

Understanding new consumer trends in Turkey through coffee production and consumption in Mardin

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Abstract

Coffee, which aids us in learning about the cultural practices of a society, is an important consumption commodity not only in Turkey but throughout the world. In this study, various speciality coffees produced by coffee producers in Artuklu, the historical district of Mardin, the rapid change of cafes and the purchasing practices of consumers have been examined. Ethnographic interviews have also been conducted with coffee producers, cafe owners, and consumers. Coffee producers make various coffees, such as Turkish, Assyrian, Kurdish, Dibek, and cardamom, reflecting the multicultural structure of the city. Cafe owners and producers use expressions and images that emulate antiquity in their brands and logos. The cafes as “third places” become flamboyant spacious spaces leaving their traditional appearance behind. The consumption of new products by visitors of Mardin, an important place for domestic tourists, indicates a new class that seeks pleasure and experience in Turkey.

KEYWORDS: specialty coffee, Mardin, food consumption, tradition, popular culture

Introduction

A study of the eating habits of a society is a much more complicated issue today than in the past, and such an effort deserves to be handled from an interdisciplinary perspective. Food is a communication system, a body of images, and a protocol of uses, situations, and behaviours (Gibson, 2007). The combination of many components complicates the study of eating practices. Farquhar (2006) mentions that in the classic cultural anthropology of food, attention drifts away from food as an object to eating as a practice, which contributes volume to the study area of nutrition. As a nutritional commodity, coffee, which brings many practices with its consumption, is among the first to come to mind in the category of hot beverages, along with tea. The fact that there are many research and examination studies related to coffee in both Turkish and world literature proves this. This is why both tea (Hunutlu, 2019) and coffee have a wide vocabulary in everyday language. While tea is more customary and widespread, coffee is drunk more in a celebratory mood; coffee consumption is not general and implies a departure from the ordinary (Verma, 2013). Schivelbusch (2012) also states that coffee represents calmness and moderation and is known as a drink of sobriety. Based on the previous expressions, we can say that coffee as a consumption object takes place in the construction of the meaning world of individuals. The cultural theorist McCracken (1986, p. 73) refers to Austin's (1963) study of 'How to do things with words' and asserts that objects have a 'performative function' and states that the cultural meaning that builds the individual's world of meaning becomes visible through things/objects.

Food as an object of consumption reveals the distinction between "us" and "them" (the other) (Gibson, 2007); thus, people define both others and themselves through what they eat (Mintz, 1997). Through the different food consumption habits and practices of the others (meaning those who are not from one's own family, community, etc.), the individual becomes aware of the behaviour patterns and consumption habits of the group in which he/she is. The categorisation of food by the society or the group it belongs to reflects its prestige, usefulness, and preferences regarding historical, political, and economic processes and perhaps its roots that are forgotten in history (Tucker, 2017); Based on this, it can be stated that what we eat contributes to the formation of our identity (Mintz, 1997). Mintz states that we identify more with the foods we consume, as the idea that our consumption and our identity are connected with it has an effect on us. It is known that some food and beverage items are sometimes mentioned together with the mentioned society. Tea is a part of Indian national identity and also at the centre of the

ongoing debate about the country's agricultural and economic future (Besky, 2020), and it brings together people from all classes and from different regions. Similarly, coffee plays an important role in the construction of national identity in the United States (Heise, 2001); Heise emphasises that it is not a coincidence that cowboys drink coffee by the campfire in American Western films.

