Cultural Implications of Starbucks Consumption in China: Why do Chinese Have a Latte on their Mind?

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“CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF STARBUCKS CONSUMPTION IN CHINA: WHY DO CHINESE HAVE A LATTE ON THEIR MIND?”

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By Garrett Hersh

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for completion
Of the Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis was gain a more comprehensive understanding concerning the Chinese consumers understanding of coffee and Starbucks in China as a luxury good. Considering China’s recent history, as well as the introduction of a capitalist, consumer economy, examining the Chinese consumers’ consumption pattern of this foreign, arguably luxury, good, is reflective of Chinese consumer ideals. A literature review analyzing the relationship between Chinese consumer ideals and the introduction of global consumerism, in addition to a set of interviews and surveys were conducted in attempts to understand the current Chinese consumption patterns of Starbucks coffee. After conducting the interviews and surveys it was concluded that Chinese consumers consume Starbucks coffee for the following reasons: they view coffee as an authentic Western product that reflects the characteristics of their ideal identity, that the consumption of coffee serves as a means to represent themselves as members of a higher class, and that Chinese consumers use this space as a “third place” – one that exists between the home place and workplace.
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I. Introduction

In the past decade the popularity of coffee in China has experienced significant growth both in term of production and consumption. According to data collected by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FOA) in a 2015 study, the production of coffee in China has grown immensely, roughly doubling in size every five years over the last two decades (Gennari, 2015). A 2015 report by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) estimated current coffee consumption in China at approximately 120,00 metric tons, double of what it was three year ago and having grown at an average rate of 16% annually over the past five years (USDA, 2015; ICO, 2015). By comparison the United States consumed 641,660 metric tons of coffee in 2015, but over the past five years coffee consumption has stagnated, seeing little growth (USDA, 2015). In the span of 10 years, coffee sales have more than doubled in China, increasing from 1 billion USD in 2005 to 2.4 billion in 2015, with the projected value of coffee sales to grow 11 percent by 2019, reaching 3.65 billion USD (China Food and Drink Report 2013; 2016). These data help illustrate the phenomenon of Chinese coffee consumption in recent years.

First introduced in the late 1800s by Western missionaries, coffee was widely considered by many as a beverage to accommodate foreign dignitaries residing in China at the time (Shao, 2012). It would not be until the mid 1980s, following China’s economic reforms of the late 1970s, that Chinese consumers would adopt coffee drinking practices as multinational corporations began to reintroduced coffee. Nestlé, a Swiss company, was the first multination coffee brand to enter China and played a primary role in educating Chinese consumers about the taste and culture that surrounded coffee. Primarily marketing coffee in instant form, the company targeted busy office workers as a cheap,
readily available beverage that provided a caffeine boost for tired workers. Perceptions of coffee would remain unchanged until the introduction of Starbucks in the late 1990s. Opening its first store in Beijing in 1999, Starbucks began to question Chinese consumers old impressions of coffee, offering new varieties of coffee styles and flavors localized to Chinese tastes. Despite its late entrance into the Chinese market, Starbucks was able to solidify itself as a corporation selling an authentic foreign product that embodied the lifestyle of the modern, affluent class (Bantiwalu & Demisse, 2011). By emphasizing the notion of individual experience and a ‘third space’ for its consumers, Starbucks witnessed dramatic growth as sales in China increased 800% over its first decade (Moore, 2006; Bantiwalu & Demisse, 2011). Since opening its first store the corporation has opened 1,900 outlets throughout the country in more than 99 cities and is planning on opening 500 new stores in China every year for the next five years, doubling the amount of stores operated in the country and becoming Starbucks’s largest market worldwide (Burkitt, 2016). At the time of its introduction it was difficult to predict how Chinese consumers would receive the cultural images of a foreign corporation such as Starbucks, but as the company stated on its website, Starbucks’ “inspirational, progressive, professional and intellectual image has been widely accepted by a variety of the Chinese customers including, but not limited to, a rising upper-middle class ‘modern Chinese’, white collar workers, college students, etc.” (Starbucks China, 2011 cited in Zhang, 2012). Strategically located in proximity to densely populated urban centers, famous tourists attractions, business districts, and shopping centers, Starbucks has presented itself as a brand synonymous with affluency and not a beverage that can be afforded by all (Pons, Jin & Puel, 2007). At 20 RMB (3.10 USD) the price of a medium (grande) cup of freshly brewed black coffee in China would be high,
considering the average per capita income of Chinese consumers. According to data acquired from the World Bank, in 2014, China’s gross nation income (GNI) per capita was 13,170 USD, compared to the United State’s 55,900 USD. Thus, the consumption of Starbucks coffee for many Chinese is an indulgence, especially in a society in which tea, the most consumed beverage, is more readily available and economical.

Subsequent to the introduction of Starbucks in China a new coffee culture was created. Chinese consumers quickly began to differentiate between instant coffee and Starbucks coffee. Previous images of coffee associated the product with ideals of productivity, featuring hard-working professionals drinking coffee throughout their workday. Starbucks’s infiltration into China has altered consumers’ perception of coffee, associating their product as a luxury good resulting in a cultural phenomenon of contemporary Chinese society (Zhang, 2012). Industry experts have predicted that if the market growth of coffee continues to grow at its current pace, it is increasingly likely that coffee will become an integral part of Chinese culture within the next few decades. In retrospect, the burgeoning coffee culture has taken a considerable amount of time to become the presence that we see today. Until the early 1980s many Chinese people had not even heard of coffee, let alone encountered it. And yet, in such a short amount of time Starbucks has achieved an omnipresent status throughout much of developing China. Despite high costs and cheaper alternatives, the consumption of Starbucks coffee continues to rise as the company projects increased growth and expansion. Many attribute this to Starbucks’s ability to localize itself in the foreign cultures, emphasizing larger sitting areas to accommodate more customers and encouraging customers to stay longer, modifying and tailoring products to match Chinese tastes, in addition to marketing their products to
appear sophisticated, Western, and “cool.” Much of Chinese consumers’ knowledge of coffee has largely influenced by film and media, and less by the product itself. Drinking coffee has become a practice that many Chinese consumers hope to cultivate a taste for due to its perceived association with a sophisticated, cosmopolitan Western lifestyle. Even early on, local independent coffee shops gained traction in the market despite their inferior coffee quality as a result of China’s growing infatuation with Western culture. Coffee shops today have increasingly become part of Chinese popular culture, being associated with a cosmopolitan social retreat for affluent Chinese urbanites. Starbucks offers the ultimate Western experience, by providing a trendy, comfortable atmosphere for Chinese consumers to order gourmet coffee drinks that are associated with a foreign, Western culture and has arguably developed into a statement of prestige and affluence. As consumption has become more important to the Chinese, how they perceive Starbucks and why they choose to consume it is reflective of their newly developed cultural identity in the presence of global influence.

Though previous literature concerning coffee culture in Asian countries exists, few focus on China, consumer perceptions, and what has influenced these perceptions. The construction of China’s new coffee culture provides an interesting case study as the production of this new cultural representation and identity is founded on a dominant, preexisting culture that suggests contradictory cultural messages. Thus, the aim of this study is to contribute to preexisting literature by examining coffee culture from a Chinese perspective and exploring how Chinese consumers associate themselves with Starbucks’ coffee culture in hopes to understand the connection between cultural representations and consumers’ interpretations.
Before addressing those issues, I believe it is important first to address several questions that both my peers and research participants have continuously inquired about regarding my research.

Why Food?

“Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are”

"The destiny of nations depends on the manner in which they feed themselves.”

-Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste*

What we eat is an expression of who we are and where we come from. One cannot hope to understand the environment, health, economics, or politics without understanding how we feed ourselves and how we organize our food systems. Food is fundamental. And in the past century alone, it has changed more dramatically than in the previous ten thousand years. Food is central to the question of what our relationship to nature is, as well as our relationship to one another. Food, which is, of course, a necessity to life, as well as the largest portion of the economy (Murray, 2007), is one of the great keys to unlocking the way the world works and who we are. Food is not simply about sustenance and nutrients, but it is embedded in all facets of society. As stated by Mark Bittman, American food journalist, author, and columnist in *The New York Times*, “the issues that confront most Americans directly are income, food (thereby, agriculture), health and climate change. These are all related: You can’t address climate change without fixing agriculture, you can’t fix health without improving diet, you can’t improve diet without addressing income, and so on. The production, marketing and consumption of food is key to nearly everything” (Bittman, 2015).
Anthropologists, sociologists, and historians have become increasingly aware that the study of food and culture is more than an investigation into how individuals meet their basic biological needs; rather, food consumption is significantly involved in the construction of meaning and identity (Ritzer, 2008; Pollan, 2006; Belasco, 2008; Lake and Oh, 2007). What one eats, who it is eaten with, and how it is eaten, whether consciously or not, communicates a great deal about social relationships. Food is a universal medium through which identity is expressed as it provides a means to understanding the human condition, as it is ubiquitous, necessary and constant. What we eat becomes an expression of who we are, where we come from, and what we aspire to be. It also has greater implications for how societies form, politics become structured, and how the economy operates. Food and eating unequivocally intertwine us with the lives of others. Food defines relationships. What we choose to eat connects us to the world in very complex ways. As globalization compresses the very fabric of our global society, our choices in what we consume implicate us in a system of global relationships. Thus, our understanding of food, how we associate ourselves with it, and perhaps more importantly, how and why we consume it has become an important conversation to have as it not only informs us about ourselves and each other, but ultimately defines our future.

Why Coffee?

