissertation, I am still in China. However, despite that distance I have been in regular contact with my supervisor, Dr Lindsay Neill. Despite my being in China, we have communicated via email on a very regular basis. Nonetheless, COVID-19 has limited my supervision albeit that we have ‘worked around’ this limitation.

6.6 Recommendations for Future Research

Completing a research dissertation has made me think! That thinking has been reflected throughout my work but is explicit in my acknowledgement that my research has limitations. Similarly, my thinking has ‘opened-up’ new possibilities within which my research could be enhanced. As I have worked through my dissertation it has occurred to me that areas for ongoing research could include:

- Research including consumer perspectives on coffee and coffee culture.
- Research reflecting the opinions and experiences of a larger number of baristas from a diverse range of cafés.
- Research recognising how geographical location and socio-economic issues impact participants' experiences of coffee and coffee culture.
- Research comparing Kiwi coffee culture with European, American and/or Asian coffee cultures.
- Research exploring how home espresso machines bring coffee culture into people's homes, and how that might impact consumers' commercial experiences of coffee and coffee culture.
- Research exploring the place and influence of Fair Trade, decaffeinated and other commercial and product options in coffee consumption and coffee culture.

Clearly, those possibilities have qualitative research potential. However, I also recognise domains of future research within quantitative research inquiry that could include:

- The evaluation of 'spend per head' for regular café customers and their qualitative feedback on constructs of 'value for money' (a mixed-methods approach).
- An evaluation of time spent enjoying coffee within work hours and how that time aids or does not aid work productivity.
- Biological measurement of caffeine's impact in work productivity, compared to workers who do not drink coffee.

6.7 Closing Comments

To say that I have learnt a lot during my dissertation would be to make an understatement. Not only have I extended my milk, coffee and coffee culture knowledge but, within this process, I have come to know and understand topics that I initially found intimidating. Best exemplifying that, for me, were ontology and epistemology. Coming to terms with those domains was challenging. However, having now completed my dissertation, I can say that I not only feel comfortable with them, but that I have come to 'own' them. That

ownership has been reflected in my connection of ontology and epistemology to my everyday life. What were once two ‘odd ideas’ are now almost familiar friends. However, that acknowledgement fails to recognise that, at times, I found doing my dissertation difficult. Writing in an academic way did not come easily for me. What you are now reading is the result of countless drafts. As I look back on what I first wrote and compare that to what you are now reading, I see that the differences are remarkable.

In this way, completing my dissertation has been a journey. This journey has included high and low points along the way. However, as I reflect on what I have achieved, despite the low points on my journey, I am so glad that I decided to undertake my ‘voyage of discovery.’ I thank all those who have helped me get this far, particularly my wonderful supervisor, Dr Lindsay Neill.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Selection of Methodology

<i>Method</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Suitability</i>	<i>Reason</i>
Case Study	The purpose of a case study is to solve specific problems. Not only does it require a lot of detailed data, it also typically requires a long processing time (Yin, 2017).	No	My research is not suitable for case study due to time limitation.
Grounded Theory	Grounded theory is a qualitative research method and it aims to build a theory based on empirical data (Thornberg, 2017).	No	My research aim was not to generate a new theory, but rather to explore participant perceptions and experiences.
Hermeneutic Phenomenology	Researcher need to generate an understanding of the lived experience of participants (Crowther, Ironside, Spence & Smythe, 2017).	No	Hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the living world or human life experience. It is descriptive and focuses on the structure of experience. In addition, it attempts to clarify the nature of these structures. Therefore, it is not suitable for my study.
Analytic Induction	Seek universal explanations until saturation is reached, sharing common experiences without conflicting participants (Bryman, 2008).	No	My research focused on participants' experiences and perspectives on A2 Milk's impact on the New Zealand coffee market. I do not seek saturation.
Critical Discourse Analysis	Foucauldian analysis emphasising the role of language as a power resource (Bryman, 2008).	No	This method is not suitable for my research because it focuses on an exploration of power and language.

