



ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

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REFERENCE NUMBER
RES-154-25-0015
TITLE
The Cappuccino Conquests: A Transnational History of Italian Coffee
INVESTIGATORS
Professor Jonathan Morris
INSTITUTION
University of Hertfordshire

This is the ESRC End of Award Report Form. The form should be completed and returned to: The Evaluation Reports Officer, Communications & Information Directorate at the ESRC on or before the due date. Please note that the Report can only be accepted if all sections have been completed in full, and all award-holders have signed declaration one.

Award holders should also submit **seven additional copies** of this Form, and eight copies of the research report and any nominated outputs to be evaluated along with the Report.

A copy of the complete Report, comprising this form and the research report, should be formatted as a single document and sent as an email attachment to **reportsofficer@esrc.ac.uk**. Please enter the **Award Reference Number** as the email subject.

REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

The ESRC End of Award Report is a single document comprising the following sections:	
End of Award Report Form	Declaration 1: Conduct of the Research Declaration 2: ESRC ‘Society Today’ Declaration 3: Data Archive Project Details Activities & Achievements Questionnaire
Research Report	c5000 words free text (guidelines attached)
Nominated Outputs (Optional)	A maximum of two (fully referenced)
Eight copies of the End of Award Report document and any Outputs must be submitted to ESRC.	

Award Holders should note that:

- 1 The final instalment of the award will not be paid until an acceptable End of Award Report is received.
- 2 Award holders whose reports are overdue or incomplete will not be eligible for further ESRC funding until the reports are accepted.

ESRC reserves the right to take action to reclaim up to **25%** of the value of awards issued after November 1999 in cases where submission of an acceptable End of Award Report is more than six months overdue.

DECLARATION ONE: CONDUCT OF THE RESEARCH

This Report is an accurate statement of the objectives, conduct, results and outputs (to date) of the research project funded by the ESRC.

1. Award Holder(s) Signature

NB. This must include anyone named as a co-applicant in the research proposal.

TITLE	INITIALS	SURNAME	SIGNATURE
Prof	J	Morris	

2. Administrative Authority Signature

DATE:

3. Head of Department, School or Faculty Signature

DATE:

Photocopies of this page are acceptable in the seven additional printed copies of the report. This page should be left blank in the email copy.

DECLARATION TWO: ESRC "SOCIETY TODAY"

"Society Today" is the ESRC's publicly available research database on the WWW, containing summary details of all ESRC research projects and their associated publications and outputs. From Feb 2005, the texts of Summary and Full reports from End of Award Reports will also be available. Society Today will provide an excellent opportunity for researchers to publicise their work; the database will potentially have a large user base, drawn not only from Higher Education, but increasingly from government, voluntary agencies, business and the media. Summary details of publications and/or other outputs of research conducted under ESRC funded awards must be submitted to the Society Today database. Please contact: ESRC Communications (Social Sciences Repository), Economic and Social Research Council, Polaris House, North Star Avenue, Swindon, SN2 1UJ.
Tel: 01793 413122; e-mail: infocentre@esrc.ac.uk (general queries)
Tel: 0870 609 1748; e-mail: infocentresupport@esrc.ac.uk (technical queries, e.g. uploading outputs)

Please sign at either A or B below.

A. Details of relevant outputs of this award have been submitted to Society Today and details of any ensuing outputs will be submitted in due course.

Signature of Principal Award Holder

	DATE:
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B. This award has not yet produced any relevant outputs, but details of any future publications will be submitted to Society Today as soon as they become available.

Signature of Principal Award Holder

	DATE:
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Award holders should **note** that the end of award report cannot be accepted, and the final claim cannot be paid, until either ESRC has received confirmation that details of relevant outputs have been submitted to Society Today or the award holder has declared that the award has not so far produced any relevant outputs

Photocopies of this page are acceptable in the seven additional printed copies of the report. This page should be left blank in the email copy.

DECLARATION THREE: DATA ARCHIVE

A machine-readable copy of any dataset arising from the research must be offered for deposit with the ESRC Data Archive within three months of the end of the award. All enquiries should be addressed to: The Director, ESRC Data Archive, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester CO4 3SQ. The Data Archive maintains an informative website at:

<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/>

Award Holders submitting qualitative data should refer to the Qualidata website at www.essex.ac.uk/qualidata

Please sign at either A or B below.

- A. Machine-readable copies of datasets arising from this award have been, or are in the process of being, offered for deposit with the ESRC Data Archive.**

Signature of Principal Award Holder

DATE:

- B. There are no relevant datasets arising from this award to date.**

Signature of Principal Award Holder

DATE: 31 May 2007

Award holders should **note** that the ESRC will withhold the final payment of an award if a dataset has not been deposited to the required standard within three months of the end of award, except where a modification or waiver of deposit requirements has been agreed in advance.

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PROJECT DETAILS

ESRC END OF AWARD REPORT: PROJECT DETAILS

AWARD NUMBER:	RES-154-25-0015		
AWARD TITLE: (the box will accommodate up to 4 lines of text)	The Cappuccino Conquests: A Transnational History of Italian Coffee		
AWARD START DATE	01 Sep 04	TOTAL AMOUNT EXPENDED:	£ 181,464.86
AWARD END DATE	28 Feb 07		

AWARD HOLDER(S):

NB. This must include anyone named as a co-applicant, as originally listed in the research proposal.