Coffee’s popularity is a phenomenon that is not unique to China. Even subsequent to the recent economic recession, evidence suggests that little impact has been made on levels of coffee consumption as consumption rates continue to grow worldwide (ICO, 2012). In her novel Coffee Culture: Local Experiences, Global Connections, America anthropologist
Catherine Tucker explores how coffee has achieved an omnipresence in everyday life, examining the social and cultural dimensions that have attributed to its global popularity. Tucker defines her core concept of coffee culture as “the ideas, practices, technology, meanings, and associations regarding coffee”, proposing that coffee’s success is largely due to its association with particular social values and meanings shared amongst people from different social status (Tucker, 7). She concludes that “the daily consumption of coffee implies social values and reproduces some ‘cool’ associations that are efficiently marketed in the mass media and planned in high-scale advertisements”, allowing individuals to express their identity, social status, and cultural values through the consumption of coffee (Laberge, 2013; Tucker, 2011). As Appadurai (1990) illustrated decades ago, all societies and cultures of the contemporary world are linked to one other simultaneously along multidimensional flows of influence. This is apparent when examining coffee, as through our consumption of coffee “we are intimately tied to a global economic system that has evolved over half a millennium” (Tucker, 2). Though the practice of drinking coffee has garnered a commonly accepted global understanding, the cultural connotation it adopts varies when examined with local experiences (Tucker, 2011). What symbolic meanings and connotations consumers form surrounding coffee and coffee culture differs significantly from one country to another. In the US for example, a country in which 83 percent of adults consume coffee, the proliferation of specialty coffee highlights the complex relationship between class and food consumption that provides a means for reimagining class (Fernau, 2013; Roseberry, 1998). In China, an increased availability of consumer goods has accompanied China’s dramatic economic growth, encouraging consumers to pursue new identities through mass consumption (Wu, 1999; Croll, 2006; Elfick, 2011). As differences
in class and the taste of social elites are highly influential in consumers’ decision-making process, understanding coffee consumption habits can help to illustrate how the Chinese perceive foreign cultures (Bourdieu, 1984).

If we examine coffee closely, we can see much more than just beans. Coffee, much like all matters in the field of sociology, is complicated. But through a closer examination of any product, there exist levels of inter-connectivity and relationships that allow an individual to understand his or her lived experiences within the larger historical and social context that he or she inhabits.

Why Starbucks?

“Why do you want to examine Starbucks?” is perhaps the question I get asked most often. Explaining the significance of examining this corporation in any country is a daunting task and China is no exception. Furthermore, to relate this significance to any individual who does not understand China’s cultural intricacies has proven to be more difficult. Thus, I believe that, in order to understand the implications of Starbucks, it is beneficial first to examine Starbucks as it relates to the US, as the examination of Starbucks in the United States and its consumers illustrates how the contemporary ideals of the American consumer manifest themselves in our daily cup of joe.

To preface my thoughts on this issue, I believe it is necessary to first introduce three premises concerning the modern consumer economy and three primary incentives that encourage consumer consumption patterns that help illustrate the significance of examining the consumption Starbucks. First, what we buy has meaning (Baudrillard, 1997;
Zukin, 2004). A rough form of democracy, our consumption of goods is generally reflective of our individual identity, as what we choose to purchase is directly related to our needs and wants. Secondly, purchasing has become a process that is increasingly important in the lifestyle as our landscapes, lives, and politics are organized around and driven by consumption (Veblen, 1934; Ritzer, 2008). Even institutions, universities themselves that hold itself above market interest, have adopted the model of consumption, providing the students of today with a consumption model of education that elicits the ideology that "I paid this much, so you should give me this degree.” And finally, the spread of consumption has been largely aided by the retreat of the public (Boggs, 1997). In other words, as close-kit communities and families have become more dispersed, and as religious life has become more attenuated, buying has facilitated a means to fill those “gaps” (Boggs, 1997). Consuming has filled and occupied the spaces that used to exits, allowing it in many ways to emulate those institutions.

From my own observations there are several motives that encourage consumption: function, emotion, and aspiration. First, function – an individual buys a product because he or she needs it; this is the most basic cause of the purchase of consumer goods. Second, emotion – one may also purchase a product because of its ability to make one feel better. How often have you treated yourself for doing something good, or to brighten your day, through means of purchasing goods or services? Finally aspiration, perhaps the most relevant dimension, is how we consume goods based on their perceived abilities to elevate our individual status. This relates to American economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen’s concept of conspicuous consumption, in which consumers purchase expensive goods to display wealth and prosperity as opposed to simply covering the necessary needs.
of consumer. These purchases are forms of self-representation that provide the means to create a self-image of our choosing and construct distinctions among others.

From a functional perspective what many consumers purchase Starbucks coffee for is caffeine. As our day-to-day lives have become increasingly busy, caffeine offers a relatively cheap and easy means to provide the necessary energy needed to make it through the day. But as coffee is a readily available product that can easily be found at many food establishments, such as McDonald’s or Dunkin Donuts, why are consumers continuing to pay more for the coffee at establishment such as Starbucks for coffee if their primary concern is caffeine consumption? I argue that this is largely due to several key factors, the first of which being the levels of caffeine in Starbucks coffee. According to recent studies, Starbucks drip coffee (regular, black coffee) contains twice the levels of caffeine as compared to coffee from establishments such as Dunkin Donuts and McDonalds (Gentile, 2015). Caffeine levels are not accidental; it is very easy to manipulate the levels of caffeine in coffee by grinding the coffee finer and using less water. Arguably Starbucks has deliberately created a highly-caffeinated cup of coffee with the intent to elicit more sales from customers accustomed to elevated levels of caffeine in their coffee. What Starbucks has discovered, much like cigarette companies did, is that if you sell an addictive product, people have to come back.

Starbucks has also altered the contemporary consumer’s perception of coffee. Prior to Starbucks, coffee was essentially an industrial product. But subsequent to Starbucks’s introduction into the American market, some consumers quickly became dissatisfied with the black coffee offered by most establishments and desired the multitude of espresso-
based beverages that Starbucks offered. This suggests that consumers prefer Starbucks coffee for taste, as the products Starbucks offers are vastly different from its competitors. But with recent (2010) reincarnations of competitors’ coffee amenities, such McDonald’s McCafé, even Starbucks’s reimagined coffee is accessible to most consumers. Even in blind taste tests, McDonald’s coffee is frequently preferred among consumers, which suggests that it is not just about the taste. Why then are Americans continuing to buy Starbucks coffee? What some have suggested is that for Americans the consumption of Starbucks may be a form of self-presentation, and what we are paying for is a performance of class (Simon, 2009; Novak, 2007). We live in a society that emphasizes the importance of making distinction through consumption, resulting in a process of emulation that drives use of consumer goods (Veblen, 1934; Bourdie, 1984; Baudrillard, 1997).

In his book *Everything but the Coffee: Learning about America from Starbucks*, American sociologist Bryant Simon examines increasingly privatized consumerism in a society no longer concerned with necessity, arguing that “the pullback of community, the state, and other binding agents allowed brands like Starbucks to sell more goods and garner greater profits by reaching deeper into our lives and consciousness and claiming spaces that civic institutions, including the government, had occupied in the past” (Simon, 4). Simon emphasizes that as a corporation Starbucks markets individuality, predictability, and community as cultural prestige, offering consumers the opportunity to fulfill their desires and define themselves in relation to others through their purchases. Simon writes,”

“Don’t have enough community? Starbucks will manufacture some for you. Having a bad day? Starbucks will pick you up and be your friend, too. Wish that our foreign policy helped out the poor and that people around the world—especially after 9/11—liked us better? Starbucks can do that as
well. Who needs government or partisan politics when there is Starbucks? Starbucks can clean up the environment, engineer diversity, and, for a finishing touch, splash up our lives with a little art” (Simon, 13).

Simon’s research confirms that as consumers we will pay the premium to “feel better about ourselves and the state of the world” (Simon, 219).

Starbucks is more than just coffee. It represents how as consumers we subconsciously value products and how those values reflect who we are. Our associations with food are a manifestation of how we perceive the world and how we want the world to perceive us. It is for these very reasons that it is imperative to continue our discussion concerning food, and the relationships that impact and influences our future.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter two provides an overview of my field of research. I discuss previous research on sociology and food, examining coffee consumption in China as it relates to social identity. Then I will discuss globalization and consumption both generally and as they relate to China, further investigating how consumption is a process that reflects identity. I will discuss luxury goods, defining what they are and how they are perceived in China, followed by a consideration of whether coffee can be considered a luxury good. Then I will discuss Western cuisine in China, particularly how it has been perceived, why that is, and what has resulted because of it. Finally I will conclude the chapter by specifying my research questions and motives for this thesis. In chapter three I will describe the methodology and design of my research, detailing my instrument, sample, and limitations of the research. The fourth chapter will discuss the findings of my research, highlighting several key themes and motives that emerged while conducting interviews. The final
chapter summarizes the main findings of the thesis, and discusses Chinese consumers’
relationship with Starbucks and coffee as they relate to their formation of social identity.
II. Literature Review

Subsequent to economic reforms in the late 1970s, China has experienced a substantial rise in its middle class in addition to an influx of global consumerism ideals. This rising, affluent middle class in urban China and the Western/global ideas to which consumers have been exposed are actively shaping the idea of Western food culture in China. My research seeks to explore the relationship between food, globalization and consumption by investigating how Chinese people construct the concept of Western food, specifically Starbucks coffee, in China through consumers’ explorations and interpretations of Western food.

As for the ideas of "Western" or "Western countries," these terms might seem over-generalized; however, these concepts are based on a shared cultural understanding of what "the West" or "Western" references are in China. Europe and North America are understood as "the West," and thus, Europeans and Americans are named "Westerners" (Lu, 2013). This generalization reflects of how many Chinese people vaguely perceive the world as being divided into East and West; and their lack of knowledge of how diverse the cultures of the "Western countries" can be. Thus, Chinese consumers often take for granted that what they find in Western restaurants is authentic Western food, without recognizing how varied Western food really is.