			My research sought my participants' experiences and knowledge.
Focus Group	It includes group discussion and emphasises group interaction and co-construction of meaning (Gawlik, 2018).	Yes	My research focus on a barista group to explore the participants' experiences and perspectives on A2 Milk's impact on the New Zealand coffee market.
Content Analysis	Content analysis is one of the qualitative analysis methods. It mainly uses secondary data as research objects to analyse problems (Vaismoradi et al., 2013).	No	The reason why my research is not suitable for this method is that my research focused on primary data collection and recognition of the themes of importance within that data.
Qualitative Description	The purpose of qualitative description is to understand a phenomenon, a process, or the worldview of people involved in the process or phenomenon (Sandelowski, 2000).	Yes	This method was the most suitable for my research because it reflects primary data collection and emphasises participant realities. Qualitative description uses the participant's voice instead of the researcher's deep interpretation of what participants said.

Appendix B: Ethics Approval

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTC) ¹

O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Auckland University of Technology ²
D-88, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142, NZ ³
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316 ⁴
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz ⁵
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics ⁶

11 December 2019 ⁷

Lindsay Neill ⁸
Faculty of Culture and Society ⁹

Dear Lindsay ¹⁰

Re Ethics Application: **19/457 What is the impact on A2 milk within New Zealand's coffee culture** ¹¹

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTC). ¹²

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 11 December 2022. ¹³

Standard Conditions of Approval ¹⁴

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the [Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research](#) and as approved by AUTC in this application. ¹⁵
2. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using the EA2 form. ¹⁶
3. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using the EA3 form. ¹⁷
4. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form. ¹⁸
5. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTC Secretariat as a matter of priority. ¹⁹
6. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTC Secretariat as a matter of priority. ²⁰
7. It is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard. ²¹

AUTC grants ethical approval only. You are responsible for obtaining management approval for access for your research from any institution or organisation at which your research is being conducted. When the research is undertaken outside New Zealand, you need to meet all ethical, legal, and locality obligations or requirements for those jurisdictions. ²²

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project. ²³

For any enquiries please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz. The forms mentioned above are available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics> ²⁴

Yours sincerely, ²⁵

²⁶



Kate O'Connor ²⁷
Executive Manager ²⁸
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee ²⁹

Cc: 843830426@qq.com ³⁰

Appendix C: Sample and Indicative Questions

Sample and indicative questions↵

1. Can you tell me your age and gender please? ↵
 - 2 How long have you been barista at the Coffee Club? ↵
 - 3 How many coffees do you estimate that you make each day?↵
 - 4 Of that number how many coffees are milk based?↵
 - 5 Can you tell me the different milks that you use in coffee production?↵
 6. Which types of milk in milk-based coffee is the most popular with customers in
The Coffee Club? ↵
 7. Why do you think that xxxxx is the most popular milk with customers? ↵
 8. Can you give me the order of popularity of the milks that you offer customers?↵
 9. How would you describe New Zealand's coffee or café culture?↵
 - 10.Can you tell me what you know about A2 milk?↵
 - 11.Do you use A2 milk in your coffee production?↵
 - If yes please expand, if no ...why do you not consider A2 milk as a milk option for
customers ↵
 - 12.When you make a customer's coffee what do you talk about with them?↵
 - 13.Do any customers specifically ask for A2 milk?↵
 - 14.Do you think A2 milk has potential in the New Zealand milk-based coffee market?↵
 - 15.Is there anything else that you would like to talk about, or add to what you have
already said?↵
-

Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

■ Date Information Sheet Produced:

16/11/2019

■ Project Title

What is the impact of A2 milk within New Zealand's coffee culture?

An Invitation

Hello, my name is Guo Jingsi. I am a postgraduate student from Auckland University of Technology (AUT) in Auckland. I am seeking to complete my Master of International Hospitality Management. As a final step in my degree, I am researching the impact of A2 Milk within New Zealand's coffee culture. Toward that goal I am completing a research dissertation. As a barista I recognise that you hold expert knowledge in this area. Consequently, I would like to warmly invite you to participate in my exciting research.

Your participation in my research would be completely voluntary and you are able to withdraw from it at any time.

■ What is the purpose of this research?

My research aims to understand the influence and impact of A2 milk within Kiwi coffee culture within primary research. Primary research is a process that involves asking people, like yourself, question that will help to answer my research question. My research question asks, "what is the impact of A2 Milk within New Zealand's coffee culture?"