TITLE	INITIALS	SURNAME	DATE OF BIRTH	No HOURS PER WEEK/ % TIME ON PROJECT
Prof	J	Morris	1 May 1961	100%

PRINCIPAL AWARD HOLDER'S FULL OFFICIAL ADDRESS (please list other addresses on a separate sheet if necessary) School of Humanities University of Hertfordshire Hatfield Herts AL10 9AB	E-MAIL
	j.2.morris@herts.ac.uk
	FAX NUMBER
	01707 285681
	TELEPHONE NUMBER
	07712 005456

ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Non-Technical Summary

Summary and Method

The project traced the history of Italian style coffee drinks from the evolution of espresso in the 1900s through to the global popularity of cappuccino and caffè latte today. This success was explained by the properties of the beverages themselves, the surroundings in which they were served, and the meanings constructed around them. By reconstructing the ‘commodity biography’ of espresso, the project demonstrated how innovations in production and preparation (e.g. beverage sizes) interacted with changes in social practices and perceptions within consumer societies (e.g. the image of Italy) to create a diversity of local cultures of consumption.

Research was carried out in Hungary Italy, Spain, Switzerland, UK and USA using a wide variety of materials including adverts, archives, cultural products (novels, film), the trade press, newspapers, photographs and printed sources. Particular emphasis was placed on the use of in-depth oral history interviews with representatives of over 70 companies and institutions throughout the coffee industry.

Results

The emergence of a distinctive, Italian-style of coffee drinking dates to 1905 when Pavoni began manufacturing the Ideale coffee machine in Milan. This produced a beverage known as espresso as it was prepared ‘expressly’ for the individual customer by using steam to ‘express’ hot water through the coffee. The process was transformed by the Gaggia Classica machine of 1948 which used a hand operated piston to drive the water through the coffee under 9 atmospheres of pressure producing a new, shorter, beverage topped by a *crema* of essential oils that was initially marketed as *crema caffè* – cream coffee. A period of intensive technological innovation culminated in the appearance of the Faema E61 in 1960, a semi-automatic machine incorporating an electric pump operated by a simple switch.

This coincided with Italy’s transition to a mass consumer society. The number of bars rose rapidly as they provided centres for socialising for the new urban population. Coffee was popular as its price was controlled by the local authorities, while *crema caffè* could not be made in the home. Branded coffee conquered the domestic market as new channels for distribution (supermarkets) and marketing (television) became available. The shift from using Latin American cartoon coffee beans to endorsements by Italian celebrities in Lavazza’s advertising campaigns symbolised the domestication of coffee’s image during the 1970s. The ‘away from home’ industry remains highly fragmented, however, with local roasters supplying independent bars with blends that reflect regional tastes.

It was the Gaggia’s milk frothing power which impressed English speaking

countries in the 1950s. Cappuccino conquered these markets as it was more accessible to consumers used to combining coffee with milk, while its exotic appearance adding to its perceived value. In the UK, coffee bars were a refuge for the young who felt culturally excluded from pubs while in Australia, they were given impetus by the bans on drinking after 6:00pm. Many of the agents involved in these transfers were not drawn from the Italian diaspora community, despite its heavy involvement in catering. This was because it mainly served the more conservative working classes. In the UK the demand was overwhelmingly for tea, making it uneconomic to install genuine coffee machines

In the US, Italian coffee bars were similarly downmarket venues – something that partly explained their appeal to ‘alternative’ subcultures. The 1980s, however, saw the spread of a ‘speciality’ coffee movement that presented Italian style coffees as hand-crafted artisan products. Intended to draw consumers into speciality coffee, espresso-based beverages began outselling brewed coffee in the 1990s. Caffè latte proved particularly popular with American palates due to its high milk content. Italian coffee became a lifestyle accessory amongst the educated upper middle classes, moving from takeaway carts into the coffee shop format popularised by Starbucks. The cleanliness, comfort and lack of alcohol gave these a very different ambience from the old Italian-American coffee bars, one attractive to women, teenagers and autonomous workers. The format was successfully exported to middle class, younger consumers in the developing Asian economies.

In Europe, the early 1990s saw a more continentally aware youth culture adopt espresso beverages as an element of 'Europeaness' (as is happening in Eastern Europe today). Even in the UK, which was most receptive to the American format, local branded chains have successfully competed against Starbucks by stressing their ‘Italianess’. British coffee culture is distinctive in that most consumption takes place on the premises, usually in conjunction with a social encounter. Inverting the trends of the 1950s, coffee shop usage has spread across the generations, while a decline in drinking out has left pubs dependent on the youth market.

In Italy, the globalisation of espresso is often lamented as a missed opportunity with calls to introduce trademarks for espresso and cappuccino. However over 70% of commercial espresso machines are made in Italy, while roasters have benefited from the growth of a substantial re-export market since the mid-1990s. Controlled prices and the emphasis on pure espresso consumption make Italy an unattractive market for foreign coffee-shop chains.

The success of ‘Italian coffee’ is indicative of the adaptability and agency of the beverages, combined with the ‘value’ created by the inability to reproduce them at home. Espresso, cappuccino and latte have each led a phase in the globalisation of Italian coffee, and have proved capable of supporting a variety of meanings and values inscribed upon them by local consumers.

Dissemination

This project was unusual in terms of its high level of engagement with user communities and the general public. Public events included a lecture combined with a coffee tasting, and two public exhibitions. The project was

presented at 4 international coffee trade fairs, and 3 cultural associations, while the Director made 8 media appearances and authored 9 articles in the trade press.

The project organized a two day international conference and 2 one-day international workshops. It was presented at 16 academic conferences and seminars. 4 academic articles have appeared in Italian journals, and a journal theme issue was produced. Forthcoming publications will include an edited volume and short monograph. A project website was constructed at www.cappuccinoconquests.org.uk

2. Dissemination

A. Please outline any specific plans you have for further publication and/or other means of dissemination of the outcomes and results of the research.