Social Science and an Exploration of Food

There have been many anthropological and sociological studies of food and eating cultures that have highlighted the impact of globalization and industrialization on local
food culture. Anthropologist Sidney Mintz (1985) traced the history of sugar consumption in modern Europe to illustrate how the increase in sugar supply, a direct result of industrialization and globalization, effectively changed the eating habits of many people in Europe. Similar studies concerning globalization and cultural identities have also been conducted regarding Western cuisine in China or other Asian nations. Several anthropological studies of McDonald’s in East Asia, appear in James Watson’s book *Golden Arches East* (Watson 1997). These pioneering studies explored Western food in Asian countries on a comparative basis. Originating in the United States, McDonald’s is a representation of American cuisine and culture in China. According to Yan (1997), McDonald’s in Beijing is a symbol of Americana and modernity, and many people are consuming American culture and the idea of modernity behind the golden arches of McDonald’s in addition to the food itself. Furthermore, studies conducted by Traphagan and Brown (2002) demonstrated the impact that McDonald's and indigenous fast-food restaurants had on Japanese eating behaviors and social patterns, only further emphasizing a concept coined by American sociologist George Ritzer as McDonaldization. In his book *The McDonaldization of Society*, Ritzer (1993) illustrated the process by which the tenets that govern McDonald’s and the fast-food industry at large—efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control—increasingly come to organize and govern society. In later editions of his highly acclaimed book, Ritzer would suggest that Starbucks, which has recently been seen as a more significant cultural force and cultural phenomenon, is perhaps a more accurate representation of a similar effect today, resulting in what he termed as “the Starbucksification of society.” Though several studies have investigated the
impact of coffee and coffee consumption in Asia, there is a dearth of information concerning similar studies in Mainland China.

En-Ying Lin (2012) examined Taiwan’s consumer perceptions of Starbucks, concluding that many of the participants in her study associated Starbucks with providing a new concept of lifestyle that “draws consumers a vivid association with the characteristics of high quality, trendy, identified, connected to the world, sophisticated, prestigious, and distinctive” (Lin, 97). Allan Su, Wen-Bin Chiou, and Ming-Hsu Chang (2006) drew similar conclusions in their study of the impact of Western culture adoration on coffee consumption patterns in Taiwan. Their results indicated “a positive relationship between the desirability of foreign culture and the adoring foreign value in coffee consumption” (Su, 177) as many participants considered coffee consumption a reflection of Western culture and lifestyle, one that stood in contrast to their indigenous culture. This idea of contrast was further discussed by Yi-Ping and Cheng-Heng (2010) in their examination of coffee culture history in Taiwan and the impact of Western culture adoration on coffee consumption, concluding that many consumers interpreted the consumption of Starbucks coffee as a means to belong to a larger global culture. In another study concerning Starbucks-consumer relationships, En-Ying Lin and Marilyn Roberts (2007) found that Taiwanese Starbucks consumers, even in the absence of advertising, were highly satisfied with the unique lifestyle and “distinctive,” “sophisticated” feel Starbucks provided, or better yet, with the prestige and distinction that Starbucks provided in relation to personal social status. For many consumers, the act of consuming Starbucks coffee has provided a means to emulate a desired lifestyle, one distinct from their indigenous culture.
Confucianism and “Mianzi” in Chinese Consumerism

“Cultural value orientation plays a significant role in individual decision making because it is an antecedent of the psychological process” (Triandis, 146). The cultural values that are subconsciously ingrained into our ideals of value and worth are highly influential in our decision making processes as consumers. Historically a collectivist, Confucian society, the current consumption patterns of luxury goods in China might seem surprising. Research has highlighted that in societies with a collectivist orientation, individuals are extremely conscious of how their actions are perceived by others within their respective culture (Harb & Smith, 2008; Lee & Green, 1991; Liu, Smith, Liesch, Gallois, Ren, and Daly, 2011). One then might reason that purchasing expensive goods that serve little functional need would be discouraged in a collectivist society, as the consumption of these types of goods would place the needs of the individual over the collectivist. And yet, when investigating the influence of Confucian cultural values on Chinese consumer values, specifically regarding global brands, Warveni Jap (2013) concluded that these cultural values in many ways intensified consumer consumption “in the quest for social status” (Jap, 185). Further studies concerning Confucianism and Chinese consumerism conducted by Julie Li and Chenting Su discussed the cultural implications of mianzi, or face, in Chinese culture. Li and Su concluded that the concept of face was a key motivator in Chinese consumers’ increasing appetite for luxury products. Due to the heavy influence of Confucian culture in collectivist societies, Chinese consumers believed it necessary to consume luxury products to maintain and save face (Li and Su, 2007). “Face” was a term first used by American missionary Arthur Henderson Smith to help illustrate a key concept
of Chinese culture. Compounded of various meanings there exists no clear definition or translation of the word *mianzi*, though some have associated the term with social performance relative to others and the reputation, prestige, social standing, and honor achieved in life through success and ostentation (Hu, 1944; Lam, 1993). The consumption of luxury goods is one of the many ways through which Chinese consumers attempt to “gain face,” as the consumption of goods viewed as being expensive, difficult to obtain, highly desired, and not essential, increases the consumer’s outward appearance of success. These findings highlight the intricacies of consumer cultural values in a historically collectivist society with growing individualistic tendencies.

**Globalization and consumption**

China is an interesting place to study globalization and consumption, because it is a communist country, but with a planned market economy. Although it has been transformed immensely since opening up to the rest of the world, it still remains a communist state with its own political and ideological forms. As China has gradually opened up, Chinese people, especially those who live in the cities, have more access to the outside world concerning ideas of Western capitalism, global consumerism and globalization (Wu, 1999). It is important to understand how Chinese people react to these foreign cultures and manipulate these cultural processes in this era of transformation.

The idea of globalization emerged when worldwide transportation and communications became more readily available through easier and cheaper means. As Mintz pointed out, "globalization theory has developed as part of the search for conceptual tools with which to comprehend and explain this new stage of world history, when the
velocity of movement of commodities, ideas, capital and people through space and across borders threatens to change many of the rules by which international games were once played" (Mintz, 118). Multinational corporations such as McDonald's, Coca-Cola and IBM serve an important role in linking different parts of the world together by marketing their homogenized products all over the world. They are active agents in this age of globalization. They are also responsible for the development of global consumerism by creating internationally known brands of consumer products, which are then globally marketed. As Gray (cited in Mintz, 1998) pointed out, "brands for many consumer goods are no longer country-specific but global. Companies produce identical products for worldwide distribution. The popular cultures of virtually all societies are inundated by a common stock of images. The countries of the European Union share the images they all absorb from Hollywood movies more than they do any aspect of each other's cultures. The same is true of East Asia" (Mintz, 57).

In studies of McDonald's in East Asia, researchers found that McDonald's has different images in different countries. "Eating McDonald's" means different things in different places: cheap and quick meals for the working class in Hong Kong, but a status symbol for a new class of yuppies in Beijing (Watson 1997). On the one hand, the products that McDonald's are selling are generally homogenized, but on the other hand, the ways they have adapted their foods to different countries are localized. Within the process of globalization, the process of localization is embedded to match differing local tastes and culture. According to Robertson (1995), "globalization has involved and increasingly involves the reaction and the incorporation of locality, processes which themselves largely shape, in turn, the compression of the world as a whole" (Robinson, 40). In addition, he
believes that the concept of globalization cannot be separated from the discourse of the
global and the local, and thus, we can simply substitute the term “glocalization” for
globalization. But even this understanding of globalization is flawed, as it does not account
for “the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations, and the like and
their desire, indeed need, to impose themselves on various geographic area” (Ritzer, 2010).
The concept of “grobalization”, coined by Ritzer, emphasizes the impact of how a global
society that is increasingly reliant on information, from which people use to perceive
themselves and make decisions, existing within a global network that is highly conducive to
global capitalism, has thus created a network in which actors motivated by capital means
are capable of dictating the ebbs and flows of culture. This more holistic understanding of
globalization emphasizes the importance of the impact global consumerism has on Chinese
consumption.

There is a common understanding of consumption being linked with human desire
and the physical consumption of a consumer good (Holt, 2002). In fact, the development of
urban consumerism in North America and modern Europe paralleled the development of
industrial capitalism that produced a group of consumers whose patterns of consumption
provided them with a sense of social identity (Bocock, 1993). William Roseberry (1996)
brings this idea to coffee, arguing that the consumption of specialty coffee in America has
developed into a new means to reexamine class. I argue that in China, consumption of
Western goods is also a social identity marker of being rich and cultured. Veblen (1934)
used the term conspicuous consumption to describe the consumption patterns of the newly
wealthy middle-class in North America who aspire to and follow the lifestyle of the upper
class, a concept that is very much applicable to China.
Georg Simmel (1903) observed the social and psychological behaviors of people living in great metropolises in Europe and argued that people have used shopping and engaged in other leisure activities in order to preserve their autonomy and identity within the overwhelming social forces of the cities. Veblen and Simmel developed their theories of modern consumption at a time when large department stores first appeared in big cities. Therefore, it can be reasoned that the appearance of modern consumption is partly due to the rise of metropolises, big cities and their suburbs; people use consumption to distinguish their identity in these newly developed societies.

More recent developments in consumption theories are oriented towards symbolism. Bourdieu (1984) used the idea of habitus, or the socialized norms or tendencies that guide behavior and thinking, to illustrate that people belong to different social classes because of their lifestyles and possession of different kinds of capital, namely economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. Bourdieu understood capital as "usable resources and powers" in the society (Bourdieu, 114). For example, educated professionals are those who possess both economic and cultural capital. Possession of various kinds of capital are affected by one’s social origins and chances for education. The stratification of social class is an "embodied social structure" among which people of different social classes possess different capital in order to be distinct from people of other social classes (Bourdieu, 1984). Baudrillard (1997) argued that all kinds of consumption are not based on a set of pre-existing needs, but involve consumption of symbolic signs instead of material objects; people create a sense of who they are through the process of consumption. As he wrote in The Consumer Society, “You never consume the object in itself (in its use-value); you are always manipulating objects (in the broadest sense) as signs which distinguish you either
by affiliating you to your own group taken as an ideal reference or by marking you off from your group by reference to a group of higher status” (Baudrillard, 68).

The development of consumption cultures in China is likely different from that of the Western capitalist countries due to differences in historical and social backgrounds. However, despite these differences from the Western societies for which consumption theories were developed, ideas such as Veblen’s conspicuous consumption and Bourdieu’s capital consumption are existent in present-day urban China.