The data I collect from you and other baristas will be collated. Then, within my dissertation, I will write up significant themes that emerge from what people tell me about their A2 coffee culture experiences. Those experiences will be underpinned by a literature review about coffee and coffee culture and background information that illuminates my topic for my dissertation examiners.

Apart from my dissertation, I plan to co-publish with my dissertation supervisor, Dr Lindsay Neill an academic journal article on my topic. That article will be a condensed version of my dissertation research and findings. Both my dissertation and the journal article will be available in the public and academic domains.

■ How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

I am inviting you and four other baristas to participate in my research because of your expert coffee and coffee culture knowledge. As a barista, I believe that you have in-depth knowledge that can inform my research in deep and meaningful ways.

■ How do I agree to participate in this research?

After considering my invitation (for two weeks) I ask that you contact me to confirm your participation or not. Should I not have any response from you, I will contact you one time (only) to solicit your interest in participating.

To contact me to agree to participate in this research, you are welcome to email me on: 郭静思 843830426@qq.com

■ What will happen in this research?

Having introduced the research to you and having gone over the Participant Information Sheet (outlining the research) and having also fully answered any questions you might have you will be given two weeks to consider your participation. At that point you can either contact me to confirm your participation (or not), or I will contact you.

If you decide to proceed, we will arrange a convenient time where I can interview you. The interview will occur at a time and place that is most convenient to you. Before the interview begins, I will ask you to sign a Consent Form that formally recognises your consent to participate in my research. The interview, which will be audio digitally recorded, will last between 30-60 minutes. It will include questions about coffee and coffee culture as well as your thoughts and experiences of the different milks used in milk-based coffees. From that interview I will transcribe what you tell me. I will email you a copy of your transcribed interview. You are welcome to then add to or delete sections from your interview transcript.

After that I will, with other data, begin to write up my findings chapter of my dissertation. That section will be based on what you and my other four baristas told me in your interviews.

Then I will provide each participant with a summary of my research findings.

■ **What are the discomforts and risks?**

I believe that there is minimal discomfort and risk for in participating in my research. You will not be identifiable. Rather, identifiers including 'barista 1,2,3, or 4' will be used. The Coffee Club will not be mentioned by name. Rather that business will be referred to as a 'leading franchise coffee company'. Additionally, you will not be pressed to answer any topic of discomfort to you.

■ **How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?**

As noted above you will not be identifiable, pressed to respond to any area of discomfort nor will your workplace be identified. Additionally, given that we are work colleagues it is important for you to know that whether you take part in this research or not, will have no impact on our working relationship.

■ **What are the benefits?**

I consider that my research holds benefit for three groups: my participants; the researcher and the wider community.

For the Participants: my research provides an opportunity for practitioners to voice their thoughts, experiences and opinions about New Zealand's coffee culture and the role (if any) of A2 Milk in that culture. As I have come to understand my topic in its early stages I have realised that New Zealand's coffee culture is often perceived from the consumer/customer perspective. My research concentrates on practitioner input, that adds to existing literature concentrating on the customer/consumer coffee culture nexus.

For the Researcher: I benefit by exploring a topic of passion: coffee culture. I wonder, within coffee culture, why difference occurs in coffee production in cafés given that each café produces essentially the same coffee products. I term this coffee homogenisation. However, for milk-based coffee drinkers the type of milk is a differentiating factor. Given the rise of A2 Milk, particularly as a stock listed on the NZSE, I wonder why the milk and brand are not a point of distinction within coffee culture in New Zealand. Additionally, a beneficial consequence of my research enquiry is that, if successful, I gain a Master's qualification.

For the Wider Community: New Zealand has a comparatively young coffee culture. Therefore, my research not only contributes to its understanding but also provides a valuable insight into Kiwi identity within coffee culture. In that way my research extends Brillat-Savarins (2003, p.80) often quoted "tell me what you eat [drink] and I will tell you who you are" in contemporary and meaningful ways within Kiwi culture.

■ **How will my privacy be protected?**

You will not be identifiable in my research. You will be identified as 'barista 1,2,3, or 4'. The Coffee Club will not be identified by name, but rather referred to as a 'leading franchise coffee company'.

■ **What are the costs of participating in this research?**

As a participant, you will participate this research around 30 to 60 minutes.

■ **What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?**

I suggest that two weeks are a reasonable period of time for you to consider participating in my research (or not). After the two-week period you are invited to contact me with your decision. If I do not hear from you, I will make contact with you and ask about your participation in my research.

■ **Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?**

Yes. You will receive a transcript of your interview that you may amend, add to or delete information from. You will also receive a summary of my research findings.

■ **What do I do if I have concerns about this research?**

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

■ **Whom do I contact for further information about this research?**

Any concerns or further information regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Lindsay Neill, lindsay.neill@aut.ac.nz

Researcher Contact Details:

Name of researcher: Guo Jingsi

Email address: 843830426@qq.com

Project Supervisor Contact Details:


Name of supervisor: Dr Lindsay Neill

Email address: lindsay.neill@aut.ac.nz

University Location: Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEK Reference number *type the reference number*.

Appendix E: Consent Form



Consent Form

For use when interviews are involved.

Project title: What is the impact of A2 milk within New Zealand's coffee culture

Project Supervisor: Dr Lindsay Neill

Researcher: Guo Jingsi

☒ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 16th November 2019.

☒ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

☒ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

☒ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

☒ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

☒ I agree to take part in this research.

I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes ☒ No ☐

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):
.....
.....
.....
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTEK Reference number type the AUTEK reference number

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix F: The Glossary of Coffee

Arabica	Coffee Arabica is grown in 75% of the world's commercial coffees. The plant, an evergreen perennial in the <i>Rubiaceae</i> family, is considered superior to other major species in taste.
Barista	The person who prepares coffee at a coffee bar.
Blend and Roasting	A blend of coffee beans from different origins. Blended coffee should be intended to produce a raw and complex taste, although blended coffee is usually used to reach a commercial price point with a lower grade of coffee.
Brew time	The amount of time the water is in contact with the coffee powder when making coffee.
Coffee Cherry	General term for the fruit of the coffee tree. After flowering, the fruit takes nine months to ripen. Each cherry usually contains two seeds, which we call coffee beans. Ripe cherries can be red or yellow, and sometimes orange. High-quality coffee requires cherries harvested at the peak of ripeness. For yellow varieties, it is difficult to distinguish maturity by colour.
Crema	Caramelised foam over the espresso. It is produced by extraction under pressure.
Coffee Globalisation	Globalisation has changed the face of the coffee industry since the 1970s. Coffee producers and sellers alike have to account for the various changes brought on by the constantly changing global market.
Cupping	Evaluate the quality of brewed coffee in terms of aroma and taste. Use standardised cupping protocols, such as those created by the professional coffee association of America (SCAA).
Cold drip coffee	The grounds are soaked in cold water for about 12 hours, then filtered into a concentrate, used to make iced coffee and mixed with milk or water. It is associated with New Orleans.
Espresso machine	Brews coffee by forcing pressurised water near boiling point through a “puck” of ground coffee and a filter in order to produce a thick, concentrated coffee called espresso.
French press	Coffee made by steeping grounds with hot water in a vessel with a plunger and metal filter that pushes the grounds to the bottom. Often used in coffee bars for limited-edition coffees. Also called a press pot.
Grind size	The fineness of the coffee powder, which must be suitable for brewing method.
International Coffee Agreement	The International Coffee Agreement is a quota system between producer and consumer countries under which the market is not supplied with more coffee than consumers require in order to stabilise prices and prevent fluctuations in supply and demand. It is controlled by the International Coffee Organization.

Kiwi café	Refers to the cafés with the unique style of New Zealanders and represents Kiwi identity.
Late art	Latte art is the art of carefully pouring steam and textured milk over a latte.
"Ms"	Four steps that Italians think affect coffee making: <i>macchina</i> , <i>macinazione</i> , <i>miscela</i> , and <i>mano</i> (machine, grind, blend, and the barista's hand).
Pull	Espresso shots are "pulled." The term is a holdover from when machines were lever operated.
Robusta	Robusta accounts for about a quarter of commercial coffee production. It is easier to grow at lower altitudes and more resistant to disease than arabica coffee, but is considered to taste worse.
Speciality coffee	Coffee is graded and traded on the basis of inherent quality. Speciality coffees are distinctive because of their flavour and for having minimal (sometimes zero) defects.

Appendix G: Globalisation and Glocalisation of Coffee: A History