Currently in negotiation to produce an edited volume on transnational consumption of Italy, a journal theme issue on consumption in Italy, and a final project monograph. Also plans for new versions of the public exhibition to be held in Italy, while forthcoming presentations include public festivals in Italy and the UK, coffee trade fairs in Italy and academic conferences in Portugal and the US.

B. Please provide names and contact details of any non-academic research users with whom the research has been discussed and/or to whom results have been disseminated.

The two target user groups outside the academic community were the international coffee trade, and Anglo-Italian cultural associations. Presentations on aspects of the research were given at the following events.

Event/Group	Contact
Espresso Italiano Specialists Day (Italian Espresso National Institute)	Carlo Odello comunicazione@assaggiatori.com
World of Coffee - Berne (Speciality Coffee Association of Europe)	Colin Smith colin@smiths-coffee.demon.co.uk
Salone Internazionale del Caffè (Comunicaffe)	Angela Hysi info@comunicaffe.com
Caffe Culture Show (UK Chapter, SCAE)	Steve Penk sgp@laspaziale.co.uk
Il Circolo (Italian Women's Association)	Laura Lepschy a.lepschy@ucl.ac.uk
The Italian Circle, Welwyn	Sue Ould sue@walden6.fsnet.co.uk
Friends of Italian at Kent	Sara Wheeler Wheelerandante@aol.com

3. Nominated Outputs (see Guidelines 1.4)

Please give full details of the two nominated outputs which should be assessed along with this report. Please provide **one** printed copy of publicly available web-based resources, **eight** copies of any nominated outputs **must** be submitted with the End of Award Report.

1. Jonathan Morris 'La globalizzazione dell'espresso italiano' from Claudia Baldoli, Jonathan Morris eds. *Made in Italy. Consumi e identità collettive in secondo dopoguerra*. Theme Issue of *Memoria e Ricerca*, XIV, 23, 2006. Based on international workshop held in Venice. Includes articles by Baldoli on espresso in Italy and Morris on globalisation of Italian coffee
2. The Cappuccino Conquests Exhibition Catalogue. Produced for the public exhibition held in the Bramah Museum of 2006 and distributed free there and at subsequent project events – plus cd of images from exhibition.

4. Staffing

Please detail appointments and departures below for ALL staff recruited for this award. Where possible, please note each person's name, age, grade; and for departing staff, destination type on leaving.
(Destination types: Academic post, Commercial, Public Sector, Personal, Other).

NB. This section must not include anyone who is an award holder.

Title	Initials	Surname	Date Of Birth	Grade	Appointment Date	Departur e Date	Destination Type & Post
Dr	C	Baldoli	9-8-70	UH 8 36	1/9/05	31/8/06	Academic
Dr	R.W.	Hughes	27-9-74	UH 7 32	31/1/05	1/10/06	Academic
Dr	P	Di Paola	25-2-66	HPL	02/10/06	28/2/07	Academic
Mr	N	Tamkin	29-11-79	HPL	22/01/07	28/2/07	Academic

5. Virements

Since 1st April 1996 investigators may vire between grant headings without reference to Council, except where major capital items are being provided for. Please detail below any changed use of resources and the benefits or problems this brought.

UK Travel required £6,029.26 more budget than expected this was used from overseas travel, that required £19,708.14 less than anticipated as the Italian researcher found that she was able to work more from her family home, while several of the PIs overseas trips were combined with funded invitations to participate in other events. Staffing required £11,077.63 more budget, due to

the project extension - this resulted in additional indirect costs of £5,095.71, these amounts were funded from an underspend on Other Costs.

6. Major difficulties

Please detail below any major difficulties, scientific or administrative/logistical, encountered during your research and comment on any consequent impact on the project. Further details should be included in the main report, including any advice you might have for resolving such problems in future projects.

While the project enjoyed a very good reception from the coffee community, many of the companies and institutions in the trade lack archives and data to share. Many have discarded papers during takeovers, or have retained very little documentation due to lack of space – particularly the private, often family, enterprises that dominate this sector. This meant we had to rely much more on oral history, working with multiple interviewees, and make a large number of short research trips rather than a few long ones. It also dictated that we had to proceed on many fronts at once, as contacts became available, rather than devote ourselves to discreet chunks of research.

7. Other issues and unexpected outcomes

Please describe any outcomes of your research, beneficial or otherwise that were not expected at the outset or other issues which were important to the research, where these are not addressed above. Further details should be included in the main report.

It is a shame that the programme was not able to fund dissemination activities after the end of the main funded period of research. While the project has exceeded the high levels of dissemination activity requested by the programme during contract negotiation, it would have been helpful to have been able to organise more of these at the end of the research period, rather than during it.

8. Contributions to ESRC Programmes

If your project was part of an ESRC Research Programme, please describe your contributions to the Programme's overall objectives, and note any impacts on your project resulting from your involvement.

The project contributed to the Cultures of Consumption Programme, by directly addressing the programme aim of 'explaining the shifting local, metropolitan and transnational boundaries of cultures of consumption'. It raised the programme's international profile, particularly in the Italian academic world. The project hosted a programme workshop at the University of Hertfordshire, while the PI spoke at a programme workshop organised by the Seed Money

project in Glasgow, and participated in a pre-publication workshop for the Fashion Routes project in London. The PI attended all the programme annual meetings, three other programme workshops, and presented to other projects at the final event.

9. Nominated Rapporteur

Please suggest the name of one person who would be suitable to act as an independent rapporteur for your project. Please state full address and telephone number.

Robert W. Thurston
Phillip R. Shriver Professor of History
Miami University Oxford, Ohio 45056 USA
office phone 513-529-5136 fax 529-3224 home 513-523-0552 cell 513-328-7062

10. Nominated User Rapporteur (Optional)

Please suggest the name of one non-academic user who would be suitable to act as an independent rapporteur for your project. Please state full address and telephone number.