**China and global consumerism**

China became a socialist country in 1949. It was relatively isolated from the outside world until 1978 when the Chinese government adopted an open door policy. The idea of consumerism was not applicable in socialist China until recent decades. Although Hong Kong has long served as a window to China for foreign culture even before 1978, and thus, China was not completely closed from 1949 to 1978, the kind of cultural exchange experienced was selective and partial. I do not deny the role of Hong Kong as a medium to absorb foreign culture, but after 1978, Chinese people did have more access to foreign cultures. Whether or not the Western notion of consumer society can be applied in China is still questionable, since the political and economic developments in China differ so greatly from those of capitalist countries. According to Goodman (1996), China’s economic reforms have resulted in a rise of a new middle-class with plenty of wealth, private enterprises, and foreign imported goods. The development of mass consumption in urban China is an indication of the effect of global consumerism. Daily consumption at supermarkets or restaurants has become a normal activity nowadays, especially for those living in the cities,
but thirty years ago, there were not many consumer products on the streets. This shows a great difference between the past and present consumer culture in China. In urban China today, young professionals and elites have taken up the tasks of trend and lifestyle construction. Many products of international companies are arriving in China and will continue to affect the consumer market in China. There are more chances for people to earn money through trade and investment. Some of the new rich accumulate wealth and display their wealth through the consumption of luxury goods. This might be described as conspicuous consumption.

Luxury goods in China

There are several instances in this thesis in which I have referred to Chinese consumers’ infatuation with Western goods, especially those that are considered luxuries, but what exactly are luxury goods? Though a definitive definition of luxury goods does not exist, some have understood these goods as ones that “evoke exclusivity, [have] a well-known brand identity, [enjoy high] brand awareness and perceived quality, and retain sales level and customer loyalty” (Phau and Prendergast, 2000, 157). In recent years, Asia has experienced a significant increase in luxury markets, with China becoming the new major market for international companies. In fact China, by some measures, accounts for half of all luxury spending in the world (The Economist, 2015). Why are Chinese consumers so infatuated with luxury goods? And how does their culture, based on Confucian ideals in a collectivist society, impact their perceptions?
In Wong and Ahuvia’s article, *Personal Taste and Family Face: Luxury Consumption in Confucian and Western Societies*, the two scholars compared the difference in consumption of luxury goods among Confucian and Western societies. They concluded that:

“The Asian interdependent self focuses more on its public, outer self than the Western, independent self. Asian group norms and goals frequently emphasize public and visible possessions. Because economic status is a central social concern in these hierarchical and newly industrialized (or industrializing) societies, publicly visible markets are needed to concretize and communicate financial achievement. Therefore, Southeast Asians pay a great deal of attention to possessions that are both public and visible, such as designer-labeled goods, expensive cars, jewelry, etc. But this apparent materialism may or may not reflect internal personal taste, traits, or goals. Instead, it may reflect the value that an interdependent self places on social conformity in a materially focused, family-oriented, and hierarchical culture.” (Wong, 440)

By examining this topic Wong and Ahuvia gained a more holistic understanding of the current motives that drive Asian consumers to purchase goods in relation to their Western counterparts, providing an extremely valuable insight into the reason East Asia is the largest market for Western luxury brands. They concluded that for Southeast Asians, the value of a good comes from how the good makes the buyer appear to other people in their social atmosphere, instead of the consumer attributing value to the item itself. In other words, people are paying for the image that a luxury good can provide them with in the eyes of their peers.

A study conducted by Srichan Sriviroj focused on UK, Thai, and Chinese students and their consumption of luxury goods in the UK. Sriviroj (2007) concluded, “individuals’ influence from moments and events, should be taken into consideration in developing luxury products. Defining luxury products, in terms of the middle-class consumers will gain marketers' advantage in product specifications” (Sriviroj, 17). The main purpose of the
study was to gain further understanding of the differences between these groups of consumers, to better understand their values and what drives them to buy. Sriviroj found that all three groups of students are “motivated by [the] quality of luxury products,” which is referred to as the “Perfectionist Effect.” Chinese people are also motivated by the Hedonic effect, which refers to the idea that they consume the item because they gain some level of self-fulfillment when they do so, arguing “Chinese consumers purchase luxury goods to show that they are upper class and for wealth purposes, and because they envy others” (Sriviroj, 20).

In a graduate thesis, Qin Bian delves into the psychological aspects of making purchasing decisions concerning luxury products. The study compared American and Chinese students’ consumption of luxury brands like Louis Vuitton and Gucci. He concluded that “Chinese students have a higher need for uniqueness through similarity avoidance than do U.S. consumers. Understanding consumers’ characteristic and discovering the difference cross-culturally help retailers to make appropriate strategies to appear to target consumers” (Bian, 56). Another point he argues is that “...a novel message in the advertisement might attract Chinese consumers because Chinese consumers have higher need for uniqueness. Also, limited availability or exclusivity may be an effective market strategy for luxury goods in the Chinese market because this can satisfy Chinese consumers’ high need to be unique and avoid similarity from others in general and stay with peer group by using the luxury brand.” (Qian, 57)
Qin Bian and Sandra Forsythe wrote a paper titled: “Purchase intention for Luxury Brands: A Cross-Cultural Comparison” examining US and Chinese consumers’ purchase intentions for luxury brands and concluded that:

“U.S. and Chinese consumers’ self-monitoring positively influences social-function attitudes towards luxury brands. Social-function attitudes towards luxury brands positively influence consumer’s purchase intention through effective attitude. Attitude plays an important mediating role between social-function attitudes towards luxury brands and purchase intentions” (Bian, 1443)

Thus, it is highly evident that the presence of luxury goods is increasingly influential in Chinese consumers’ perceptions of goods in the gaze of globalization.

Is coffee a luxury good?

I have been talking about coffee as if it were a luxury good, but is it? Starbucks coffee certainly does not carry the same price tag as other luxury brands in the market, such as Rolex, Gucci, or Prada. Nor is it hard to access or afford for the typical Chinese consumer, and yet I would argue that it very much is a luxury good and for that reason of particular interest for Chinese consumers. In an ethnographic study of the relationship concerning luxury products and food, Marijke van der Veen (2003) defined luxury foods as food products “that are widely desired because they offer a refinement or qualitative improvement of a basic food and a means of distinction because they are not yet widely attained. Thus, they are not specific items of food, but rather those foods that in any particular place and time are regarded an indulgence and a status indicator” (Veen, 420). Arguably whether or not a food product is a luxury or not has more to do with consumers’ connotation of the brand and the product than the actual price of the object itself. That is to suggest, because Chinese consumers connote Starbucks with prestige (En-Ying Lin and
Marilyn Roberts, 2007), offering the highest quality coffee and most authentic Western experience, that in itself establishes coffee as luxury product, regardless of the price associated with it.

The Paradox of Authenticity

Throughout this thesis, I have been referring to coffee as a product that is perceived to be authentically Western, but is it? And what is authenticity? The idea of "authenticity" has been applied wherever objects or ideas such as food and ethnic products that originally belong to one place are transported to another place (Leigh, 2006). People tend to gravitate towards and are willing to pay substantially higher prices for such products that are considered original, or "authentic." In the contemporary age of globalization, one can readily find different types of cuisine in a country which are imported from elsewhere in the world, and often people like to know that the imported food they are eating is "authentic." What do we mean by authenticity? Is there an authentic “Western food”?

In a study of oriental carpets, Brian Spooner (1986) argued that the production of oriental carpets for the Western market is a representation of the constant negotiation between the producer and the consumer in the quest for their subjective view of authenticity. Producers manufacture what consumers consider to be authentic carpets and rugs, but at the same time, the consumers' concept of authentic oriental carpet is also changing through time. The paradox lies in the fact that:

authenticity cannot be determined simply by retailing the objective material attributes of the artifacts. It has to do not only with genuineness and the reliability of face value, but with the interpretation of genuineness and our desire for it. The material attributes, however, are generally treated as though they were clues to the arch-criterion, the supposed origin of the piece and its place
in the history of the craft. But since the history of the craft is poorly documented, it is open to continual revision (even more so than history generally). We must not be misled by the values ascribed to craftsmanship, for these values have also changed significantly over the past hundred years. They are based explicitly on the search for historical truth, but we are of course steadily moving further and further away in time from the sources on which the reconstruction of that historical truth depends. Our interpretation and reinterpretation of the sources available to us may become ever more sophisticated and ingenious, but only in the service of our own needs (Spooner, 199-200).

Similar to the argument concerning oriental carpets, what Chinese consumers interpret as authentic Western food is only a reflection of consumers’ desires, which are shaped by our society. Moreover, this desire for authenticity changes through time. Thus, authentic Western food is in large part a reflection of Chinese consumers subjective wishes imposed on the food - what we think it should be. Of course, our interpretations are also affected by our social and cultural backgrounds, such as nationality, ethnicity, and personal exposure. So does there exist an authentic Western food? I would answer the question as such: the notion that there exists a singular Western food culture that embodies only the pure and authentic culture from which it originates is as much an illusion as the notion that there exist single, coherent global one. Our understandings of different cultures and cuisines are “constantly being shaped and reshaped by the flow of cultural images that now travel around the globe in all directions simultaneously” (Bestor, 55). There exists no culture that historically has been untouched or impacted by another, especially with regards to food. The cultures of a place change from time to time (with or without our notice), and so does the food culture of that place. So no, there does not exist an authentic Western food, but how we come to localize and understand others can provide insight into how we view foreign culture.
Localise

Consumers are unconscious of the ways as to how we have been socialized to expect what and how a certain kind of consumer product or food should taste. Different products are often localized to match the local tastes and culture when introduced to new areas. For example, subsequent to Starbucks entrance into the Chinese market, the corporation began offering green tea and jasmine flavored lattes to customers. Localized products introduce and borrow aspects of a foreign culture while still containing and resembling elements of the local culture, creating a new product that is more easily accessible to the local culture. The food and beverages served by Western establishments undergo a similar process when being introduced in a foreign country such as China. This is a necessary process that companies must engage in as the standards by which most Chinese consumers evaluate a Western restaurant or Western food are based almost entirely on their own understanding of Chinese food. However, what consumers believe they want and what they actually want may differ. How can an authentic Western cuisine exist in China that is tailored towards Chinese tastes? What has arguably resulted is that Chinese consumers have developed a particular image or stereotype of Western food, one that inaccurately represents Western food culture. Localization of Western food in China, thus, has created a distinctive and unique Western food, which suits the taste of Chinese consumers. Western food in China, thus, represents both the globalization of a world cuisine and the localization of taste, and the two processes are interdependent. These two processes reinforce Robertson's (1995) idea of globalization of which the discourse in the global and the local should not be separated. Lien (1997) points out that marketing is about "adaptation through sameness – conquest through difference" (Lien, 238). It means that when a new product is introduced
into the market, it should be attached to a sense of sameness to the target customers. However, at the same time, the idea of brand-building is to emphasize the difference that the product can stand out from the market. As Lien puts it: "the product will occupy a space that is not yet filled" (Lien, 239). In the case of Western food in China, Western food has already occupied a space in the consumer market by building up an image of middle-class lifestyle and Western culture.