Food acts as a bridge for cultural groups to cross their borders, even the easiest way to cross borders (Gibson, 2007, in van den Berghe, 1984); it would be more meaningful to evaluate this phenomenon in terms of pleasure and experience. Consumption is an autotelic activity shaped around the satisfaction and desires of certain commodities and activities in relation to others (Holt, 1998). Here, the researcher seems to criticise the reduction of consumption to appear as an instrumental or strategic act focusing on the use of objects. He emphasises the whole of practices arising from the use of pleasure and consumption of objects beyond being mere nutrient objects. Besides the pleasure principle, the praxis leads us to the formation of meaning. Holt (1998) states that one of the three forms of cultural capital is embedded in implicit practical knowledge and skills. Consumption practices that are carried out regularly are done in a ritual atmosphere. Consumption rituals transfer the meaning from the consumer product to the consumer; that is, the person who consumes the product also assumes the meaning (McCracken, 1986). It is understood that practice and meaning are built together by the individual using the consumption object. Elias Petropoulos (2019), who described the consumption of Turkish coffee in Greece in the literary language in the past, mentions that the act of consumption takes place in the atmosphere of a ritual and ceremony. Since the 1980s, the worldwide interest in coffee and the rise of the world of meaning around it have made it necessary to deal with the issue from the perspective of different disciplines.

Method

The study consists of information obtained from literature research and interviews with coffee producers and sellers, cafe owners, and individuals residing in the city of Mardin. The data were collected in 2019. In this context, ethnographic interviews were conducted with 25 people of different ages and genders. In the interviews with coffee producers and coffee-selling businesses operating in Mardin, questions were asked of the business owners, and in-depth interviews were conducted to obtain information about traditional and special (speciality) coffee production methods. The study has gathered more information about the branding efforts of coffee producers and coffee-selling enterprises. In addition, certain questions have been asked about the changes and additions they made

in order to expand their businesses over time, and the information obtained has been recorded. During the interviews with the business owners, the questions asked helped to clarify the general trends in coffee sales and the interests and tastes of the customers. In addition, interviews were held with people who organise short-term tourist trips to Mardin and shop from coffee producers, and information about their shopping practices and preferences was collected. In addition to traditional Turkish coffee, mutual interviews were held with individuals residing in Mardin to obtain information about the consumption of speciality coffee, which has recently become popular worldwide, including in Turkey. All the information collected from the ethnographic field studies, the areas of which are included in the study, have been evaluated with the information obtained from the literature studies on coffee and consumption in Turkish and foreign languages. In the frame of the evaluation study, the changes and new trends in consumption and purchasing practices, the changing meaning of coffee, and the relationship between consumption and the construction of identity are discussed in the context of popular culture. The fact that one of the co-authors of this study resides in Mardin has contributed to the observation of coffee sales and the change of cafes. The names of the interviewees and institutions have not been clearly stated in the study due to ethical rules, and an informed consent form was obtained from the individuals.

The invention of tradition in Mardin: Speciality coffee production and product diversity

It would be helpful to give information about where the coffee used in the production of speciality coffee comes from:

Z.C.: Coffee comes from Brazil.

İ.K.: Now it is taken from Brazil and Colombia... It is usually bought from Brazil, as Brazil is first quality.

M.K.: Brazil.

A.B.: It comes raw from Brazil; we process it here. It is already produced on demand. Three types of coffee come out.

One of the starting points of the study is coffee producers offering different options to consumers with the production of speciality coffee in Mardin in recent years. The statements of the coffee producer Z.C. in Mardin give an idea about the emergence of speciality coffee in Mardin:

Z.C.: Speciality coffee production started with our uncle S. This business started with him. People have such a perception now... People started to look for a different taste because it is a very familiar taste to normal Turkish coffee, and since the new generation asks for coffee with milk and mild coffee (we) added cream. There was no speciality coffee 6-7 years ago.

Another coffee producer's statements are similar:

İ.E.: Because everybody has his own shop in the bazaar and there're lots of shops in the market, each tradesman has his own special blend of coffee.

Manufacturers use their own formulas and seven different ingredients in the production of speciality coffee. While the first trials were in small quantities, it is understood that mass production was started when positive results were obtained as a result of the trials:

M.K. We did. We struggled for a month until we got this. We tried again and again. Finally, we balanced out, okay. Seven ingredients. Some say thirty, some say forty. It's a lie.