Prof. Pierluigi Barrotta
Director,
Italian Cultural Institute
39 Belgrave Square
SW1X 8NX London
tel. 020 7235 1461
fax 020 7235 4618

RESEARCH REPORT

BACKGROUND

The boom in ‘out of home’ coffee consumption since the mid-1990s has generated renewed interest in the world of coffee in both the academic and general publics. The politics of coffee production and market governance’ have been investigated from a wide variety of stances¹. Historians have been inspired to investigate the social and cultural history of the coffee house across the centuries². Geographers have used video footage to investigate the usages of contemporary coffee houses, while experts in the visual arts are currently investigating the interiors of coffee houses in turn of the century Vienna³.

What these studies have tended to neglect is that the current boom has been driven by a shift in beverage preferences in which the traditional forms of filter coffee have been ousted by those based upon espresso. Espresso coffee is the product of a preparation process that evolved in Italy over the first half of the 20th century, and has now become an icon of ‘Italianess’ in itself. Espresso has followed the trajectory of other ‘typical’ foodstuffs, such as pasta and pizza, in projecting Italian cuisine, lifestyle and culture abroad. Yet, as Italian food historians have demonstrated, this is a far more complex and contested process than might seem apparent. Pasta and pizza are essentially regional dishes whose incorporation into a ‘national’ cuisine, was primarily a consequence of, rather than a precursor to, their success abroad⁴.

The primary objective of the project therefore was to construct a ‘commodity biography’ of espresso in which the influences of technological innovation and business structures were integrated with an analysis of changing social and cultural practices across consumer societies to explain how, when, where and why ‘Italian-style’ coffee beverages evolved and were transferred into other markets.

OBJECTIVES

The aim of the project as specified in the original application was:

To write a transnational history of Italian coffee, drawing on case studies of Italy and the UK.

During contract negotiations this was extended to include coverage of other cases, notably the USA.

The objectives of the project specified in the original application were:

¹ Oxfam, *Mugged. Poverty in Your Coffee Cup*, 2003; John Talbot, *Grounds for Agreement*. 2004.

² Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House. A Cultural History*, 2004; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee. The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse*, 2005.

³ See the webpages for the ESRC funded project The Cappuccino Community, <http://web.ges.gla.ac.uk/~elaurier/cafesite/>; and the ongoing AHRC funded The Viennese Café and Fin-de-Siecle Culture and <http://www.rca.ac.uk/viennacafe/>

⁴ Alberto Capatti, Massimo Montanari, *Italian Cuisine, A Cultural History*, 2003 Carol Helstosky *Garlic and Oil*, 2004 provide accounts of the development of Italian cuisine. Franco La Cecla, *La pasta e la pizza*, 1998, is a pioneering anthropological exploration of the transnational history of these commodities.

To evaluate the impact of Gaggia's new machine upon coffee consumption in Italy.

To identify the mechanisms by which espresso-based coffee was exported beyond Italy.

To analyse the social and spatial patterns of the diffusion of Italian coffee in the UK.

To explain the explosion in UK consumption since the mid-1990s.

To decode the changing 'meanings' and 'uses' of Italian coffee amongst consumers.

These were framed in line with the AHRC Guidance on Research to be used as key questions whose answers would contribute significantly to the achievement of the aim of the project.

METHOD

This project employed the standard historian's approach of engaging critically with a wide range of disparate and at times contradictory sources. These included documentary and printed materials supplied by firms and institutions operating in the sector, company histories, contemporary reports in both the trade and public presses, memoirs, and market research reports, alongside non-textual sources such as material artefacts (machines, cups etc) cultural products (films, novels, television programmes), photographs and advertisements. Particular stress was placed on the use of oral history interviews which were conducted with a large number of informants (see Appendix 1).

The breadth of resources used, and the unconventional nature of many of these, was designed to help the project overcome the frequent flaw to be found in coffee histories: that their authors are either insufficiently aware of the technical aspects of the business to challenge their sources, or insufficiently experienced in history writing to utilise their technical knowledge effectively. Oral history proved particularly useful for challenging written records: asked to explain why his brand had won a marketing accolade that allegedly indicated its popularity with the public, one company representative replied 'It's easy Jonathan – we bought it'.

RESULTS

The results are presented in accordance with the aim of the project – that is as a 'commodity biography' of Italian espresso. We can divide this story into seven overlapping phases, covering first the Italian, then extra-Italian experience, while noting the transnational connections between the two. These phases have been termed Elite, Everyday, Exotic, Ethnic, Speciality, Branded, and Global⁵.

Elite.

⁵ For reasons of space, references for this summary other than direct quotations have been omitted. They can be found in the project's academic outputs, or by application to the PI at j.2.morris@herts.ac.uk. The primary oral history sources and archives are listed in Appendix 1.

The first commercial espresso coffee machine to enter into production was the 1905 La Pavoni Ideale, based upon a patent filed by the Milanese engineer Luigi Bezzera in 1901. A gas heated brass boiler produced steam that was condensed into hot water at the group head, passing through the coffee cake under a pressure of around 1.5 atmospheres. The resultant beverage was known as espresso because it was prepared expressly for the individual customer, although this was also linked to the notion that the water had been expressed through the coffee, and played on the notion of speed – notably the idea of an express train. However the coffee produced was very different from espresso today. It was black, lacked crema, and tasted burnt due to contamination from the steam and the high temperatures in the group head of around 130-140°C.