**Western Food: an Imagined Cuisine**

According to Lien (1997), people from different countries would generate different national stereotypes of other countries because of their "position and cultural preconceptions" (Lien, 244) of the countries. She believes that those national stereotypes are part of the local images or local imagery of the other countries. Thus, foreign ethnic cuisines are also imagined. Lien used the term "imagined cuisine" to explain the fact that a people's perception of a foreign cuisine is a “collective imagination.” Lien's idea of "imagined cuisine" comes from Benedict Anderson's (1991) idea of "imagined communities." According to Anderson, the nation

is an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined (Anderson, 6).

Anderson (1991) believes that people's understanding about the country to which they belong is imagined because no individual can ever understand the whole nation to which he or she belongs. Borrowing Lien's term "imagined cuisine" and Anderson's idea of
"imagined communities," I suggest that Western food in China is also an imagined cuisine constructed by people in China, including both frequent and infrequent customers and those who have never tried Western food before. People in China share a similar image of Western food as a representation of Western culture and middle-class life because Chinese people have a collective imagination regarding Western food. However, at the same time, different individuals have different perception of Western food in China. Thus, different individuals in China also imagine what they think Western food should be like, and their imaginations are based on their different exposure to this food, personal experiences and backgrounds. During the course of consuming Western food, consumers’ imaginations of Western food are continuously subject to changes and modifications as people’s exposure to Western cultures and each individual’s experience are all changing continuously.

Food, Globalization and Consumption

Food consumption has always been embedded with symbolic meanings of different kinds (Mintz 1996). In previous sections, I have discussed studies concerning food as symbols of social identities and foreign cultures. In this age of globalization, food consumption is becoming more and more globalized, as are other consumer goods. International food industries and large scale food trading have facilitated the internationalization of eating habits and development of world cuisines (Goody 1982; Mennell et al 1992). Through processes of glocalization, food is often misinterpreted as being authentic and associated with different identifies and perceptions. So how do Chinese consumers interpret Starbucks? And what can one’s observation of their perspective aid in the understanding of how Chinese consumers form identity.
Based on my review of the literature, I pose the following research questions:

How do Chinese consumers interpret coffee and Starbucks in Mainland China?

Sociologists have concluded that Taiwanese consumers associate this name brand with Western culture and affluence (Lin, 2012; Su, 2006; Ping and Cheng, 2010), reflective of a life of sophistication and prestige (Lin and Roberts, 2007).

With China’s recent exposure to globalization and global consumerism what cultural implications can be drawn from the consumption patterns of contemporary Chinese consumers in what has traditionally been a collectivist society with Confucian ideals? How have ideas of “face” influenced Mainland Chinese consumers perceived need to consume luxury goods (Li and Su, 2007)? And how has the development of a consumer based economy and rising middle class (Goodman, 2008) highlighted the importance of consumption and identity in contemporary China (Simmel, 1903; Bourdieu, 1984)?

What characteristics do Chinese associate with the Starbucks brand and coffee? Do they perceive Starbucks to be a luxury product as they do with brands such as Louis Vuitton or Gucci (Bian, 2012)? Do they believe drinking Starbucks coffee will elevate their social status as other luxury products do (Sriviroj, 2007)? And how do Chinese consumers perceive Starbucks as it relates to the West? Do they believe that Starbucks is a reflection of Western culture? And if so, how does this influence their consumption patterns?

And finally, why do Chinese people consume coffee, and if applicable, why do they choose to consume Starbucks coffee over other coffee brands, and if so why? What sets
Starbucks apart from other coffee shops? What intrinsic characteristics do Starbucks products possess that makes them so desirable?
III. Methodology

In order to examine my research questions, I conducted an exploratory study by interviewing and providing self-administered surveys to Chinese consumers. To do so I created a survey intended to measure Chinese consumers’ consumption habits of coffee and their overall perceptions of Starbucks as a brand.

Sample

Using a chain-referral sampling method to select respondents for the study, I focused on Chinese foreign exchange students at the University of Mississippi. Initial respondents for the study were selected based on my personal, preexisting relationships with current Chinese foreign exchange students at the University. Age of respondents in the study varied, ranging for 19 to 23. I had 10 male respondents and 13 female respondents. Respondents were classified as both undergraduate and graduate students, coming from various regions throughout China, with a majority coming from the Eastern and Northeastern coasts of China. Respondents had spent different lengths of time in the US, ranging from 2 years to 1 month. It should also be noted that all respondents had the financial means to study abroad in the United States.

In total the sample consisted of 23 individuals, of whom fifteen were interviewed by myself and eight took the self-administered survey.

Instrument

I constructed a survey to measure several variables, which include: coffee
consumption habits, patronage of Starbucks, as well as the perceptions of Starbucks as a business/place. Questions in the survey consisted of open and close-ended questions, ranking questions, in the addition to several five-point rating scale questions. Coffee consumption habits were measured by close-ended questions, such as “How often do you drink coffee?” and “How often do you go to coffee shops?” (see Appendix), in which answers ranged from “never” to “more than once a day”. Several questions were also asked to measure what types of coffee – including: instant/powdered, canned/bottled, espresso-based coffee, and black coffee – and the frequency in which respondents consumed said types of coffee using a similar range of response scale. To measure Chinese consumers’ continued patronage to Starbucks, close-ended questions such as “What are your main reasons for going to Starbucks in China?” and a five-point rating scale question, ranging from (1) “Very Dissatisfied” to (5) “Very Satisfied”, was used to measure Chinese consumers’ satisfaction with several aspects concerning Starbucks, of which included: taste, price, service, atmosphere, other goods, utilities, and location (see Appendix). In measuring perceptions of Starbucks as a business/place, open-ended question such as “When you think of Starbucks in China, what words would you use to describe it?” and “What would make you more inclined to visit Starbucks in China?” were used (see Appendix).

Both an English and a Chinese version of the survey was used in this study, as detailed in the Appendix. To ensure the English and Chinese versions were identical, I asked two Chinese professors to review my translations for accuracy.

Procedure
Respondents in the study were selected by a chain-referral sampling method, in which respondents recommended possible potential respondents for me to contact. As previously stated, the initial respondents of my survey were individuals I had a preexisting relationship with. To contact potential respondents I primarily used WeChat (a popular social media application), using contact information from previous respondents as a means for communication. Once a date, time, and setting were agreed upon, I would meet with potential respondents to administer the interview, or provided them with a self-administered survey to complete and return at their leisure. Meeting places were all located on the University of Mississippi campus, primarily taking place in the Croft Institute for International Studies and the Student Union. Self-administered survey and interviews were conducted between the months of November 2015 and March 2016.

The survey was initially created to be used in an interview setting, but due to time constraints eight respondents were asked to complete a self-administered survey at their own leisure. Though interviews were preferred, as I believe they provided the opportunity for a more in-depth understanding of answers given, in order to expand the respondent base self-administered surveys were required. Answers from surveys and interviews did vary. Survey answers were often succinct and lacked descriptive details or elaboration of answers. During interviews, while some of the respondents had similarly concise answers, I was able to prompt them to further describe their answers by inquiring about what led them to their answer.

Interviews were conducted in Chinese, with the exception of one, and all respondents who completed the self-administered survey did so in Chinese. Quotes used in
the following passages were translated directly by me.

**Institutional Review Board (IRB)**

The University of Mississippi institutional review board approved the research protocol used in this thesis. I received an expedited review through the IRB office at the University of Mississippi, which required the submission of an application including a brief outline discussing the intent of the research in addition to outlining how the research was to be conducted, the signature of an advisor approving the research, and included a copy of the questionnaire. All materials were reviewed and approved by IRB.

Participants signed a general consent form prior to participation, and were assured that their responses would be reported using pseudonyms to protect their identities.
IV. Findings

Among respondents, 22 out of the 23 who partook in this study consumed coffee at least occasionally. Of the 22 who consumed coffee, 12 consumed coffee at least 3 to 4 times per week if not more, and 9 consumed once or twice a week or less. The vast majority of those who consumed coffee (20) consumed instant coffee much more frequently than they did espresso-based coffee beverages. Of the original 23 individuals who participated in the survey, all had been to a Starbucks in China, though the frequency at which they visited was an average of approximately once or twice a week.

Over the course of conducting interviews, several consumer themes and motives emerged among respondents. Respondents expressed three consumer motives: functional, emotional, and aspirational. In addition, several themes became apparent and consistent throughout the process. Below I shall briefly discuss these motives and themes. It should be noted that all of the categories are not mutually exclusive. One consumer could have started in one and over time shifted into another.

Consumer Motives:

Functional

These are the consumers who drank coffee primarily for its functional purpose: caffeine. They were less concerned with the brand name or appeal that was often associated with coffee, but rather the function and convenience that establishment like Starbucks provided. These types of consumers emphasized more practical reasons for
purchasing coffee, and focused instead on the function and taste. For example one participant noted:

“I usually only drink coffee in the morning when I am really tired and need something to help wake me up...I will also drink it in the afternoon if I am feeling quite tired.” (Christina Y.)

It should also be noted that function was for many participants a key reasoning as to why they started consuming coffee. As this study focused primarily on college students, many participants had only recently begun to drink coffee to enjoy its caffeinated benefits.

I only started drinking coffee when I was in high school and need to stay up late to study for exams, and even then I was primarily only drinking instant coffee as late at night there were no other options. (Kristal G.)

I never drank coffee until I was in college, and even then it was only to help me study. When I went to coffee shops with friends I would usually order something else off the menu as I didn’t really start to enjoy drinking coffee until years later. (Kevin L.)