İ.E.: For example, we add products such as walnuts, almonds, turpentine, carob, saffron, cardamom ... We spent so much time on it. Drinking coffee, under our eyes were dark from lack of sleep, you know? ... So, when we first started, of course, we were producing a kilo each to taste it. When the taste of the coffee was good, and the customer liked the coffee, we started to produce tons of coffee.

A.B.: It contains mahaleb,¹ turpentine, mastic gum, cardamom, nutmeg, and cream (in Dibek coffee).

In addition to these, new coffee varieties have been added to the menu:

İ.E.: We have Assyrian coffee, Turkish coffee, Arabic coffee—for instance, Mirra.² So, the Kurdish should have coffee as well. It's a bit of coffee that belongs to the "Solution Process",³ actually.

¹ *Prunus mahaleb* or the mahaleb cherry is a species of cherry tree.

² Mirra is one of the strongest coffees of the world and is labour intensive as it requires brewing a few times; it is consumed on special days from small cups with no handles (<https://gomardinturkiye.com/taste>).

³ Solution Process is a peace process aimed to solve the ethnic conflict in the southeast of Turkey. The process was launched in 2013 by Turkish government.

One of the coffee producers stated that they had obtained an official patent for the coffee they produce. In addition to these, their efforts at branding and highlighting their brands are also noteworthy. In this context, it is understood that the corporate logos, packaging, and boxes of the products have been renewed:

Z.C.: Brand designs started after tourists arrived. I think the designs we use have been around since 1975... Because of the competition [with the other shop owners]. [The number of] firms increased. At first, they [packing] were normal cloth bags, then cardboard boxes, they turned into tin cans, aluminium envelopes.

İ.E.: Now, you know, there is a man with a moustache on all coffee shops (storefront signs)... No, we thought we shouldn't fall into a rut and kept the old one.

M.K.: There used to be paper bags like that. Now we have modernised... Everyone started making boxes now. Some of them used to have paper bags, textile before. We noticed it doesn't work; the fabric spoils coffee. That's why we turned to these... Forget about the fabric. Tourists don't know the good ones; they just pay attention to how it looks.

The brand is both the objectification of the information and objectifies the information (Lury, 2004); moreover, it provides the advantage of being privileged to the brand user (Moor, 2007). Reviewing the explanations of different manufacturers, it is seen that coffee manufacturers prefer to use a male image with a moustache in their companies' logos in order to show their brands' traditional and ancient origin. The semiotic reading of the logos showing the old with the new design suggests that coffee producers lean towards the traditional and ancient appearance. Traditions have a reassuring quality (Hobsbawm, 2011) and traditional coffee production also indicates this with its visual display. Once freshly ground coffee was presented to the customer in a paper bag, the presentation was replaced by cardboard boxes and then ostentatious tin boxes. It is observed that the packaging process has changed in the context of supply-demand balance in line with the explanations of the manufacturers. The people described as "tourists" are people who come from different cities in Turkey to see Mardin. Paper bags have been replaced by cardboard boxes and tin boxes as paper bags are not useful for people who want to take coffee home with them. In the face of increasing demand for speciality coffee production, producers have added additional products to their businesses:

Z.C.: Those who buy coffee usually buy almond candy here. We added an extra dragee in addition to this almond candy. Since almond candy has become a classic, people have started to look for a different taste... This time, we started with chocolate dragees ... with sahlelep, fruit, etc. [Products] changed because of tourists.

İ.E.: Now...Mardin was not a tourist city before. The soap maker would do her own business because s/he sold it to his/her own customers. The Cologne seller was just selling cologne. The coffee maker was selling just coffee.

M.K.: For instance, you see this soap shop over there... he used to sell underwear. Things didn't go well, and they changed it to a soap shop. Yeah, it's not like it used to be. Everyone used to do their own thing... I am a coffee seller, and I have candies. Formerly, it wasn't like that: it has changed.

As it is understood, many coffee producers have started to sell additional products such as nuts, confectionery, soap, fibre, almond sugar, chocolate dragees, tiramisu dragees, spices, cologne, and *zaferan* (saffron), in addition to coffee.

In their statements, business owners stated that more and more domestic tourists started to come to Mardin thanks to television series as an important instrument of popular culture in the previous decade.⁴ Ritzer (2011) emphasises that the mass production market has been replaced by a rapidly changing market. The diversity of the product range points to the consumer in pursuit of new experiences. Mardin always presents new and surprising products to travellers. Holt uses the concepts of experiential, hedonic, aesthetic, and autotelic in examining consumption as an experience (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982). An individual in pursuit of a new product is a person who is curious about new experiences, pursues pleasure through aestheticised commodities, and desires unique learning at the end of the purchasing process.

Coffee's challenge with technology

Coffee producers sell to other provinces as well as to customers who come to Mardin personally:

⁴ Many TV series have been shot over the past decades in Mardin. These series featured large mansions and extended families. The TV series dealing with traditional family relationships attracted great attention from Turkish audiences.

Z.C.: There is a serious demand and curiosity from outside the city. Generally, when we consider the population, we primarily work (sell) in Istanbul and Ankara. We receive orders from almost 81 provinces... Since a customer can't find this flavour anywhere else, s/he reaches us via other means or social media.

M.K.: On request. We ship to all parts of Turkey. All over Turkey... We send with ... [the name of cargo company]; we have a contract with them.

İ.E. We have 14 branches outside the city. We also send as an order. We send at least 200 parcels per day. We have Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp order lines on social media.

A.B.: We use social media. We have Instagram [account], get [orders] from it. İstanbul Grand Bazaar, Mısır Bazaar, ...we send [coffee] to these places.

N.Ç.: [Address is] available on the internet. [Customers] find us on the internet. We usually send the orders from our other office.

All producers interviewed within the scope of the study use their social media accounts effectively for their business. As they stated, some of the customers are people who have already come to Mardin and bought coffee before. Coffee producers use technology and developments effectively through e-commerce. The fact that most of the orders received via social media accounts are in Ankara and Istanbul is also informative in understanding coffee consumption and consumption trends.

The change of cafes as the “third place” and the increase in the number of cafes

It is necessary to read the increase in coffee sales together with cafes and coffee houses, not only in Mardin and Turkey. Perhaps it would be appropriate to look a little further back for the increase in the value of coffee. While coffee began to replace alcohol in Norway in the 19th century (Skog, 2006), going to cafes and drinking coffee in Taiwan in the 1920s was a high-class activity (Shih et al., 2010). While Japan is generally known as a country where tea is consumed, the consumption of coffee in daily life shows a radical change (Verma, 2013). In many cities, cafes have replaced traditional coffee houses (Sami, 2010), and cafes, coffee machines, and cafe bars have continued to cover almost all corners in recent years (Tucker, 2017). Traditional coffeehouses that have fallen into disrepute used to be places where games such as backgammon, chess, and checkers

were played, and sometimes *meddah*,⁵ arena theatre, “Hacivat and Karagöz”⁶ and other puppet shows were exhibited. In 18th-century England (Cowan, 2008) and perhaps in many other places, coffee houses provided settings for the exchange of information (Habermas, 2003). For this reason, the concept of ‘penny universities’ (Cowan, 2008, p. 87) was used for coffee houses in England, meaning a place that provides the opportunity to socialise with only the cost of a single drink. From the past to the present, coffeehouses and cafes have been among the most important public spaces where people from different classes come together, communicate, and penetrate social and cultural life easily (Habermas, 2003; Hattox, 1996). However, the inclusion of women in the aforementioned public sphere took place a little later. While Georgeon (1999) explains that women were not included in coffee shop life in the Ottoman period, Schivelbusch (2012) writes that in the past, also women in Germany held coffee meetings at home because they could not go to cafes.

The cafes that replace the coffee houses are quite different from the coffee houses in terms of decor and presentation. Comfortable and ostentatious furniture, spatially expansive lighting equipment, international variety in the menu, sometimes convincing messages about the freshness of the coffee and displaying the coffee in straw sacks to stimulate the senses of smell, wireless internet support for internet users, organised for those who want to use their laptop in certain areas, and the uniforms of the employees are some of the prominent features of today’s cafes. Perhaps in the Ottoman period, some coffee shops were places that offered the comfort of home (Mikhail, 2007), but today cafes are almost like a house. Bookman (2013, p. 412) defines the brands Starbucks and The Second Cup in her study on cafe chains in Canada as ‘third places’ that offer ‘coffee drinking romance’ to consumers. What is meant by the concept of *third place* is that these spaces resemble both home and workplace. Shop owners offer consumers their organised spaces both in the comfort of home and as areas where they can carry out their business. In this sense, the concept of third place is used in the sense of both home and workplace. Simon (2011) similarly defines new cafe chains as the third place. Adding luxury to comfort, Bookman (2013) states that brands present coffee as if they are presenting delicious wines to consumption life by using aesthetic materials through knowledgeable baristas who are seen as coffee experts. To borrow Sennett’s (2011) idea of the city and the spaces belonging to the city as a display stage and a world of show, cafes today function as flamboyant display spaces in cities.

⁵ Public storyteller in old times.

⁶ Famous puppet characters of shadow theatre during Ottoman period and acted mainly in coffee houses.

Consumption habits of local people in Mardin

Taking a look at the hot beverage preferences of the residents of Mardin will allow us to compare the production of the speciality coffee sold in Mardin as well as the sales.

E.B.: We drink Turkish coffee. Medium-sugar. We don't get much from other coffees.

N.B.: We have Turkish coffee. I have it with little sugar. No, rarely (we) have from the others (coffees).

F.U.: We drink Turkish coffee. I don't like the others.... Turkish coffee is unique; I drink it every day.

M.M.: We used to drink Turkish coffee ... I also drink Mirra. We used to have Christian neighbours who drank bitter coffee every morning. No, (the others) raise my blood sugar.

A.D.: Generally (I have) Turkish coffee but sometimes Dibek (coffee) ... Just for a change.

The information provided by coffee producers and sellers confirms the statements of local consumers in Mardin:

Z.C.: Now, the local people of Mardin do not drink these speciality coffees. The coffee generally consumed in Mardin is Turkish coffee or Turkish coffee with cardamom; we differ among ourselves. Assyrians have their own coffee. We call it Assyrian coffee.... What we drink here is mainly Turkish coffee with cardamom. With this new trend, sometimes but not very often, we (rarely) consume these new things (speciality coffee).

Ì.E.: You know, since Mardin has turned into a touristic city, tourists usually choose Dibek coffee. Local people generally consume coffee, which we call Mirra, and Turkish coffee. But of course, there are those who take the Dibek coffee as well.

M.K.: Turkish coffee. Turkish coffee with cardamom.

A.B.: Locals in Mardin are now buying medium roast Turkish coffee and with cardamom.... The smell is very strong.... So, it depends on demand. Assyrians usually have black coffee and (with) cardamom.

While all interviewees reported that they consumed Turkish coffee and Mirra, nearly no one who bought speciality coffee was encountered. As can be seen, the fact that individuals have been drinking Turkish coffee, Mirra, or Assyrian coffee since childhood affects their purchasing practices. In addition, according to the statements made, the people interviewed, based on their consumption habits, can define *us* and *other* in the places they live in terms of ethnicity or religion.

Producers stated that they mostly send their speciality coffees, which are mild, to Istanbul and Ankara. While the field interview information also gives general information about consumption, it is clear that a more comprehensive study is needed for a detailed view of these preferences. According to the results of a survey conducted with 1140 people in Istanbul, Izmir and Antalya, Turkish coffee is the most preferred type of coffee among individuals between the ages of 30 and 55 (Gürel, 2013). With the decline and disappearance of traditional coffee houses, it is inferred that Turkish coffee, consumed by the upper age group, has left its place to the younger generation in the cafes where speciality coffees are served.

Transformation of pleasure, identity, and purchasing practices in the context of production and consumption

This section aims to understand the reasons for the sales techniques that have changed with speciality coffee production, which has increased rapidly in recent years in Mardin, and the preferences of new consumers in the light of the literature. In looking into the analysis of sales, Simon (2011) states that the purchasing process turns into a form of entertainment, identity construction and self-expression in the “post-needs” society, while Ritzer (2011) compares McDonaldised places to a festival area. He emphasises that standardised spaces with bright lights, colourful decors, aesthetic paintings, and aesthetic tools will make the individual experience euphoric and that the food served in such venues is similar to a theatre play. The consumer is given the opportunity to escape the mediocrity of her/his daily life and pass into a magical new world. Consumption offers the individual the advantage of being different on the way to specialisation through different tastes and experiences (Bookman, 2013). As a place of experience, Grinshpun (2014, p. 10) defines the well-known Starbucks coffee business as a ‘coffee entertainment center,’ which in his view provides the individual with a sense of anonymity, communal belonging, and individual control in the public space. The sweeteners and creams added to coffee and tea, which we can count as a development that started in the USA in 1982,

are also a part of this fun (Roseberry, 1996). What is bought is entertainment with coffee as an object.

It is clear that the meaning attributed to coffee has gained value not only in Turkey but also throughout the world. McCracken (1986) states that cultural meaning is located in three places: 1) the culturally constructed world, 2) the object of consumption, and 3) the individual consumer. While adding that the theme of cultural meaning passes from the world to the commodity and from the commodity to the individual, the researcher states that one of the most important ways of confirming cultural categories is material objects; furthermore, objects aid in the formation of a culturally constructed world of meaning. In the words of Bourdieu (2015), practice produces metaphors; that is, the construction of meaning begins with the introduction of commodities as a result of purchasing practices or usage. Coffee has evolved to be the drink of thinkers beyond being a mere beverage (Verma, 2013). Coffee, which contains a series of cultural codes related to its drinking in the Anatolian culture and was considered an indicator of prosperity in the recent past with its consumption, today has signifiers such as being knowledgeable and expressing the personality with its different varieties (Bookman, 2013). The construction of meaning also takes place through the purchasing process. McCracken (1986) expresses that the meaning moves from consumer goods to the consumer. The individual makes herself visible and valuable by buying speciality coffee. According to Simon (2011), style, identity, and status are also acquired by purchasing coffee, and the product we buy contributes to promoting the buyer; thus, consumption objects also enable communication with other consumers (Holt, 1995).

While examining the construction of meaning from a cultural perspective, the pleasure of coffee should not be denied. Hattox (1996) mentions that coffee lovers in the Arabian Peninsula even have a word of their own to describe coffee euphoria: *marqaha*. Simon (2009, p. 122-124) defines the purchase of speciality coffee today as 'affordable luxury,' although he also considers the economic side and even quotes the words of Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz: 'You can't buy a BMW every day or a Viking stove or an expensive dress,' and quotes Paquet: 'but you can buy a cup of coffee.' Simon uses the phrase "retail therapy" and "self-gifting" together with the purchase. Coffee is a commodity that any middle-class consumer can buy without paying huge sums to make themselves happy with its taste and smell.

Bourdieu (2015) expresses that practices are perceived and internalised within the class structure. Based on his explanations, it can be predicted that refined tastes will belong to individuals from higher economic classes, with a general inference. Following this idea,

Tucker (2017) also states that those who drink more prestigious and more expensive coffee can be expected to be from more privileged social classes. In contrast, overcoming this class generalisation of Bourdieu, Holt (1998) shows that it is becoming increasingly harder to deduce status through consumption objects in postmodern cultures. In short, it is not easy nowadays to make a class inference from the consumption of speciality coffee (including the well-known chains) as a trademark of excellence. Cosmopolitanism is used to mean the opposite of fixed, narrow-minded, and national, and efforts to be cosmopolitan for the new middle class and elite classes are a desirable point of separation (Bookman, 2013). It seems that the educated class is more inclined to try the foods of other countries and to pursue the tastes they like rather than the more ostentatious and larger-looking foods and beverages (Holt, 1998). In Bookman's study about speciality coffee consumers in Canada (2013)—with a few notable exceptions—consumers were predominantly young, middle-class workers (consultants, healthcare workers, and teachers), those who worked in creative fields (authors, actors, and therapists) with very high economic and cultural capital, or university students. Simon (2009) similarly shows that Starbucks cafes are spaces where chemistry students, short-story writers, and mid-level managers can carry on their work. Although it is not possible to generalise Canadian-specific information in the first example—considering that university students use Starbucks cafes in many cities in Turkey—it is a result that is compatible with the class-based approach discussed above. Another striking piece of information about making sense of the speciality coffee preferences of the young and educated class is the establishment of the American Specialty Coffee Association (SCAA), a group of retailers and coffee producers in the United States, in 1982 (Roseberry, 1996). We can say that the decision of the companies is a historical turning point for the rise of coffee. According to the information provided by the researcher, the SCAA, which cooperates with the National Coffee Service Association, appealed to the International Coffee Organization for a promotional fund of 1.6 million USD in order to popularise coffee, especially among young people. This has made the success of coffee chains and the speciality coffee preferences of young people more meaningful in the previous four decades.

One of the handicaps of this study is that since the pandemic restrictions started in March 2020, individuals who buy and consume speciality coffee from businesses and cafes in Mardin could not be adequately interviewed. However, we know that cities such as Mardin, Gaziantep, Hatay, and Kars have been popular among local tourists in recent years, with an emphasis on and promotion of their cultural structures and assets. When the accommodation data of the hotels for the province of Mardin are examined via the statistics of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the number of domestic and

foreign people staying from 2010 to 2019 has increased gradually, except for exceptional cases, and sometimes doubled the 2010 figures (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, n.d.). The figures make the contribution of the group involved in consumption to the city economy of Mardin and to the process of producing and transforming coffee meaningful.

In lieu of a conclusion

The starting point of this study is the diversity in coffee production, the increase in the number of cafes and the structural changes experienced by cafes in Mardin in recent years. In this context, interviews have been held with coffee producers, cafe owners and people who consume coffee in Mardin, and an effort has been made to read both compilations of information together with conducting a comprehensive review of the literature on nutrition, coffee, and its consumption in Turkish and foreign languages. It has been understood that retail and wholesale coffee producers have produced various coffees such as Dibek, Syriac, (with) cardamom and Kurdish coffee in the previous decade, and some producers sell them to different cities in Turkey. In recent years, manufacturers have added products, such as cookies, various dragees, different soaps and textiles, to their sales lists, as well as coffee. It has been observed that many of the manufacturers use the titles “Efendi” and “Bey” in their brand logos as a sign of exclusivity, and illustrations of men with moustaches evoke the past. Displayed here is the ancient looking new. It has been observed that manufacturers who used to sell coffee in paper bags first switched to ostentatious cardboard boxes, and then tin boxes took their place. With the influence of the municipal government, uniform signs were hung in the cafes, and the indoor and outdoor spaces of the workplaces were rearranged with comfort, elegance, and lighting apparatus.

At this point, before evaluating the consumer profile, we can refer to Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of space, habitus, and capital to define the coffee production in Mardin and the demand for various coffees. Bourdieu (2014) appreciates the field as a space of struggle and strategy of the actors. Referring to the researcher’s concepts as a reference, it is possible to talk about an economic field in Mardin where the interaction between coffee producers and customers takes place. While mentioning the economic field, Bourdieu expresses that actors attempt to differentiate themselves from their competitors in order to reduce the competition. The number of tourists in Mardin has increased over the last 10 years, sometimes twice as much as in the beginning, with some exceptions. In the interviews with individuals residing in Mardin, almost all of the interviewees stated that they consume Turkish coffee. We may appreciate the diversification of the products of

coffee manufacturers in this context. To attract more customers (tourists) and increase their capital during their challenge, coffee manufacturers develop strategies and construct a challenging field per se. The researcher also mentions four different types of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. The emphasis of cultural capital is on the acquisition of knowledge. According to Bourdieu, symbolic capital is related to habitus. Hosting people from different religions and ethnicities, Mardin is a multicultural city. With these features, it is different from many cities in Turkey. At this point, it is essential to consider what the tourists expect to see and do in Mardin. As Dean MacCannell (1999, p. 14) asserts, tourists seek authenticity. As a multicultural and multi-religious space, Mardin offers authenticity to its visitors with its religious buildings, such as mosques and churches, with various types of coffee and different products. The existence of religious places and the launch of all these products also cause the participants (tourists) to attribute symbolic meaning to Mardin.

Now, we can review the behavioural patterns of the consumer profile. Manufacturers producing speciality coffees, expanding their product ranges, the increase in the number of tourists every year, and coffee sales mainly to Ankara and Istanbul via social media and the internet point to a new consumer profile. This new consumer profile implicitly shows individuals who consume fast and quickly, who want to get what they want from a single place and continue on their way, who want to have more and new experiences in a short time, and who want to double their pleasure in a limited time. Bourdieu states that social capital is related to the investment that an individual has made in him/herself. Tourists who think that they are visiting an authentic place and buying authentic products in Mardin invest in their social capital. Purchasing and consuming authentic products will make the individual more privileged and contribute to the social status of the individual. Sharing photos taken in Mardin on social media pages should increase the multiplier effect. Performing and experiencing cultural practices will create a change in the habitus of individuals. At this point, if we refer to Bourdieu again, we can point out that the cultural and symbolic capital of the city increases with the influence of the actors in the field.

Based on the literature studies on consumption, it is seen that the educated new class is more open to new experiences than traditional ones. Cafes, places of heterotopia and defined as the "third place", are the public spaces of this new class with their speciality coffees. There is a similar transition from the prominent Turkish poet Yahya Kemal Beyatlı's definition of Madrid coffeehouses to poet Mehmet Akif Ersoy's (1984) definition of Berlin coffeehouses. While Beyatlı likened the coffee houses in Madrid to an atmosphere

of uproar, Ersoy enjoyed the coffee houses he visited in Berlin in 1918. The handicap of the study is the inability to adequately communicate with consumers outside Mardin due to the onset of the pandemic. With the prediction that the penetration of speciality coffees into daily life will increase, another comprehensive study might be complementary.

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Povzetek

Kava, ki nam pomaga pri spoznavanju kulturnih praks družbe, je pomembna potrošna dobrina ne samo v Turčiji, ampak po vsem svetu. V študiji smo proučevali hitro spreminjanje kavarn in nakupovalnih praks potrošnikov v Artuklu, v zgodovinskem okrožju Mardin ter različne posebne kave, ki jih tam pripravljajo. Opravljeni so bili etnografski intervjuji s proizvajalci kave, lastniki kavarn in potrošniki. Proizvajalci kave pripravljajo različne vrste kave, kot so turška, asirska, kurdska, dibek in kardamom, ki odražajo večkulturno strukturo mesta. Lastniki kavarn in proizvajalci v svojih blagovnih znamkah in logotipih uporabljajo izraze in podobe, ki posnemajo antiko. Kavarne kot "tretja mesta" postajajo razkošni prostorni prostori, ki opuščajo svoj tradicionalni videz. Poraba novih izdelkov s strani obiskovalcev Mardina, pomembnega mesta za domače turiste, kaže na nov razred, ki išče užitek in izkušnje v Turčiji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: specialty coffee, Mardin, uživanje hrane, tradicija, popularna kultura

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