The machines were developed in response to a growing use of bars amongst the working urban bourgeoisie as places to socialise while transacting business. Coffee drinking, particularly ‘away from home’ remained largely confined to this group, however, whose relatively limited size led the main manufacturers, principally Pavoni in Milan and Victoria Arduino in Turin to become heavily reliant on exports to the elite boulevard cafés of France, Germany and Central Europe. Within Italy consumption increased gradually up until the late 1920s when the brief prohibition on the purchase of machines for use in bars presaged the Fascist drive towards autarchy that saw a progressive fall in coffee imports until an outright ban was introduced with entry into the war in 1940.

Mass

Espresso was literally transformed by entry into production of the Gaggia Classica machine in 1948 that eliminated the use of steam. Water was drawn direct from the boiler at c92°C by a hand operated piston that forced it through the coffee at around 9 atmospheres of pressure. The result was an espresso as we know it today, topped by a characteristic head of *crema*, which led to the beverage first being promoted as ‘cream coffee’ (*caffè crema*).

Gaggia was the proprietor of a Milanese patisserie with an interest in coffee, and had purchased a patent for a new machine from the widow of an inventor named Cremonesi registered in 1938. There was no point in going into production until the end of the war, however, when Gaggia sought help from Ernesto Valente, head of a light engineering business named Faema. In 1950 Valente split with Gaggia and began making his own so-called lever machines: other manufacturers followed suit. After a decade of intensive innovation, Valente launched the Faema E61 – the first successful semi-automatic machine – in which the piston was replaced that the operator controlled by use of a simple switch. The machine drew water directly from the mains, pressurised it, then passed it through a heat exchanger set in the boiler, enabling ‘continuous erogation’ i.e. the delivery of coffee on demand. The semi-automatic machine became the standard commercial coffee making machine throughout Italy.

These innovations coincided with the transformation of Italy from an agricultural to an industrial society, provoking massive migration from the countryside to the cities, and the subsequent emergence of a mass consumer society. Small ‘bars’ appeared in the cities, providing a social space for the

incomers to meet and watch the first television broadcasts, using a cup of coffee – the cheapest item – as a price for entry. In 1961, the numbers of licences for cafes and bars overtook exceeded those for restaurants and inns for the first time: the gap has continued to widen ever since. Within bars new rituals of consumption developed, notably that of drinking coffee standing up at the counter, reflecting the fact that anti-inflation laws gave local authorities the right to impose a maximum price for a cup of coffee, but allowed proprietors to charge extra for additional services such as being waited upon while seated.

The 1960s also saw a take-off in home consumption as coffee became more available and affordable, with the Bialetti moka pot (originally designed in the 1930s) becoming an accessory in most Italian kitchens. Lavazza became the first national roaster by exploiting new means of communication (television) and distribution (supermarkets). However the roasting sector remained highly fragmented, not least because of profound differences in regional taste preferences with southerners preferring a darker roast and greater robusta content in their coffee. ‘Out of home’ consumption continued to form an usually high element of the market compared to other countries – driven by the difference between *caffè crema* and home brewed coffee. When inflation hit in the 1970s, protest boycotts of Roman bars deemed to charge excessive prices were suggestive of how far espresso had become a part of Italian everyday life. This change was symbolised in 1977 when Lavazza’s advertising shifted from emphasising the product’s origins in Latin America to endorsements by Italian celebrities staged in strictly domestic settings.

Exotic

The 1950s saw the first exports of the new-style espresso machines overseas. It was, easy to introduce *caffè crema* to Mediterranean markets: indeed Gaggia and Faema both established subsidiaries in Spain during this decade. In general, however, companies left the export trade in the hands of local distributors who were free to adapt their own strategies for promoting the product. Thus when coffee machines travelled to the English-speaking world, they assumed an exotic aspect, placed at the centre of a new coffee-drinking culture based not on espresso, but cappuccino.

In Italy cappuccino was largely regarded as a ‘ladies’ drink’ up until the 1980s, and more usually prepared at home using brewed coffee and milk warmed on the stove (in effect, not dissimilar to *caffè au lait*)⁶. In Britain however, cappuccino proved extremely popular – nearly all photographs of coffee bars in the 1950s feature cappuccino rather than espresso drinking. There were several reasons for this. One was accessibility – the British preferred to add milk to their hot beverages, be these tea or coffee. The second was theatricality – the use of the steam wand and the appearance of frothed milk added to exoticness of the product. The third reason was functional. The beverages needed to last longer as they were served in ‘destination venues’ – places where customers met to socialise, rather than simply refresh themselves. Consequently cappuccino was served hot, rather than lukewarm, leading an Italian waiter at the Moka Bar (home of the UK’s first Gaggia) to comment that

⁶ Interview Sergio Guarneri, La Cimbali, Binasco, 27 Jan 2005.

he could have a shave in the time it took for the coffee to cool to a drinkable temperature⁷.

The man who acquired the Gaggia concession for the UK was Pino Riservato, an Italian commercial traveller who was allegedly inspired by the poor quality of coffee available in London. Riservato was swift to forge an alliance with the London-based Kenyan Coffee Company, who created the leading espresso blend Moka Ris, and between them they soon dominated the fast-expanding coffee bar market.

This targeted customers excluded by law or custom from the traditional pub drinking culture centred. Night clubs serving coffee stayed open after the pubs were forced to close at 10:00pm, department stores and pastry shops installed the machines to cater to women who wanted to meet and socialise together, while the young adopted the coffee bar as a place in which they could meet and listen to their own music without interference from the older generation. Most of the proprietors were unconventional entrepreneurs, often caught up in the youth subculture itself. The journal *Coffee Bar and Coffee Lounge*, established in 1959, contained three times as much advertising for juke boxes as it did for coffee machines and products. Significantly there were no features on coffee's properties and preparation techniques.