Emotional

This second type of consumer utilizes Starbucks’s social atmosphere, enjoying the enhanced coffee drinking experience that it has to offer. Consumers who fall into this category often emphasized the way drinking coffee in Starbucks made them feel.

I really enjoy going to Starbucks because of the atmosphere Starbucks has. It always very clean, unlike many Chinese restaurants, and always has comfortable seating...I would say that it was always a very sophisticated experience. (Sophia F.)
Drinking coffee in Starbucks is always very enjoyable. The servers are incredibly friendly, the drinks are very good, and the atmosphere was always quite and relaxed, unlike most places in China. (David L.)

Many of these consumers also associated Starbucks with an area to socialize in, emphasizing Starbucks’s function as a “third space” (Oldenburg, 1999). To many of them Starbucks was not only a place to purchase coffee, but also a place to socialize.

“My friends and I enjoyed going to Starbucks for the relaxed atmosphere it provided. There was always place we could all fit and talk for a while as we enjoyed our coffee.” (Brenda C.)

“Starbucks, like other coffee shops offered a place where me and my friends could always go to and relax, there were not a lot of places like this around where I lived so it was also very convenient.” (Kirk R.)

Aspirational

These consumers are highly aware of the specific connotation Starbucks has with Western culture and consume it for such reasons. They started drinking coffee as a means to engage with an authentic aspect of Western culture and have continued due partially to the perception Starbucks has in society. This is not to suggest that participants in the study admitted consuming Starbucks coffee for its ability to elevate their social standings, though it should also be noted that due to Confucian values of saving face it is highly unlikely that any participant would admit this openly. But rather the widely perceived conception in Chinese society that Starbucks offers the most authentic, highest quality coffee, suggests that drinking such coffee implies that the individual can both discern and afford good
coffee. Thus due to its association among Chinese consumers, individuals who consume Starbucks coffee arguably are attempting to alter their identity through consumption.

“I drink Starbucks coffee because it is a Western brand and offers the best quality.”
(Andrew C)

**Consumer Themes:**

**Aspiration**

The data collected from the survey and interviews reflect how the consumption of coffee, in particular Starbucks coffee, is often associated with different dimensions of class and age. Many participants, when asked to list what comes to mind when one thinks about coffee, responded with answers that associated the product with youth culture. One participant in particular mentioned that:

Coffee is a product that is usually consumed by younger people. Older generations have still not become accustomed to the taste and usually prefer to drink tea instead. (David L.)

And when asked to perform the same exercise but in regard to Starbucks, several participants listed that they associated Starbucks with *shàngcégēnhēi* (上层社会), or upper-class status.

Starbucks coffee is not a beverage that can be afforded on a regular basis. It is quite often only something that I will personally drink when there [Starbucks] with friends. Besides situations like those, I do not often go there [Starbucks] as it is too expensive, especially for a college student like myself. (Kristal G.)
Coffee culture is thereby transformed into a cultural symbol that differentiates between different social groups, namely generations and class.

**Third Place**

When examining key motives for visiting Starbucks, a vast majority of participants listed meeting and socializing with friends as a primary reason. This fact is congruent with CEO Howard Schultz’s notion that “Starbucks is a destination for human connection, meetings, dating, gathering with friends or be oneself”, or a “third place” (Starbucks, 2015). This concept was developed by American sociologist Ray Oldenburg in his book *The Great Good Place*, in which he describes these places as social environments that are separate from the two other spheres, domestic and productive, that people are constantly moving through in their daily lives. Oldenburg argues that American culture has a general disdain for “hanging out”; thus it is difficult for Americans to find a social place in which to do nothing but relax in the company of those who live around us. Corporate chains, which abound in our contemporary society focus on maximizing profits, not encouraging communities. Indeed, chains design their establishments in order to encourage business from the unknown transient customer who won’t stay long, but will spend money. Oldenburg may be right in that American culture doesn’t seem to support the idea of hanging out at coffee shops, but does China’s?

Oldenburg proposes eight basic characteristics that make up a third place. For purposes of clarity further on I will briefly outline them here. 1) Neutral Ground - a third place is a place where people can gather and become friends without getting uncomfortably entangled in each other’s lives. These are places where people can come and
go as they please without pressures or expectations put on their schedules. 2) Leveler - a leveling place is where relationships are not based on social rank and there are no formal criteria for inclusion or exclusion. 3) Conversation - is the main activity; all are encouraged to take part, but not monopolize the table in a group setting. Group conversations are not arenas to discuss personal issues. This aids the leveling quality, for all are encouraged to take part. Yet, no one person ranks above another, thus being able to dominate the conversation. Background music complements the atmosphere of conversation, it is not too loud. 4) Accessibility and Accommodation - Oldenburg states this best:

Third places that render the best and fullest service are those to which one may go alone at almost any time of the day or evening with assurance that an acquaintance will be there. To have such a place available whenever the demons of loneliness or boredom strike or when the pressures and frustration amid good company is a powerful resource (Oldenburg, 32)

To enable people to come and go whenever they need to at such establishments assume that place is open for long hours without restriction. It must be convenient. A place that is far removed from one’s residence loses appeal in that the person may not know anyone there, and maybe difficult to reach. 5) Regulars - the attraction of a third place for the regular is nothing management can control. The fellow customers, on the same level and through entertaining conversations, are the reason for continued participation. These places are usually dominated by regulars, people who frequent the place almost daily. No matter how small the group, the regulars set the tone and the atmosphere of the place. Being welcomed by the owner or management is helpful, but not core to the environment. A welcoming environment, set by the regulars, sets the newcomer up to take part in the
culture. 6) A Low Profile - Visually, third places have a low-key look to them. They aren’t flashy or bright on the exterior or interior. Chains attract transient customers with standard bright and catchy images. Another note that Oldenburg makes is the third place’s tendency to “fall short of middle class preferences for cleanliness and modernity.” 7) Mood is Playful - This can be subtle or obvious to outsiders, it does not really make a difference. The regulars are drawn to the playful side of culture. Being a part of this mood, fun and at times silly, can be more important to a regular than being taken seriously. 8) Home Away From Home - Third places do not enforce any kind of regular attendance that home or work might. Yet, they also encourage a feeling of “roots” as a home will. Hominess implies a sense of ownership without actual ownership. This can be heard when the regulars describe the place in first person, as “our” place or using “we” when talking about those who frequent the establishment.

Though coffee houses in China contain several of the key aspects of Oldenburg’s third place, it appears that China’s social culture differs from the American third space culture that Oldenburg describes. Unlike American culture, in which individuals enjoy their personal space, Chinese consumers interpret these types of locations as collective, social spaces. Coffee is a beverage that is rarely consumed alone, especially at establishments such as Starbucks, influencing consumption habits of specialty coffee. Coffee houses have in many ways served a social function among young Chinese consumers.

There are not many places that I can go with my friends to spend several hours in a comfortable environment and talk. Dorms are often too crowded and do not have communal areas to lounge, sitting outside is often too uncomfortable and dependent on the weather, and restaurants are generally places where one goes to eat, not talk
with friends. (Jason W.)

Unlike teahouses, which are traditionally more formal and often more expensive, coffee houses provide a relatively casual, inexpensive place to socialize with friends. Coffee houses in China, as places to meet and socialize with others, have increasingly become the social norm. The comfortable atmosphere, spacious environment and free Wi-Fi are all key motives that attracted participants in my study.

Petty Bourgeois

The term Xiǎozī (小资), a term that refers to petty bourgeois, was a recurring term used by a vast majority of survey participants to describe the consumption of Starbucks coffee, a term that to some degree demonstrates the contemporary perception of this corporation. Xiaozi is a term that only recently evolved in the wake of China’s economic growth and increased social mobility amongst urbanites. Defining a new urban social group referring primarily to youth in the contemporary Chinese society, few have been able to specify its exact definition. Chinese journalist Elliot Ng perhaps put it best, attempting to define xiaozi as:

people who enjoy fashion, brands, hobbies, and free thinking that is inspired by Western commercial and artistic culture. Similar to “yuppies” in the sense of youthful materialism, the term also carries overtones of the creative, free-thinking state of being “hipsters.” However, this creativity and free-thinking is only within the bounds of what is socially acceptable within the xiaozi norm. There are many positive attributes of xiaozi. To some it is a put-down. But to others, it is a compliment. Still others might use the term in a self-deprecating way to describe themselves. (Ng 2010)

This lifestyle is idealized by many, but often criticized as it values chóng yáng mèi wài (崇洋媚外), or blindly worshiping foreign products merely because they are foreign.
Unsurprisingly, the consumption of Starbucks coffee in China has developed into a practice that is often associated with a petty bourgeois sentiment, or the desire to strive for a higher social status.

“I think that individuals who consume Starbucks coffee are trying to emulate a petty bourgeoisie lifestyle, they don’t really care about the coffee, just the image it gives them.” (Ted B.)

“Many people know that Starbucks is expensive to drink, therefore anyone who drinks it regularly is usually seen as someone who want to be seen as a petty bourgeoisie.” (Aaron C.)

As a result, young Chinese consumers have gravitated towards this practice in the interest of emulating the petty bourgeoisie lifestyle. While this façade of a higher social status is highly desired in China, it simultaneous carries a negative connotation among most Chinese because the consumption patterns many Xiaozi adopt are regarded as being self-centered and egotistical. One participant even criticized the hypocritical nature of this generalized perception. She highlighted how Chinese people who want to be perceived as a higher class by their peers will consume luxury products such as Starbucks to do so, but inevitably may damage the perception that many will associate them with by consuming such products (Karen H.).

**Authentically Western**

According to participants, one widely agreed-on fact was that Starbucks was the embodiment of an authentic, Western culture and lifestyle.

“I thought that all Western people drank coffee, that coffee was a common in the West as tea is in the East.” (Ben S.)
“To be honest I started drinking coffee in China because I thought it was something that all Westerns did.” (Sean M.)

“Starbucks provided authentic, Western coffee to China, something that no other place offered.” (Kevin T.)