By the mid '60s, cappuccino culture was fading. 'At home' entertainment increased with the spread of television, pubs became more youth-orientated, drinking restrictions were eased, and coffee bars morphed into cafés that sought to increase their income by emphasising food and drink. The first branded 'informal eateries' appeared, while caterers turned to quicker and simpler methods of coffee preparation such as pour and serve coffee brewers. No Faema or similar semi-automatic machines featured in *Coffee Bar and Coffee Lounge* prior to its demise in 1963 - indeed they hardly appeared in Britain prior to the 1980s.

Ethnic

During the initial exotic phase of espresso overseas, the Italian origins of the beverages were not heavily emphasised. Many of the agents involved in its transfer were non-Italian, while, conversely, Italian-origin catering enterprises were often slower to adopt espresso, except when catering to their own co-nationals.

This is best explained through reference to the class of their customers. In the UK the Anglo-Italian café was primarily targeted at the British manual worker whose overwhelming preference was for tea. Italian cafes often offered 'frothy coffee' – brewed coffee plus steamed milk, using the machines made by Still and Son of London, which provided abundant boiling water for tea, a reservoir for bulk brewed coffee, and a steam wand with which to froth milk.

Furthermore Italian proprietors were keen not to overemphasise their identity after the second world war when many had been interned. Tony Hancock captured this in his radio script *Fred's Pie Shop* of 1957, progenitor of the famous 'uno cappuccino, no froth' scene of his movie *The Rebel* (1960), in

⁷ 'Guerra e Pace a Soho attorno al Caffè Espresso', *La Voce degli Italiani*, December 1954, p.5

which a ‘continental’ coffee bar furnished with the usual exotic decorations and staffed by cockneys was contrasted with Fred’s pie shop whose proprietor was ‘Italian only by birth’. The first Anglo-Italian coffee roaster, founded by the Olmi brothers in 1936 was deliberately renamed ‘Drury Tea and Coffee’.

It was only in the 1980s as their clientele became more middle class, and the image of Italy grew more sophisticated, that the bulk of London’s Italian cafés replaced their Stills with espresso machines as part of increasing the ‘Italianess’ of their offer. Cafès renamed their ‘white coffees’ as ‘caffè latte’ – the same beverage but served in a glass – a move that had less to do with authenticity than replicating events in America.

Speciality

Espresso in the USA likewise moved through an exotic and ethnic stage, the latter linked to the literary Beatnik movement of the West Coast. Regular brewed coffee continued to dominate both ‘at home’ and ‘out of home’ markets, but consumption levels declined from the 1960s. This led some industry independents to form the Speciality Coffee Association of America in 1982, campaigning to improve the quality of beans sold for domestic consumption. To promote these speciality retailers started serving in-store samples and installed espresso machines, primarily for their theatrical value.

The speciality coffee movement repositioned Italian coffee as a premium product, placing emphasis on the quality of both the coffee and its preparation. Beverages were presented as a hand made products, crafted by artisan baristas. The most popular beverage was caffè latte – an even more milk-based product than cappuccino. Latte art, the creation of designs on top of the beverage, further enhanced its appeal, as did the use of syrups to further sweeten the product. By 1994 the espresso-based beverages were outselling traditional brewed coffee in the gourmet retail sector.

These became popular among a new generation of educated, young, upwardly mobile consumers concentrated on the coasts: a group labelled ‘bourgeois bohemians’ who used coffee and coffee houses as a vehicle for communicating their lifestyle values as captured in the phrase ‘latte-drinking liberals’⁸. The centre of this revolution was Seattle, where, by 1990 there were over 200 coffee carts serving the software professionals commuting to work on the ferries and the monorail. However the carts were eclipsed by the burgeoning number of coffee shops that provided both drink-in and take-away service. Coffee became a crucial element in the identity of the city, as the central role of the coffee house in the TV series *Frasier* confirmed (revealingly the leading character was recycled from the show *Cheers*, set in a bar in Boston).

The Speciality Coffee movement appeared to have sparked a benign revolution by raising coffee standards and convincing customers to accept higher prices for quality. At the same time, it was a triumph for independent operators, many of whom had become ‘entrepreneurs because they couldn’t be

⁸ David Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*, New York, 2002.

employees'⁹. It had also, however, effectively separated espresso from its Italian roots to place it at the centre of an American retail format.

Branded

The spread of speciality coffee was driven by the emergence of branded chains, notably Starbucks. Originally a boutique roaster and bean retailer based in Seattle, Starbucks moved into the coffee shop business after new owner Howard Schultz was impressed by the 'experience' offered by Italian coffee bars. Schultz adapted both the beverages and the setting in which they were served to suit the US market, however. A Starbucks small cappuccino is twice the size of a regular Italian one – thus softening the taste while apparently increasing the value, - and the chain introduced 'healthier' choices using low-fat or soy milk. It standardised beverage types and invented new ones, often dubbing them with Italianate names. At the base of most (not all) of these is an espresso roast that is far darker than that used in Italy resulting in a bitter-tasting shot that can still be tasted through large quantities of milk.

Meanwhile Schultz positioned Starbucks as the embodiment of a 'third place' between work and home, in which customers could relax sitting at sofas, read the papers, listen to music or simply use the bathroom facilities, while a prohibition on smoking and an absence of alcohol made this into a 'safe' environment that was far removed from that of the Italian or indeed Italo-American bar. The costs for these services were recouped in the price of the coffee.

For consumers, branded chains offer the benefit of security. It is impossible to judge what the quality of coffee served in an establishment will be like until it is tasted. Branded chains offer consumers the likelihood that the barista has been trained to prepare the beverages to a certain style. In the UK, when pub chains began offering much cheaper cappuccinos, the chains responded by stressing that their staff had the benefit of much greater training. However, the so-called non-specialist sector has become increasingly prominent in the market as the advent of 'supra-automatic bean to cup machines' have enabled supermarkets and sandwich bars to offer customers the kinds of coffee beverage they now expect. Even Starbucks has taken this route in an attempt to reduce the training costs associated with its high staff turnover and rapid expansion.

Branded coffee shops began appearing in the UK in the mid-1990s set up by local independent entrepreneurs inspired by developments in the USA. While some were branded in the American style, others tried to differentiate themselves through the construction of 'Italianess'. Costa Coffee, established by two Italian brothers in 1971 had already begun opening espresso outlets on mainline stations at the end of the 1980s, but was bought by the Whitbread conglomerate in 1995 as a vehicle to translate the Starbucks formula into the UK. Its communications materials continued to stress its Italian heritage, however, even though the beverages were served in American styles and formats.

⁹ Interview Ward Barbee, Publisher, *Fresh Cup Magazine*, London, 24 May 2006

Caffè Nero marketed itself as the Italian Coffee Company, reinforcing this message through its furnishings, staffing and smoking policies, despite having no connection with the country. Its strategy built on the use of coffee as one of a number of points of entry into a pan-European youth culture that evolved in the early 1990s, linked through music, cheap travel, and increased student mobility.

By the time Starbucks arrived in 1998 (buying out a local operator) it was estimated there were 4,750 outlets in the country of which 371 belonged to chains which were overwhelmingly based in London. Today, there are 9,700 outlets of which 2,973 are branded, the majority outside the M25.

The question of what constitutes an ‘authentic’ espresso is highly contested within the UK. Italian coffee roasters argue that only their product should be so described, Anglo-Italian roasters suggest the combination of their heritage and technique make them the genuine providers, whereas British roasters stress that freshness of the product and quality of the blend are the keys to authenticity.

Global

The coffee shop format, with Italian coffee at its centre, has been adopted across much of the developed and developing world: however significant differences can be observed in the consumer cultures that surround these.

The UK is notable for the amount of ‘dwell time’ spent over the drinks that are overwhelmingly consumed on the premises in contrast to the US where much of the trade is takeaway. This has increased significantly over the course of the last decade as, for example, mothers prefer to meet at the coffee shop than invest time in entertaining at home. Although patronage is now fairly equally spread across all generations below retirement age, it remains heavily tilted towards the educated and professional classes. The incorporation of Italian coffee into daily life was confirmed by the inclusion of Caffè Latte in the cost of living index in 2003 at the expense of Newcastle Brown ale.

A similar dramatic shift in drinking out preferences has occurred in Germany and the Nordic states where traditional consumption of black filter coffee has been overtaken in the away from home market by the milk-based espresso drinks among the under-45s. This has not been driven by branded chains, but as part of a youth culture attracted to a ‘European’ mode of socialisation. In Eastern Europe, branded chains offer a short-cut to this: Coffeeheaven, a leading chain in Poland, Latvia, Bulgaria and Slovakia claims its coffeehouses ‘feel as familiar and relaxed as a café in London, Paris or Rome. .. the Coffeeheaven concept combines the best of two converging worlds: Western experience with “new” Europe’s aspirations, talent and youth¹⁰. However, in Hungary, the new coffee culture has been appropriated in an attempt to restore the fortunes of the pre-Communist coffee houses, in contrast to the dreary, post-war Eszpresso-bars.

In Asia and the Middle East, coffee houses serve as centres for the younger middle classes to affirm their affinity to Western consumer culture, in contrast

¹⁰ www.coffeeheaven.eu.com

to the traditional tea house. The most favoured beverages are often chilled in order to fit the temperate climate. It is noticeable that indigenous entrepreneurs have often played a key role in developing the market: the leading coffee house chain in India is Café Coffee Day which has recently opened outlets in Austria.

Initial Italian participation in the speciality revolution was low. Faema famously refused to back Schultz arguing Americans would never learn to drink espresso. The US public's enthusiasm for milk-based coffees created a surprising beneficiary, however, in the small Florentine machine-making company La Marzocco whose machines featured two boilers, one of which could be used exclusively for milk foaming. Marzocco machines became so popular in the US that American investors acquired a controlling interest in the company and set up a subsidiary in Seattle. This was closed when Starbucks switched to bean to cup machines, but Marzocco remains revered in the speciality coffee world, while between 70-80% of commercial espresso machines are still 'Made in Italy'.

Similarly globalisation opened up new possibilities for the Italian coffee roasting industry at a time when domestic growth appeared to have run its course. Exports of espresso roasted in Italy rose from 12m kg in 1988 to 110m kg in 2005 – and now effectively subsidise domestic prices. Espresso's overseas success has led to its adoption as an icon of Italianness – seen in domestic communications campaigns that use foreign celebrities to enthuse about Italian coffee.

There have been complaints that the country has failed to capitalise on its heritage, because of 'unfair competition' from other suppliers of 'Italian-sounding products'. The WTO, however, has rejected calls to protect 'Italian espresso' on the grounds that the coffee itself is a blend of beans from many countries. If the fragmented structure of the Italian coffee industry has prevented it from nurturing an Italian Starbucks (although some roasters are now developing licensed concepts), the distinctiveness of Italy's coffee culture has equally enabled it to resist the international coffee shop business model.

Conclusion

The project has demonstrated how the cultures of consumption surrounding Italian coffee, and the meanings attached to this, have varied across space and time. Such cultures have been created in the interstices created by technological advances, market structures, and consumer aspirations. The key to the success of Italian coffee, however, lies in the nature of the beverages themselves, notably the value created through the difficulty of reproducing them in the home; and the adaptability that has allowed espresso, cappuccino and latte to lead different phases of globalisation. Ultimately it is the coffee itself that has acquired agency, justifying the decision to conduct this study as a commodity biography.

ACTIVITIES

This project was unusual in terms of its high level of engagement with its defined user communities – the coffee trade, Italian community, and the general public. The project has been presented to 4 international coffee trade fairs in Italy, Switzerland and the UK and 3 Italian cultural associations in the UK. Academic papers have been given at 16 academic conferences and seminars in Italy, Netherlands, Norway, UK and the USA. All presentations are detailed in Appendix 2. The main events organized by the project are outlined below

Public events

Italian Coffee: 'Italian Coffee: History, Quality and Culture'
University of Hertfordshire, 4 November 2005

This evening event combined an inaugural lecture by Professor Morris, with a technical presentation and coffee tasting organised by Carlo Odello of the Italian Espresso National Institute (pictured with Prof. Morris). c.170 attendees roughly 1/3rd from the coffee trade, 1/3rd from academia and 1/3rd from the general public. During the day, INEI tested student and staff responses to espresso prepared in Italian and 'English' styles. Media coverage: BBC 3 Counties Radio, *l'Italiano*, *l'Assaggio*, and *Café Culture*.





Exhibition: 'The Cappuccino Conquests: The Transnational History of Italian Coffee'

Bramah Museum of Tea and Coffee, London, 18-26 November 2006

University of Hertfordshire 23-27 April 2007

Organised in partnership with the Maltoni Coffee Machine Collection from Italy. Exhibition featured 12 machines from the Bramah and Maltoni Collections, a video projection, 17 panels produced by the project, and a display of espresso products and ephemera. A colour catalogue was distributed free to all those attending the exhibition. The preview night sponsored by Lavazza UK was attended by over 80 guests from the academic and coffee worlds. Media coverage: *The Times*, *Cafe Europa* and *L'Italiano*.

A second version of the exhibition was staged using 5 machines lent by the Mulmar company, as part of the UH Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities Research Institute (SSAHRI) Research Showcase. Panels were revised and a new catalogue produced.





Academic Events

'Consumption and Material Culture: Historical and Methodological Issues'
Project/Programme Workshop: University of Hertfordshire, 11 March 2005
Afternoon workshop organised in conjunction with the programme. 4 presentations including one by the Programme International Visiting Fellow. Attended by 25 scholars from the programme and university.

'Esportare i consumi: imprenditori italiani e immagine nazionale dal fascismo a oggi'

Conference Panel: Bologna, Italy, 24 Sept 2005
Panel organised within the SISSCO (Italian Society for Historians of Contemporary Italy) annual conference. Presentations by Baldoli and Morris and two Italian scholars. c. 40 attendees.

Storia dei consumi ed identità collettive

International Workshop: University of Venice, 7 October 2005
One-day workshop featuring presentations from Baldoli, Morris and seven other scholars from Italy, Denmark, Germany, Norway and the UK. Attended c30 Italian scholars. Papers revised and published as journal theme issue.



Consuming Italy. Consumption in Italy and the Consumption of Italy
International Conference: Italian Cultural Institute, 17-18 November 2006

Conference organised by the project as the annual conference of the Association for the Study of Modern Italy. Papers given by 24 speakers from Greece, Germany, Italy, US and UK. Attended c80 delegates who were invited to the preview night of the Cappuccino Conquests exhibition.



Annual Conference of Association of the Study of Modern Italy (ASMI)

**CONSUMING ITALY:
CONSUMPTION IN ITALY AND THE CONSUMPTION OF ITALY**

17-18 November 2006

Italian Cultural Institute, 39 Belgrave Square, London, SW1X 8NX



OUTPUTS

Claudia Baldoli, Jonathan Morris eds. *Made in Italy. Consumi e identità collettive in secondo dopoguerra*. Theme Issue of *Memoria e Ricerca*, XIV, 23, 2006, 141pp

This contains 10 articles including:

Claudia Baldoli, Jonathan Morris, 'Introduzione' pp.5-12.

Baldoli, 'L'espresso. Modernità e tradizione nell'Italia del caffè' pp.13-25

Jonathan Morris, 'La globalizzazione dell'espresso italiano', pp.27-46

Claudia Baldoli, 'La crema d'Italia. Esportazione dell'espresso e costruzione di un simbolo dal dopoguerra ad oggi' pp.534-39

Jonathan Morris, 'Imprenditoria italiana in Gran Bretagna. Il consumo del caffè "stile italiano"'

Italia Contemporanea, 241, December 2005, pp.540-552

The catalogue, 'The Cappuccino Conquests. A Transnational History of Italian Coffee', was distributed free at both exhibitions, and all public presentations of the project since November 2006.

A project website was constructed at www.cappuccinoconquests.org.uk. This includes many downloadable items including the text of the November 2005 lecture:

Jonathan Morris, 'The Cappuccino Conquests. A Transnational History of Italian Coffee'

Forthcoming publications include an entry on cappuccino in a dictionary of transnational history, and a chapter in a volume on food and globalisation.. A proposal for a volume of essays based on the Nov 2006 conference has been submitted along with one for a journal theme issue using the papers. A final project monograph will also be produced.

The PI has so far made 8 media appearances concerning the project and authored 9 articles for the trade press (see Appendix 3)

IMPACTS

The project has been well received by user groups. *Boughton's Coffee House News* wrote of a recent trade presentation that 'Prof. Morris showed clearly that his work offers thought-starters to successful selling in Britain¹¹'. David Forgacs, Chair of the Association for the Study of Modern Italy praised the exhibition as a 'Brilliant compressed and highly informative history' that 'should be published', while other comments in the guest book included 'very informative' (single man, Greenwich), 'fantastic' (schoolgirl, Brighton) and 'great exhibition' (couple, Poland).

¹¹ 'Learn selling from history says Morris' *Boughton's Coffee House News*, June/July 2007, p.10