To Chinese consumers Starbucks is interpreted as a Western brand, one that offers them a product that is inherent in Western culture from a company that is both Western and internationally known. For these Chinese consumers, if one wants to consume coffee from a reputable seller that is consumed by most Westerns within their own countries, there is no better option that Starbucks.
IV. Implications and Discussion

The self is composed of multiple identities that reflect associations with a variety of groups such as gender, ethnicity, religion, class, and even geographic region. Identities relate an individual to the external world and, conversely, help the world to categorize, interpret, understand, and position individuals. These identities are defined by difference, or how one individual is able to distinguish him or herself from another. They are also dependent on the perceptions and connotations made regarding their personal surroundings. The consumption of coffee in China illustrates how these perceived differences, in contrast to local culture, define and discern new ideas of identity among Chinese consumers. Starbucks, whose initial price and cultural difference arguably targeted a young, rising middle class, created an early representation of the types of individuals that could be classified as coffee consumers. And as early consumers of this product fit those standards, identities associated with social status and generations became slightly altered.

All of the participants in the study were conscious of the fact that Starbucks coffee was an expensive product and several believed that the company had purposefully positioned itself as a high-end product in China to attract such attention. One participant even mentioned a recent rumor in China that claimed that Starbucks had artificially increased their prices in China to draw more appeal to its product as a luxury good. Nonetheless, Starbucks’ popularity in China continues to grow, even as prices are steadily increasing. Starbucks as a brand has positioned itself as a concept associated with luxury and prestige, one that Chinese consumers are continuing to consume as they attempt to live up to the status that Starbucks represents. By consuming a beverage that is perceived to be
part of a distinct social group, consumers are able to express their own identity, or the identity they desire. The mere act of consuming coffee can distinguish consumers from one another, whereas the consumers’ interpretations of the product influence their identity formation. Consumers are thus able through the means of consumption to define their desired identity.

To Chinese consumers Starbucks equals the West, and for individual consumers who desire to be perceived as petty bourgeois, associating themselves with a new identity, it also symbolizes an easy way to achieve that. Arguably however, Starbucks, although a Western company, does not reflect an authentic Western coffee culture. Starbucks has had to constantly localize itself to Chinese culture in order to remain attractive to consumers. Offering specialty drinks tailored to Chinese tastes and food goods that are traditional Chinese snacks, Starbucks offers a coffee culture that is as much Chinese as it is American. What Chinese consumers are currently consuming is a brand that has been “glocalized” (Robertson 1995) to cultivate a stronger relationship among native consumers. Yet Chinese consumers have associated the Starbucks’ brand as authentically Western. But who could fault them? Very few participants in the study had ever traveled outside of China and thus had no reference point to relate to their own perspective. When Starbucks entered the Chinese market in the late 1990’s with no competition, it effortlessly consolidated itself as the authentic representation of Western culture, exploiting both Chinese consumers’ lack of understanding of Western culture and their increasing desire to appear more Western. Chinese consumers’ adoption of coffee culture thus has little to do with the coffee itself and more to do the image that is associated with it. This is further evidenced by the fact that coffee, though growing in popularity, has yet to enter the home space. Apart from instant
coffee, none of the participants in the survey had ever brewed coffee at home, solely drinking the beverage at establishments.

To Chinese consumers Starbucks is a Western brand, selling a Western product that is inherent in Western culture. Starbucks represents a means through which Chinese consumers can feel connected to a part of the world that many of them dream of living in. And in their lives Starbucks offers the ability to identify however they please at only a fraction of the cost as compared to brand such as Gucci or Prada.

But why is it important for us to consider Starbucks above all other Western brands? To begin I believe it is necessary for those who are unfamiliar with Chinese culture to understand the importance food to Chinese culture. Mín yǐ shí wéi tiān (民以食为天), a common Chinese proverb, translates roughly to “food is the God of the people”, or as some have interpreted it, food first, ethical necessities second (Lu, 2013). To the Chinese almost nothing is as important as food and food culture. So the drastic rise in the consumption of a foreign foodstuff is interesting considering how important food and culture are intertwined in Chinese culture. Starbucks has, unlike many other foreign companies and products, questioned Chinese consumers identity and how they perceive themselves in a global context.

As China becomes increasingly more globally interconnected, Chinese citizens are becoming subject to increasingly levels of foreign influence, questioning their social identities in the context of becoming global consumers. Chinese consumers are thus faced with balancing their native culture with infringing Western culture that has become increasingly attractive to them. Although many wish to emulate the lives of their Western
counterparts, the ideals and practices they are adopting contradict the deep cultural heritage of their country. Starbucks represents only a glimpse into this interaction, as coffee has slowly attracted tea drinkers by its unique, foreign nature. This transition, in a society that whose culture is historically intertwined with its cuisine, illustrates the depth of influence Western culture has impacted Chinese culture. How Chinese consumers strike this balance between Western and native ideals will ultimately define their future interaction with further Western influence and if the adoption of more nationalistic ideals is eminent.
VI. Bibliography


Laberge, Yves. Rev. of Coffee Culture: Local Experiences, Global Connections. Routledge Series for Creative Teaching and Learning in Anthropology Fall 2013: n. pag. Print.


VII. Appendix

1. Questionnaire: English Version

Coffee Questionnaire

1. Are you above the age of 18?
   □ No (DO NOT CONTINUE SURVEY IF NOT)
   □ Yes (Please continue the survey)

2. Demographic information
   • Age (   )
   • Hometown (   )
   • Gender ( □ Male  □ Female)
   • What is your approximate disposable monthly income? _________
   • Is this your first time abroad
     □ Yes
     □ No
     ➢ How many times have you been abroad? ______
     ➢ Where have you been abroad: ____________________________
     ➢ How long did you spend in these places? (please list below)
       •
       •
       •

3. Do you drink coffee?
   □ No
   3a. Why do you not drink coffee?
   3b. Have you ever been to a coffee shop?
      □ Yes
      3b(i). How often do you go?
          □ never  □ less than once a month  □ 1-3/month  □ 1-2/week
          □ 3-4/week  □ 5-6/week  □ everyday  □ more than once a day
          □ don’t know  □ other:__________
      3b(ii). For what reason do you go? (check all that apply)
          □ meet/hang out with friends
          □ meet new people
          □ study
          □ drink other beverages
          □ utilities (wifi, etc.)
          □ caffeine
          □ other:__________
      3b(iii). Did you drink/eat anything when you visit coffee shops?
          □ Yes, what other beverages/foodstuff did you consume there?:
              __________
□ No, any particular reason why you did not eat/drink anything? ______

□ No

3b(i). Any particular reason you have not been to a coffee shop?

□ Yes

3b. What type of coffee do you drink? (please check all that apply)

□ instant/powdered  □ canned/bottled  □ espresso based coffee (any beverage with coffee in it)  □ black coffee

(If checked above, please answer subsequent questions that correspond with the boxes you checked)

**Instant/powdered**

1. How often do you drink this particular type of coffee?

(□ never  □ less than once a month  □ 1-3/month  □ 1-2/week  □ 3-4/week  □ 5-6/week  □ everyday  □ more than once a day 
□ don't know  □ other:_______)

2. Where do you normally purchase instant/powdered of coffee?

3. For what particular reasons do you purchase/drink this particular type of coffee?

**Canned/bottled**

1. How often do you drink this particular type of coffee?

(□ never  □ less than once a month  □ 1-3/month  □ 1-2/week  □ 3-4/week  □ 5-6/week  □ everyday  □ more than once a day
 □ don’t know  □ other:_______)

2. Where do you normally purchase canned/bottled of coffee?

3. For what particular reasons do you purchase/drink this particular type of coffee?

**Espresso based coffee**

1. How often do you drink this particular type of coffee?

(□ never  □ less than once a month  □ 1-3/month  □ 1-2/week  □ 3-4/week  □ 5-6/week  □ everyday  □ more than once a day
 □ don’t know  □ other:_______)

2. Where do you normally purchase espresso based coffee?

3. For what particular reasons do you purchase/drink this particular type of coffee?

**Black Coffee**

1. How often do you drink this particular type of coffee?
(☐ never ☐ less than once a month ☐ 1-3/month ☐ 1-2/week ☐ 3-4/week ☐ 5-6/week ☐ everyday ☐ more than once a day ☐ don't know ☐ other:_______)

2. Where do you normally purchase black coffee?
3. For what particular reasons do you purchase/drink this particular type of coffee?

4. Do you drink coffee at home?
   ☐ No
   • Why?____
   ☐ Yes
   • Why?____

4a. How often do you drink coffee at home?
(☐ never ☐ less than once a month ☐ 1-3/month ☐ 1-2/week ☐ 3-4/week ☐ 5-6/week ☐ everyday ☐ more than once a day ☐ don't know ☐ other:_______)

4b. What type of coffee do you drink at home (check all that apply)
   ☐ instant/powdered ☐ espresso based coffee ☐ black coffee

5. Do you brew coffee at home?
   ☐ No
   • Why?____
   ☐ Yes
   • Why?____

5a. How often do you brew coffee at home?
(☐ never ☐ less than once a month ☐ 1-3/month ☐ 1-2/week ☐ 3-4/week ☐ 5-6/week ☐ everyday ☐ more than once a day ☐ don't know ☐ other:_______)

5b. What type of coffee do you brew at home (check all that apply)
   ☐ instant/powdered ☐ espresso based coffee ☐ black coffee

6. Do you go to coffee shops?
   ☐ No
   • Why?____
   ☐ Yes

6a. How often do you go to coffee shops?
(☐ never ☐ less than once a month ☐ 1-3/month ☐ 1-2/week ☐ 3-4/week ☐ 5-6/week ☐ everyday ☐ more than once a day ☐ don't know ☐ other:_______)

6b. How often do you drink coffee at coffee shops?
6c. Have you ever been to Starbucks in China?

☐ No
  • For what reasons have you never been to Starbucks?
  • Have you been to any other coffee shop, either independently owned or brand name/chains?
  • Why do you choose to go to these places over Starbucks?

☐ Yes
  How often do you go to Starbucks?

□ never □ less than once a month □ 1-3/month □ 1-2/week □ 3-4/week □ 5-6/week □ everyday □ more than once a day
□ don’t know □ other: _______

6c(i). What are your main reasons for going to Starbucks in China?

☐ meet/hang out with friends
☐ meet new people
☐ study
☐ drink coffee
☐ drink other beverages
☐ utilities (wifi, etc.)
☐ caffeine
☐ other: _______

6c(ii). How satisfied are you with the following items at Starbucks in China?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee Taste</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service (workers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atmosphere (culture, relaxed. Etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other goods taste (eg, tea, cake)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities (eg, wireless network)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location (easy to get to/use)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. Please rank the following factors in terms of their importance to where you choose to drink coffee, with 1 being the most important and 6 being the least important.
   ___ Coffee taste  ___ Service  ___ Price  ___ Atmosphere  ___ Foreign  ___ Other goods (e.g. tea, cake)

8. Do you prefer foreign brands of coffee over domestic ones?
   ( □ Yes  □ No  □ Uncertain ) Please explain:

9. If another coffee brand provided lower prices with the same quality as to say Starbucks or Costa Coffee, would you go to said coffee-shop? ( □ Yes  □ No  □ Uncertain ) Please explain:

10. What particular associations do you have when you think of coffee?

11. When you think of Starbucks in China, what words would you use to describe it?

12. Is there anything missing from Starbucks in China that you would like to see/be offered?

13. What would make you more inclined to visit Starbucks in China?

14. What would make you less inclined to visit Starbucks in China?

15. When purchasing coffee, how motivated are you by the following factors? (please rank by importance 1-6, 1 = most important, 6 = least importance)
   ___ price  ___ quality  ___ brand  ___ trendiness  ___ convenience  ___ value

16. Have your coffee drinking practices changed during your time in the US? If so, please explain: ____

17. To what extent would you agree with the following statements?

   17a. I am a brand conscious person.
   □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

   17b. The best predictor of a product’s quality is how expensive it is.
   □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

   17c. Foreign brands of products are generally high quality goods.
   □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

Additional notes:
II. Questionnaire: Chinese version

1. 你是 18 岁以上吗？
   □ 不是（不继续）
   □ 是（请继续）

2. 基本信息
   • 年龄（ ）
   • 家乡或者故乡（ ）
   • 性别（□ 男性 □ 女性）
   • 你的可支配收入是多少？（大致）________
   • 这是你第一次出国吗？
     □ 是
     □ 不是
     ➤ 你出过几次国？________
     ➤ 你去过什么国家？________________________
     ➤ 在这些国家你生活过多长时间？（请在下面列出）
     •
     •

3. 你喝不喝咖啡？
   □ 不喝
   3a. 你为什么不喝咖啡？
   3b. 你去过咖啡店吗？
      □ 去过
      3b(i). 你去咖啡店的频率？你多久去一次咖啡店？
              (□ 少于一月一次 □ 1-3 次/月 □ 1-2 次/星期
               □ 3-4 次/星期 □ 5-6 次/星期 □ 每天 □ 超过一天一次 □ 不知道
               □ 其他：________)
      3b(ii). 你为什么去咖啡店？（可多选）
              □ 见朋友
              □ 结识新朋友
              □ 学习
              □ 喝其他的饮料
              □ 公共资源（wifi 等）
              □ 为了喝咖啡提神
              □ 其他的原因：________
      3b(iii). 你在家咖啡店的时候，你吃／喝其它食品吗？
              □ 吃／喝
              □ 你吃／喝什么？
□ 不吃／不喝
□ 为什么？

□ 没去过
3b(i). 为什么你没去过咖啡店？

□ 喝
3b. 你喝什么样的咖啡？（可多选）
□ 速溶咖啡／咖啡粉 □ 瓶装／罐装咖啡 □ 意式浓缩咖啡（尤其是浓缩咖啡，比如拿铁，卡布奇诺，等） □ 黑咖啡

如果你选择以上任何一种咖啡，请按照你回答的种类勾选以下问题

速溶咖啡／咖啡粉
1. 你多久喝一次这种特殊类型的咖啡？
   ( □ 不喝 □ 少于一月一次 □ 1-3 次/月 □ 1-2 次/星期 □ 3-4 次/星期 □ 5-6 次/星期 □ 每天 □ 超过一天一次 □ 不知道 □ 其他：________)
2. 你通常在哪里购买这种咖啡？
3. 你为什么购买／喝这种特殊类型的咖啡？

瓶装／罐装咖啡
1. 你多久喝一次这种特殊类型的咖啡？
   ( □ 不喝 □ 少于一月一次 □ 1-3 次/月 □ 1-2 次/星期 □ 3-4 次/星期 □ 5-6 次/星期 □ 每天 □ 超过一天一次 □ 不知道 □ 其他：________)
2. 你通常在哪里购买这种咖啡？
3. 你为什么购买／喝这种特殊类型的咖啡？

意式浓缩咖啡
1. 你如何经常喝这种特殊类型的咖啡？
   ( □ 不喝 □ 少于一月一次 □ 1-3 次/月 □ 1-2 次/星期 □ 3-4 次/星期 □ 5-6 次/星期 □ 每天 □ 超过一天一次 □ 不知道 □ 其他：________)
2. 你通常在哪里购买这种咖啡？
3. 你为什么购买／喝这种特殊类型的咖啡？

黑咖啡
1. 你多久喝一次这种特殊类型的咖啡？
2. 你通常在哪里购买这种咖啡？
3. 你为什么购买/喝这种特殊类型的咖啡？

4. 你在家喝咖啡吗？
   □ 不喝
   - 为什么? _____
   □ 喝
   - 为什么? _____

4a. 你在家的时候，多久喝一次上述特殊类型的咖啡？
   ( □ 不喝  □ 少于一月一次  □ 1-3 次/月  □ 1-2 次/星期  □ 3-4 次/星期  □ 5-6 次/星期  □ 每天  □ 超过一天一次  □ 不知道  □ 其他: ______)

4b. 在家的时候，你喝什么样的咖啡（可多选）
   □ 速溶咖啡/咖啡粉  □ 意式浓缩咖啡  □ 黑咖啡

5. 你在家泡咖啡吗？
   □ 不泡
   - 为什么? _____
   □ 泡
   - 为什么? _____

5a. 你在家多久泡一次咖啡？
   ( □ 不泡  □ 少于一月一次  □ 1-3 次/月  □ 1-2 次/星期  □ 3-4 次/星期  □ 5-6 次/星期  □ 每天  □ 超过一天一次  □ 不知道  □ 其他: ______)

5b. 在家的时候，你泡什么样的咖啡？（可多选）
   □ 速溶咖啡/咖啡粉  □ 意式浓缩咖啡  □ 黑咖啡

6. 你经常去咖啡店吗？
   □ 偶尔
   - 为什么? _____
   □ 经常

6a. 你多久去一次咖啡店？
   ( □ 少于一月一次  □ 1-3 次/月  □ 1-2 次/星期  □ 3-4 次/星期  □ 5-6 次/星期  □ 每天  □ 超过一天一次  □ 不知道  □ 其他: ______)

6b. 你多久在咖啡店喝一次咖啡？
6c. 你在中国的时候去过星巴克吗？
    □ 没去过
    • 为什么你没去过？
    • 你去过其他的咖啡店吗？
    • 为什么？
    □ 去过
    你多久去一次星巴克？
    (□ 少于一月一次 □ 1-3 次/月 □ 1-2 次/星期 □ 3-4 次/星期
     □ 5-6 次/星期 □ 每天 □ 超过一天一次 □ 不知道 □ 其他的:____)

6c(i). 在中国，你为什么去星巴克？
    □ 见朋友
    □ 结识新朋友
    □ 学习
    □ 喝其他饮料
    □ 公共资源（wifi 等）
    □ 喝咖啡提神
    □ 其他的因素:_________

6c(ii). 在中国你对星巴克下列的方面满意程度如何？

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>十分不满意</th>
<th>不满意</th>
<th>一般</th>
<th>满意</th>
<th>十分满意</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>咖啡味道</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>价格</td>
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<tr>
<td>服务／服务员</td>
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<tr>
<td>环境／气氛</td>
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<tr>
<td>其他的食品（比如,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>茶, 蛋糕, 等）</td>
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<tr>
<td>公共资源（例如无</td>
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<tr>
<td>线网等）</td>
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<tr>
<td>地点（方便吗？）</td>
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<tr>
<td>其他:</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. 请将下列几个影响选择咖啡店的因素按照你认为的重要性排序，第一个最为重要，随之递减。
   ___ 咖啡味道   ___ 服务   ___ 价格   ___ 气氛   ___ 品牌   ___ 其他的食品 (比如，茶，蛋糕，等)

8. 你认为外国咖啡品牌比中国的咖啡品牌好吗？
   ( □ 同意  □ 不同意  □ 不知道) 请说明:

9. 如果一个品牌的咖啡质量跟其他的咖啡店（比如星巴克或 Costa 咖啡）一样，但价格比其它咖啡店更便宜，你会去那里吗？
   ( □ 会  □ 不会  □ 不知道) 请说明原因:

10. 提到咖啡的时候，想到什么吗？

11. 你想到星巴克（在中国）的时候，你用什么词来形容它？

12. 你认为星巴克（中国）应该提供什么服务或产品？对你来说，星巴克缺少什么？什么因素吸引你去星巴克（中国）？

13. 是否有什么因素能够更加吸引你去星巴克（中国）？

14. 是否有什么因素使你不愿意去星巴克？

15. 在购买咖啡的时候，以下哪些因素促使你够买咖啡？（请标出重要性，1 表示最重要，以下递减）
   ___ 价格   ___ 质量   ___ 品牌   ___ 潮流   ___ 方便

16. 你在美国的时候，你喝咖啡的习惯改变吗？请说明：

17. 你同意以下陈述吗？

   17a. 我是一个有品牌意识的人。
   □ 十分同意  □ 同意  □ 中立的  □ 不同意  □ 十分不同意

   17b. 产品质量好坏的指标是价格的高低。
   □ 十分同意  □ 同意  □ 中立的  □ 不同意  □ 十分不同意

   17c. 国外品牌的产品一般都是高质量的商品。
   □ 十分同意  □ 同意  □ 中立的  □ 不同意  □ 十分不同意

其它的信息: