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Toward a Value of Coffee

IT'S A WORKING TITLE

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This research uses coffee to explore the three streams of Value as defined by Graeber (2001) and considers Massey's (1993) argument that once an occupation is deemed "immigrant work", native born workers will usually develop an aversion to that line of work because of employment hierarchies. I will investigate how immigrants are using coffeehouse employment, which is now immigrant work in Ireland to create economic opportunity. As the cost for future migrants declines, this is creating patterns of chain migration.

Introduction

Ireland is a nation of tea drinkers. The island nation has the second highest per capita tea consumption in the world. Second to Turkey, the average Irish person steeps a staggering 4.831 pounds of tea per person per year (Ferdman 2014). In her book, *Put the Kettle On: The Irish Love Affair with Tea* (2013) Juanita Browne profiles 63 Irish citizens who are living at home in Ireland, and abroad about their relationship with tea. The people profiled range from doctors, paramedics, and firefighters to artists, archaeologists, and teenagers. Each person is photographed for the book holding their tea of choice or a serving vessel. In their profile each person waxes poetically and nostalgically about how they first started drinking tea and how it reminds them of being Irish. Rosita Agnew, who grew up in Ireland, but now works for the European Union and lives in Brussels says she has bags of Irish tea shipped from home, because tea in Brussels tastes like they "brush the floor in the teabag factory, look in the dustpan and say 'that'll do for the continent". Interestingly, in the same profile piece she confesses that she drinks her tea so weak that on more than one occasion she has gotten half way through a cup before realizing she forgot to put the teabag in the mug and was just drinking milk and hot water (21).

Actress Mary McEvoy adds in her profile on page 27 that tea grounds her, especially when she is nervous on a new set. She admits that the caffeine boost of a cup of coffee is her go-to beverage before filming actually takes place. She always starts and ends the day with a cup of tea to help calm and comfort her. Tea, she argues is love, and touches every aspect of her life. Leanora O'Halloran adds in her profile that when things get really bad in her life tea is there to comfort her and reminds her of her father. Tea breaks down barriers, calms anxieties, and provides the fuel for deep conversations. She works at a counseling center and credits tea with allowing her patients the comfort they need to open up and work through the tougher parts of

therapy (132). Few of the profiles discuss the specific taste or physical properties of tea. These stories all focus the nostalgia and emotional connection with drinking tea. The way it reinforces their Irish identity. Each story shows tea as a social beverage. The recovery drink after a night out with the girls or cup of comfort when you and your father are catching up after a semester at school. People may drink tea as a matter of routine, but they discuss it more in terms of who they are and how it connects them to other people. That identity, and what it means to be Irish is changing. An increasing immigrant population, global politics, changing tastes and trends, are all watering down tea's hold on Ireland as a new social beverage is brewing.

Specialty coffee first appeared in Ireland in 2004 when Kyle Purdy opened CoffeeAngel. The first few months he was open were spent serving coffee out of a specially fitted tuk tuk on Howth Pier in Dublin. Purdy, who had worked in bars and restaurants in his native Canada while putting himself through college as a journalism major realized after a particularly tense night covering the Troubles in Northern Ireland that he preferred the clink of a coffee mug over the click of a camera shutter (https://coffeeangel.com/about). It did not take long for specialty coffee to catch on in Ireland. According to *The Ireland Independent Coffee Guide* (Salt Media 2017) there are now over 200 specialty coffeehouses in the Republic of Ireland alone. That does not include chain shops like Starbucks, Bewley's, or Butler's Chocolates (which also serves espresso beverages) or the few dozen specialty coffeehouses in United Kingdom controlled Northern Ireland. The industry has gotten so popular that there are weekly walking coffeehouse tours in both Belfast and Dublin and several specialty and independent coffeehouse guidebooks and maps. These publications provide more than a map to the hippest coffeehouses in Ireland, they also help educate a nation of tea drinkers how to talk about, taste, and consume coffee. The first 30 pages of *The Ireland Independent Coffee Guide* (Salt Media 2017) are dedicated to explaining

the vocabulary, where coffee is grown, the roasting and grading process, and food parings. The "Dublin City Specialty Coffee Map" (First Draft Coffee) and "Belfast Coffee Map" (Patterson) focus more on listing the local coffeehouses, but also help consumers understand why each place is considered a good coffeehouse and what to expect from a quality cup of coffee. These books and maps are crucial for someone studying the emerging coffee scene in Ireland. They spell out who is thought to have the best coffee, why their coffee is good, and where the Irish coffee scene is heading next. By looking at these guides, I will be able to determine who the coffee industry sees as experts and pioneers in their fields and what qualities aficionados seek out. It provides a base from which to start my research, and a point of departure for conducting tests like consensus analysis. These guides, which are meant for a lay audience, are sold online and in various specialty coffeehouses. They provide insight to how the specialty coffee industry in Ireland presents itself and communicates what it deems important to the general public.

A Discussion of Value

So, these maps and guides are using notions of expertise to confer value to specialty coffee in Ireland. I will return to the idea of expertise later in the paper. For now, I will look at the deceivingly simple but ineffable concept of value. A single theory and meaning of value is elusive at best and can be surprisingly contentious amongst anthropologists. David Graeber provides a solid primer in his treatise *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value* (2001). The book's title is the first clue to the messiness and vagueness of the term value. At a workshop I attended at the University of Manchester with Graeber and Christopher Gregory (who is cited in the book), Graeber drew attention to the fact that in the book he is working toward a theory of value, but has not arrived at a definitive point. Albeit a fairly through discussion, Graeber admits

that it may just be too big to theorize as a whole concept. He starts the book off on page one by exploring the three main streams of the idea of value. They are:

1 “Values” in the sociological sense: conceptions of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable in human life

2. “Value” in the economic sense: the degree to which objects are desired, particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up to get them

3. “Value” in the linguistic sense, which goes back to the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure (1966), and might be most simply glossed as “meaningful difference”

Appropriately enough, I find value (see what I did there?) in all three streams for this research. Let us start with the linguistic sense. At the core, coffee is different from tea. It comes from a different plant, grows in a different part of the world, has different political baggage, and is brewed and consumed in a very different manner. As Ireland is switching from a nation of tea drinkers to coffee consumers those differences will be more apparent. Tea usually has a weaker taste, less caffeine, is not typically batch brewed, and requires less effort to steep a bag of tea than to make the typical espresso beverage. It also requires less equipment to make a cup of tea than most coffee beverages. Tea is also associated with England, and an older generation, coffee carries with it the sense of cosmopolitanism and modernity. One of the moments that helped me decide on Ireland as a field site stems from this idea that the young and hip drink coffee, while the old and stodgy still sip tea. I was at Tower Records on Grafton Street in Dublin working on a photography assignment with the Irish rock band U2. I was meeting with Steve Avril, the band’s original graphic designer and person who named the band. He ordered a cappuccino and I had a black filter coffee. We were making small talk while waiting for our drinks and I remarked “I am

surprised you didn't order tea". He smirked and quipped back "Tea's me dad's drink. I'm a coffee man." Granted, Steve is well into his 60's, but told me that he still feels young and drinks espresso beverages to keep him going.

This difference also comes in when we think of specialty coffee versus commodity grade coffee. Specialty coffee is defined as anything that quality grade testers trained by the Specialty Coffee Association determine is above 80 points on a 100 point scale. Specialty coffee typically (but not always) uses Arabica beans and shows a certain level of knowledge to consume. Coffee aficionados discuss the tasting notes and terroir of specialty coffee while mocking those who drink commodity grade coffee. There is also a noticeable difference in price. A bag of Opus Coffee or Sweetwater Organic Coffee, both specialty blends roasted in Gainesville, Florida, cost around 10 dollars per 12 ounces at Ward's Market. That compares to about $5 per pound of commodity grade coffee. In addition to the specialty and commodity difference there is also those that carry certification labels like organic, fair trade, or shade grown. I will discuss the economic value of these labels more in-depth later in this paper, and the sociological value in the next paragraph, but for the linguistic stream it is important to note that consumers who are concerned over environmental issues will pay more for the label assuring them that their coffee roaster and importer is committed to working in ways that promote social and environmental justice causes (Grunert 2011; Thøgersen 2000).

But beyond this, foods have meanings that transcend their nutritive role. "Just as our species seems always to have made food carry symbolic loads far heavier than those of simple nutrition, so, too, the symbolism seems ready to spill over into wider fields of meaning." It is thus easy to argue that food exerts a sort of power over those who consume it (Mintz 1996: 29). In the sociological sense of value, what is good, proper, or desirable, we can start again with

certification labels. They advertise the idea that coffee is organic, fair trade, or some other value adding label. Interestingly, even among the labels consumers have a preference for which sociological value they prefer. Studies found that customers typically favor Fair Trade coffee over Organic coffee (Basu and Hicks, 2008; De Pelsmacker et al., 2005; Loureiro and Lotade, 2005). The interesting part of this study is that sustainability characteristics in food are neither discernable by consumers before purchase, nor can they be qualified during the consumption process. “Sustainability labeling programs are designed to support consumers' food choice since they serve as a tool to explicitly communicate the presence of sustainability aspects on food products” (Van Loo et al 2015: 215). Taking a step back we can think of the idea that certain types of coffee are viewed as “better” than others. A connoisseur is likely to laud your choice of an Ethiopian natural process geisha while giving the side-eye at your Starbucks order. The geisha coffee is seen as a good coffee with the proper tasting notes and possessing the correct political and social attributes. At an even wider macro level the discussion of Arabica over Robusta shows what is good and proper within the coffee community. Robusta, has a higher caffeine content, and a more bitter taste than Arabica, is also easier to grow and less desirable among coffee drinkers. Praising or even worse purchasing a Robusta coffee is considered a faux pas in most coffee circles. When I was training at the Dublin Barista School the instructors openly mocked Robusta and would include it in tastings, only to highlight the “burnt rubber” and “chemical” tastes. However, we cannot also ignore the converse side of what is good and proper. As Catherine Tucker points out a family on a budget would be hard pressed to justify the extra cash required to purchase socially conscious coffee (2017: 16). In that instance the idea of good is found in purchasing the more economically sound commodity coffee. To waste precious limited cash on a value that is not readily apparent would not fall in line with that notion of good. I will

explore the class aspect more in-depth later in this paper. The linguistic and sociological aspects of coffee helps illuminate its status as a political drink. By selecting socially conscious specialty coffee over commodity grade consumers are politicize their consumption choices and making a statement against the established transnational distribution models. Just like the punks in Clark's 2004 article "The Raw and the Rotten: Punk Cuisine" socially conscious specialty coffee consumers see commodity grade mass market coffee as "nutritionally deficient… filled with a commodified, homogenous culture, and based in White-male colonialism over nature, animals, and people around the world" (Clark 2004: 13).

The economic value of coffee, which I see as a product of, not independent from the other two, is where I will focus much of my research. This notion dovetails well with the other two major works I am using, Bordieu's *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (1986) and Appadurai's *The Social life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1988).

Value in the economic sense, Graeber argues, is the degree to which objects are desired, particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up to get them. So if we consider the first two streams of value, the linguistic "in opposition" and the sociological "good and proper", we can see the degree that those first two streams influence how much people are willing to sacrifice to obtain coffee with traits they identify as having value. This next segment nay seem like a bit of a walk around, but the relevance should quickly become apparent. In 1990 Stephen Greenblatt, who really is a master of many disciplines, published a short essay called "Resonance and Wonder". It is a foundational piece of writing for both museum studies and material culture studies. In it he argues that objects receive value either through holding a sense of resonance or by creating wonder. He describes an old hat, made of board and red felt, sitting in a glass case in a museum in Oxford. Until recently the hat was buried in the basement costume

shop of an area theatre. He then reveals the hat belonged to Cardinal Wolsey. Thomas Wolsey was King Henry VIII's personal adviser and confidant. He was the negotiator between Henry VIII and the Pope when Henry petitioned for divorce from Catherine of Aragon. He also officiated the wedding between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn and started the Church of England. Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn's daughter Elizabeth later became queen of England and was on the throne during England's Golden Age of Exploration. The schism with the church also caused the still raging Protestant and Catholic conflict in Ireland. This hat sat on a very influential head whose decisions still resonate today. With that in mind, Greenblatt argues that the hat itself has a sense of *resonance*. In an Aristotle approach, the value of the whole is far greater than the sum of its felt and board parts. These type of objects end up fetishized and in museums not because of their physical properties, but the meaning and value we imbue them with based off of their histories and perceived importance in our (social or singular) lives. Objects can also gain value and earn the same status if they create a sense of wonder. Greenblatt holds up the Ghent Altarpiece as an example of how an object can instill a sense of wonder without the viewer having any cultural context. The painting by Jan and Hubert van Eyck (1432) is visually stunning. The massive polyptych is still bright and vibrant and shows a mastery of craft. Each hair on the lamb was individually painted. Each of God's eyebrows and beard hairs are stroked with a single bristle brush. The detail is exquisite. Unlike the hat, which requires a degree of historical knowledge and cultural competency, the altarpiece stands on its own as a masterpiece of visual spectacle. While this essay is popular in the art and museum worlds, I argue that this same concept applies to coffeehouses.

Branding Beverages and Consumption Spaces

There are coffeehouses that resonate with us because of personal historical and emotional events that occur inside of them. They may be the place we met our partner, had a special conversation, or received important news. In "The Coffee Shop: Social and physical factors influencing place attachment" (2006), Lisa Waxman analyzed the physical properties of three coffee shops to see if there are any features that help create place attachment. Citing studies by Chawla, (1992) and Cooper-Marcus (1992), she establishes the article on the premise that "the importance of social relationships that occur in places must not be overlooked and may enhance the activity of people-place bonding. The social involvement of family, friends, community, and culture may be equally, or more important, than the place alone" (2006: 35). Patrons felt more than a sense of community, they felt a sense of ownership over the space. Frequent customers felt a sense of loyalty to their chosen ship and argued its superiority over other coffeehouses in the area. The space also fostered a connection between patrons and staff and among patrons. Waxman commented that patrons and staff members would help each other with rides and other personal needs that fall way outside the typical prevue of managing a coffeehouse. This, in turn, strengthened the connection and sense of community, thus deepening the fealty and feelings of resonance toward the brand and physical space. While the structures may not have been the most attractive, patrons saw value beyond the structure and into the intangible.

These coffeehouses, steeped with resonance, are typically classified as third places. The third place is the bridge between home and work. Oldenburg (1989) posits that the first place is our home. To contextualize it within Goffman (1959), this is where we are backstage. We are at our most relaxed and comfortable. This is the place for personal moments and interactions. This is where we receive friends and family and have control over social interactions. We are most at

ease and engaged in leisure. The second place is work. Again to borrow from Goffman, This is where we are the most front stage. The most formal and the least personal. It is within this space that we acknowledge that we are playing a role and at our most performative. The third place is where we bridge the two. The third place, cafes, bars, coffeehouses, parks, and pubs allow us to be both professional and personal at the same time. We can go on a date, have a job interview, laugh with family, and do homework all from the same chair. The third place is both home and office. This third place allows us to engage in permissible leisure under the guise of working. It must feel comfortable and welcoming. Oldenburg asserts that for a third place to resonate "Snugness, not smugness is the key" (1989: 125). Each third place has signal fittings that instruct the patron how to act and what is expected of them while they are inside. Quoting Kenneth Davis, Oldenburg says "Every social lubricant has its home away from home, its church, as it were, where its effects are celebrated in public ceremonies and ritual conviviality" He illustrates this point by saying "Coffee spurs the intellect; alcohol the emotions and soma. Those drinking coffee are content listening contemplatively to music, while those drinking alcohol are inclined to make music of their own. Indeed, the majority of the world's third places have drawn their identity from the beverages they have served" (Oldenburg 1989: 183). These third places provide a neutral meeting ground for both business and personal transactions. They are created and maintained out of people's natural desire to socialize. Simply put, these are reifications of our desire to create social and emotional connections.

Conversely, other coffeehouses draw consumers simply because of the wonder they instill. Some spaces, like the Starbucks Reserve Room, while having good coffee, are more focused on providing guests with a visual feast. The building is an old marble façade structure on Capitol Hill in Seattle. The inside is a Willy Wonka inspired steampunk take on a coffee roaster.

Copper pipes, large exposed and aesthetically pleasing mechanics, carefully curated furniture, coffee apparatus that is much more form than function, and a staff that confirms to what one would expect a Seattle hipster barista to look like. Men with perfectly manicured facial hair and round rimmed glasses, women with facial piercings and borderline theatrical makeup. All of the bodies behind the counter adorned with tattoos. The Reserve Room is a visual feast. However, it is also a tourist destination. Quick interviews with a few members of the staff revealed that this is a coffeehouse with a regular clientele. The people who move through here are usually international tourists, hoping to cash in on some social and cultural capital by posting photos from inside the visually inspiring and unique space. I am not arguing that this space has any less value. It is just a different source of value than the smaller neighborhood shop.

While the brands are new, brand fetishism is not. As David Wengrow (2008) argues "commodity branding has been characterized as the distinguishing cultural move of late capitalism and is widely viewed as a historically distinctive feature of the modern global economy" (7). However, Hamilton and Chi-kong Lai (1989) traced a complex system of commodity branding back to the beginning of the Sung dynasty in the tenth century AD. They concluded that "the symbolic values embedded in market economies need not be construed as being simply a function of capitalist production or a result of a consumer psychology created by factory owners manipulating symbols for their own profits" (p. 268). So while we may have a new idea and larger distribution system for brand exploitation, the desire to own one brand over another is not unique to the modern age.

This recent commodity and brand fetishism is linked to the post-World War II era economic boom which saw an increase in consumerism. In addition to an increase in global coffee consumption, more people starting prioritizing luxury goods (Silverstein, Fiske and

Butman 2008). For the first time secretaries and office clerks were purchasing expensive watches, sports equipment, and automobiles. In their book *Trading Up: Why Consumers Want New Luxury Goods--and How Companies Create Them* Silverstein, Fiske, Butman (2008) discuss the trend of consumers buying into the new luxury brands at a much higher rate than the older luxury goods. Consumers feel these goods have a value above and beyond their functional purpose. The authors illustrate this by using the apparent argument that people will pay more for luxury branded items even though a comparable, yet unbranded item exists at a lower cost. The fact that consumers purchase luxury goods when a seemingly identical generic alternative exists doesn't mean that consumers lack intelligence, critical thinking skills, or are easily duped. Rather the value that is created by marketing. However, the capital of this value is either social or cultural rather than economic.

They assert that all value is subjective and people independently value things on an individual level. This means consumers will focus their economic capital in certain categories in order to purchase these luxury goods while maintaining or even increasing frugality in other areas that they deem are not as important. A consumer might buy a brand-new BMW 745i, but baulk at paying to upgrade their airline ticket to include a checked bag. The reasons for this are as personal as the decision to value one item over another but are often tied to some emotion or nostalgia. When it comes to coffee the emotion or nostalgic aspect may not be as apparent, but I argue that the emotion and nostalgia is wrapped up and is understood better using Bourdieu's idea of social or cultural capital. To translate this into coffee consider this; a person can purchase 30 ounces of Maxwell House Coffee for $6.93. Alternatively, they could choose to purchase Starbucks Reserve micro lot roasted Saint Helena for $80 per 8.8-ounce bag. To put this in a direct comparison, the Maxwell House is approximately $0.23 per ounce while the Starbucks

Saint Helena is $9.09 per ounce. While the average coffee consumer may not be able to discern the difference between the two and justify the excessive economic cost of the Starbucks reserve, however aficionados will gain social and cultural capital from the bragging rights on social media for having tried Starbucks' top tier coffee. Another interesting aspect of this book as it relates to coffee is their argument that there will always be demand at the top and bottom, but the middle of the road products are the most vulnerable to extension. When the authors were first doing their research new luxury brands like Starbucks, Victoria Secret, and Under Armor were in high demand and seen at the new mark of distinction and taste. However, nearly 20 years later all these brands have now become commercialized and mainstream and have lost some luster. Anyone who remembers trying to eat at an Olive Garden in the mid-1990's will recall the notoriously long waits to get a table. But that was back when it was an exotic luxury brand. Now the casual dining chain is offering two for one special and has flirted with bankruptcy on several occasions. Under Armor, the brand for elite athletes, was coveted by armatures. Now, shareholders are upset because the brand is available at discount retailers. In coffee terms, we can think of brands like Seattle's Best, Tully's, and Caribou, which have all faltered in the insignificance of mid-range brand obscurity. These are brands that not many consumers have a connection with and fail to meet the demands of either the value shopper or the aficionado.

The classist nature of these brands is understood through the lens of Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of Social Taste* (1986). While this literature review, and my entire PhD for that matter, cannot possibly do this work complete justice, I do look forward to using some of the key concepts to help this study. Bourdieu understands that the coffeehouse is a social space. That there is something about this connection, which creates social capital. As he so eloquently phrased it "The cafe is not a place a man goes to for a drink but a place he goes to in

order to drink in company, where he can establish relationships of familiarity based on the suspension of the censorships, conventions and proprieties that prevail among strangers (Bourdieu 1986: 183). However, coffeehouses are classist spaces. Even outside issues of gentrification and racial barriers, coffeehouses create unspoken class barriers in other ways. To illustrate this point I am going to compare two coffeehouses in Florida. The first is Coffee Culture. It is a small sole-proprietorship located in Gainesville, Florida. Owned by a married couple, Coffee Culture has an enthusiastic following of patrons who drink more blended and flavored drinks than espresso or filter coffee. The filter coffee that is offered is dark roast. The pastries are heavy and either thick cakes or dense breads. The interior is ketch and cozy. The mugs are kitschy and mismatched and look straight off of the shelf of the neighboring Goodwill. The tables and chairs are sticky and well worn. There is a curio cabinet with small handmade goods, mostly wire bracelets and rings that sell for a few dollars each. The counter is cluttered with stickers, coffee related signs, and full color advertisements. This works in Gainesville because a large segment of the population is in a lower socioeconomic demographic and do not set themselves as living in a pretentious town. Another important fact is that this coffeehouse is right next to the local high school. It offers open mic nights which usually draw a crowd, and the baristas are typically smiling. This is a working class coffeehouse. Without even looking at the patrons, one can make inferences about the socioeconomic demographic that could be attracted to that coffeehouse. People have a loyalty to this shop, not only because it appeals to their sense of style and community, but also because it resonates with them. This is their coffeehouse.

The contrasting coffeehouse is Bandit Coffee in St. Petersburg, Florida. To blend in Graeber's idea of the linguistic value of difference, this shop is that foil to Coffee Culture. It is a clean open space, with sharp angular lines and white surfaces and dishware. Like Coffee Culture,

Bandit offers items for sale. However, these are handcrafted leather coffee sleeves that sell for approximately $40 apiece. They have a small assortment of coffee related books, magazines, and brewing equipment. All appeal to the connoisseur. Many of these items serve very little practical value and the lower priced items cost around $20 and range up to several hundred dollars. The coffee is between $6 and $8 per cup and light roast. Even the “medium roast” is light by international standards. The food is small portions and mostly croissant like items or dried fruit bars. To plainly relate this back to Bourdieu, the space appeals to office workers and the upper middle class who seek out open, light, tidy spaces. They feel most comfortable visiting places that have order and cleanliness. (1986: 104). This is not to say Coffee Culture is dirty, it is just not clean. It is messy and has a “lived in” feeling. The difference in the coffee and food also follows Bourdieu. Those with higher cultural and economic capital prefer foods that are lighter and either delectate (cultural) or refined (economic). Those with lower cultural and economic capital prefer fattier, heavier, nourishing foods (1986: 186).

While both spaces appeal to their respective classes, they do so through culturally appropriate senses of resonance and wonder. Bandit Coffee, which receives a fair amount of press in the coffee trade publications confers cultural capital to those who seek it out. This resonates with the self-proclaimed coffee aficionados and those who want to be seen enjoying the latest en vogue spots. It also holds a sense of wonder with the beautifully designed interior space and microlot direct trade sourced coffee. The so-called creative class feel a sense of excitement being in this space with these rare coffees. Coffee Culture also holds a sense of resonance and wonder with the working class. The kitschy mugs and chairs and plain speak advertisements appeal to those who value plain speaking and plain eating (Bourdieu 1986: 194). The working class enjoys the colorful décor and funny mugs. This space also resonates because

it offers an open mic stage, community events, and social meetups. Bandit has only hosted coffee related talks and latte art events, very structured happenings with low social interaction. Coffee Culture, in contrast, has board game night!

An important concept that was touched on in the last paragraph that deserves some further attention is the idea of exotic coffee. In his book *Home Cooking in the Global Village* Richard Wilk discusses how imported items have a higher value and are more desirable because they are symbols of modernity and cosmopolitanism. This is applicable to coffee as well. With the coffeehouses like Coffee Culture the coffee is named and sold in plain speak as just that, coffee. However, within the realm of modernity it is the cosmopolitan consumer who can discuss the difference between a natural processed Ethiopian Yirgacheffe and a honey washed Ethiopian Harrar. As Wilk asserts "consuming metropolitan became not a symbol of civilization, but the behavioral manifestation of civilization itself" (Wilk 2006).

An important aside not to be glossed over is that both of those coffees are named for the geographic region in which they are grown. In addition to giving the consumer the illusion of drinking an exotic beverage steeped in globalization and cosmopolitanism, it also elevates this coffee to the same status as wine. Like coffee, wine is sold in stages. The lowest, like red table wine, usually refers to just the color. The next level may discuss the grape or add a generic terroir, like California White Zinfandel. The top tier is estate specific wine that boasts the grape varietal, vineyard, year of vintage, and vintner. This perceived transparency adds value to the wine. Wine lives a cultural life at once as commodity produced, marketed, and consumed, and as aesthetic form one experiences with a sensorium and judgment, however "naturally" sensitive, as well potentially "refined" through training, cumulative experience, and the subtlety of aesthetic memory. Wine as a drinkable commodity is the evolving creation of developed agricultural

techniques—depending on market-segment destination (Silverstein 2006; Ulin 2002). Value creating advertisements and social media campaigns help manipulate market forces which influence the value of wine. Salespeople and industry magazines frame the value of this wine at every stage as a measure of distinction, which in the linguistic stream of value is then applied against other comparable wines. As an art form, wine is indeed subject to a social organization of value-determining connoisseurship, in which, at various stages of its existence, the licensed exercise of "the judgement of taste" (Bourdieu 1986) is the central performative act, a "representative declarative" one. Just like fine art which drives it value from experts, this value comes in large part from the sommeliers and wine shop owners, or in the case of coffee, the baristas behind the bar.

Baristas

Aficionados at the retail level will immerse themselves in coffee knowledge on multiple levels. Just like sports fans who may listen to games, watch ESPN, and read sports blogs, baristas will read magazines, blogs, and other social media posts that help assess and establish the quality and desirability, and thus attempt to assess a value of various types of coffee. This helps connect baristas, who are usually bound to the coffeehouse to the sites of production and distribution. It will also give them the language and tools necessary to stay abreast of the harvest, what coffees are the most desirable at the moment, cutting edge tools, and latest brewing techniques. While this knowledge is helpful, it finds a boost in value when the barista engages in enacting the role of the expert to the consumer. While the written maps and guides I discussed earlier provide a good starting point, it is the barista who is the face of the coffee and coffeehouse. They represent the gatekeeper of coffee knowledge to the uninitiated layperson. To help me better analyze the barista as expert I turn to Boyer helps define an expert asserting "an expert as an actor who has

developed skills in, semiotic-epistemic competence for, and attentional concern with, some sphere of practical activity" (2008: 39). Experts are used to create and confer value onto a particular commodity. However, it is important to note that expertise is something people do rather than something they poses. Expert use verbal cues such as jargons and acronyms or physical tells like the thinking pose or specific way of holding a tool that signifies knowledge and confidence, which the customer may interpret as expertise. Expertise is also passively communicated. Clothing, for example, is a way to show expertise without actively proclaiming it to each customer. Coffee branded clothing items like shirts, pins, and hats are one way. The film Barista (2015) spells out how a barista is expected to dress:

> "On the forefront of this movement are the baristas who are leading the charge to perfection. You might think you know the type, quirky, off the wall, brilliantly manicured facial hair and an unapologetic sense of style, bodies adorned with tattoos and a shared love of dance. Make no mistake, this is what a craftsperson looks like. These are the boys and girls that take coffee to that next step. They care about things like you being able to taste baker's chocolate or fresh citrus in your cup. Making sure the immaculately filtered water they use is heated with razor precision so as not to scald every square inch of your pretty mouth as you take that first sip"

It is important to note that no one is born with the technical or mental tools needed to be an expert. Rather the "phenomenology of expertise and the capacity to operate productively in a culture of expertise are acquired processually" (Boyer 2005:43-44). Baristas must be trained. Starbucks estimates a six month learning curve to become fully trained to work every aspect of the barista position unsupervised. A specialty third wave shop, like Intelligentsia puts their training module at between 12 and 14 months. This is because while coffee is a complex

beverage, the barista is the last line before it goes to the customer. Unlike a bartender who opens a bottle, pours the liquid and recorks it, a barista has to make the beverage. In the film (3:39) there is an exchange between Ryan and Charlie that help situate how baristas view making an espresso beverage:

> Charlie:
>
> "I think that coffee is one of the most wonderful things on the planet. It is endlessly fascinating. It is also extremely difficult. So difficult that chefs won't even touch it."
>
> Ryan:
>
> "You're working with something that is more chemically complex than almost anything else we imbibe as a human being. By far and away. Wine through the fermentation process, nothing compared to the roasting process and caramelization that takes place there. But, really the greatness of coffee is why I do it."

Baristas have to enact these series of expertise to earn the trust of the public. They have more control over the quality of a beverage than a bartender at the point the consumer receives the drink. Quan and Ly (2018) argue that it is not a far stretch to ask if these various coffee groups, with their specific settings, language, and values could help the researcher divide them into smaller neo-tribes. While I am not sure, it is definitely an important point to consider when in the field.

Moving Bodies Moving Coffee

Ireland, is a former colonized nation that has sent refugees throughout the world because of centuries of economic hardship, sectarian violence, famine, and religious persecution is finally stabilizing. For the first time immigrants and asylum seekers are flooding the Emerald Isle

looking for the same opportunities that Irish emigrants fled their home country to seek. This new new-found economic prosperity, popularly known as the Celtic Tiger is forcing some tough discussions for the Irish who seem to have one foot toward the future but an eye on the past. It is in that context that I start this bibliography review.

In her article "Debating Refugee Deservingness in Post-Celtic Tiger Ireland" Shay Cannedy (2018) provides a wonderfully through background on the entanglement between Irish economics, identity, and its history as both a colonized race and colonializing space. She points out that questions over accepting refugees and immigrants are new for Ireland as the Irish have typically emigrated in the face of colonialism, famine, and poverty rather than receive diaspora from other nations. Ireland's unique position as a formerly colonized space that has "successfully appropriated the powerful "white" identity of "civilized" Europe to gain independence, and is now employing this identity to deny the deservingness of racialized asylum seekers" (Cannedy 2018: 115) puts it in an unusual position in the debate over accepting immigrants.

Ireland's colonialization dates to at least the med-sixteenth century when the British declared the Irish as barbaric pagans to justify land grabs. This continued through the nineteenth century when government and church officials used scientific racism to classify the Celts as "non-white" based on objective physical characteristics. This subjugation followed Irish Catholic immigrants to the United States and Britain where white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP) identity was the vertex of the racial and ethnic hierarchy. In the United States, Irish immigrants were eventually able to earn "white" status by distancing themselves and "rising above" the "black others" who were also passing through Ellis Island at that time.

In the early 1990's Ireland, and the rest of the then newly formed European Union enjoyed a substantial economic boom. Ireland particularly benefited because of their low tax

rates. Between 1994 and 2008 The Republic of Ireland experienced a period of rapid unsustainable economic growth. During this period unemployment plummeted causing immense inflation which skyrocketed the cost of living. For example, residential real estate values increased three-fold during those 14 years. Anti-immigrant sentiments also increased during the Celtic Tiger. This is interesting and important because nations are typically more open to immigration during economic expansions and more restrictive during economic contractions. Researchers argue that this may be because wealth was already unequally divided and instead of a rising middle class, the Celtic Tiger deepened the gap between the wealthy and poor and many Irish were also worried about "the other shoe dropping" economically. The push back against immigrants could also be in part because Ireland also experienced an unparalleled surge in immigration that matched the explosive economy. Between 2002 and 2005 the number of people who registered as non-national on the census skyrocketed from 5.8% to over 10% and the number of asylum seekers rose from 39 in 1992 to a staggering 11,634 in 2002. While most of Europe was welcoming to immigrants and asylum seekers during this period, this exponential rise in migrants caused Ireland to start restricting access to asylum seekers (Cannedy 2018).

In the year 2000, Ireland changed its policy on financially supporting asylum seekers. Before those new regulations asylum seekers enjoyed the same access to the welfare system as residents. However a moral panic escalated restrictions and asylum seekers were limited to provisioned accommodations, a small allowance, and medical care. They are not allowed to seek employment and are highly discouraged from securing private accommodations. In 2004 Ireland closed its "birthright loophole" which had allowed the families of children born on Irish soil to claim Irish citizenship. The semantics of the debate circled around Ireland's status as an EU member nation because once someone gains Irish citizenship they become citizens of the wider

European Union. The rhetoric was couched in the argument that Ireland should be a "good and responsible neighbor" for other EU states and the decision to close the loophole was just common sense

These sentiments only worsened after the market crash of 2008 which caused severe austerity measures. In 2010 the Irish government, which had been a golden child of European economic prosperity, needed to secure an €85 billion EU/IMF bailout. It took a full five years before Ireland started climbing out of the recession and unemployment dropped from its highest rate of 15.2% in January 2012 to 9.8% in May 2015 (Cannedy 2018: 115). While the economy is rebounding, anti-immigration sentiments remain. Cannedy argues this is because Ireland exists simultaneously and paradoxically in two worlds, "as both perpetrator and survivor of racism, both thoroughly racist and determinedly anti-racist." (2018: 108). The Irish who support anti-immigrant protectionism policies justify their position and argue against allegations of racism and xenophobia by pointing to their own history of oppression and relative powerlessness and marginalized position in the global order today which they claim makes the Irish immune to being racist. The tension is between asylum seekers and pro-migration activists who argue that Ireland should be more receptive to immigrants given the nation's own subaltern past and those within the country who feel the migrants are "undeserving" or "bogus" especially since the country is struggling to support its own "natural" citizens in economic recessions (Cannedy 2018: 115). To illustrate this tension Cannedy discusses a recent local election in Dublin where an African asylum seeker was racially targeted on social media after announcing his candidacy. With the one racist comment hundreds came to the candidate's defense. One poster wrote "Albert is Irish because he is an Irish citizen. Even if he weren't, by virtue of being a human being, he has a right to be in this country and participate in politics. He represents the interests of

ordinary working people in Dublin 15. Criticize the bankers, politicians and developers who have bleed this country dry" (Cannedy 2018: 102). The above exchange, and the entire article beautifully illustrates the complex and often contradictory nature of what it means to be Irish and how the Irish see themselves as both colonized and colonizers in the international debate on asylum and refugee seekers.

However, as I stated in the beginning of this paper, Ireland is a nation of tea drinkers. So the challenge becomes integrating the above information with understanding is how coffee become so popular. That is where baristas and transnational experiences come in to play. The pioneering baristas usually have outside influence from exposure to a foreign culture, either by extensive travel or being an immigrant. Remember, it was not until 2004 that the first specialty coffeeshop opened in Ireland. To help understand how coffee gained entrance and grew in popularity we can look at two similar nations, Japan and Australia. In all three nations specialty coffee was introduced not by transnational corporations, but rather by small shops that imported the idea of the coffeehouse from elsewhere. Both Australia and Japan started drinking coffee after World War II. They were introduced to coffee through their contact with coffee drinking Americans and continental Europeans who helped change the caffeine consumption preference. In Australia, for example, coffee consumption in Australia doubled by 1969 and by 1999 coffee consumption quadrupled. This is in direct contrast to the United States where coffee consumption declined in the years between the end of World War II and 1990, but I digress. While American service members may have helped introduce the Australians to coffee, it was the Italians who cultivated and sustain the taste. After the British, Italian migrants are the second largest ethnic group in Australia. However, the café culture in Melbourne is a diffused replication of Italian coffee shops by way of London. Italian espresso is typically a small shot of

coffee sold at takeaway kiosks that is quickly consumed. Rather, Australian coffeehouses are an amalgamation of aspects of coffee from around the world. As Michael Symons (2007: 324) asserts “Australians have followed the Italians in making espresso, and the French in sitting around in cafes”. In this context, Grinshpun’s (2014) observations on Starbucks in Japan, becomes relevant. She argues that the coffeehouse space, with its use of flat representations of odors of a culture are “closer to a consumed artifact, rather than a hegemonic power” (345).

Espresso was first introduced to Australia not by Italian immigrants, but by Peter Bancroft, a Melbourne teenager who spent some time in London after finishing school. While in the West End theatre district Bancroft fell in love with the espresso cafés and convinced his father to become the distributor for Giggia espresso machines. In 1954 they opened Il Cappuccino, a small coffee shop that served coffee and snacks to show off the machines and introduce Australians to Italian espresso. They hired a chef from Holland who served stroopwafles, cheese boards, and Dutch breakfast cake. The idea quickly caught on and within three years the Bancrofts imported 400 Gaggia espresso machines. Many of these machines were sold to migrants who saw this as an opportunity to run their own businesses and quit working in low-level factory and manual labor positions. It is important to note the multinational aspects of this café. The concept is based off a London interpretation of an Italian concept that was imported by Anglo-Australians to a colonized country. The name and machinery were Italian, but the chef and cuisine was Dutch. When the Bancrofts sold Il Cappuccino in 1955 the new owners were Czech.

While the Bancrofts recognized and took advantage of the opportunity to import espresso, they were not operating in a vacuum. Two other major factors helped popularize café culture in Melbourne. First, more people were consuming food and snacks away from home in

the post-World War II years. Globally, economic prosperity, accelerated globalization, and dual income families were helping to make making convenience foods more popular. Both adults working meant not only more income, but also less time spent at home preparing meals. In Melbourne specifically the city preparing for the 1956 Olympic games which was transforming the city from sleepy bedrock into a center for global cosmopolitanism. This forced Australians to look beyond their traditional ties with the United Kingdom and integrate Continental European ideals and foodways. This was accelerated in the 1980s by local government policy. State officials hired consultants to help them spark a cultural and tourism revolution in Victoria. The answer was a plan by Don Dunstan to focus on food tourism. In his book *Open Air Restaurants and Café in Adelaide* (1973) Dunstan argues the region focus on gastronomical and cultural experiences as a way to revive residents' interest in the community and attract tourists. In 1988 liquor laws were amended and allowed cafes to start selling alcohol. State officials kept the cost of a café liquor license relatively low compared to Sydney. A small café liquor license which allowed them to serve wine by the glass was $567 in Melbourne versus $10,500 in Sydney. Other state policies discouraged franchising and encouraged smaller European style cafes. Cafes still flourish in Melbourne and in many areas serve as the center for supporting and related retail stores. Most of the coffeehouses in Melbourne are independently owned with their own style and décor. Starbucks closed in Australia after just a few years. The flat white, with a 30ml shot of espresso, is the most popular beverage. It is served by a professionally trained barista who has several years of experience.

Coffee continues to be an immigrant beverage in Australia. Arguably the most popular person in the Melbourne coffee scene is Sasa Sestic. He is an immigrant from Croatia, who immigrated to Australia after the war broke out with Slovenia. Sestic had no previous coffee

training when he borrowed and begged the money to open a franchise shop that sells coffee. He made up the drinks as he went along, hoping the customers would not complain. After attending a food convention, where he tasted specialty coffee for the first time, he decided to make selling quality coffee his life's mission. He is credited with being one of the harbingers of specialty coffee in Australia and helping to establish Melbourne as the leader in specialty coffee. The biopic documentary about Sestic. *The Coffee Man*, (2016) is a little self-serving for my taste, and he has a large amount of white savior complex, as he brags about saving farms in Colombia. But, it is important to this research because it shows how an immigrant can move into a western community and establish themselves as the expert of coffee. It also shows how the specialty coffee community fetishizes coffee origins and coffee farmers.

Coffee is a beverage is immigrants. The first coffeehouse in Europe, called The Angel, was opened in 1651 in Oxford by a Jewish immigrant named Jacob. The second coffeehouse opened a year later in London by a Turkish immigrant named Pasqua Rosee. The sign bearing his profile wearing a turban and sporting a thin exotic twirly moustache quickly became the ubiquitous symbol for all coffeehouses in London (Jacob 1935). Even the founding myth of the Vienna coffeehouse, which reads like a romantic spy novel. Jacob (1935) and others claim the first Viennese café was established after retreating Turkish soldiers left behind sacks of coffee. These sacks were scheduled to be burned because the leaders thought they were camel feed. Instead, they were spared the fire (at least temporarily) by an Austrian spy named Georg Franz Kolschitzky for his role in the war. He had traveled throughout the Middle East in his role as a spy so he recognized the beans as coffee, not camel feed and knew how to turn them into the now popular caffeinated beverage. Kolschitzky opened the first café called Zur blauen Flasche (The Blue Bottle) as was able to retire from the dangerous world of military intelligence. The

reason that that story reads so well as the plot to a historical fiction book, is because, well it is a work of fiction. The real story is that the first coffeehouses were opened by two Armenians Johannes Diodato 1686 and Isaak de Luca in 1693. Armenia was on the fringe of the Ottoman Empire and like all cooffeehouses all over Europe Vienna cafes were established and operated by foreigners who were involved in coffee trading and coffeehouses in the vast Ottoman territories. (Pinsker 2018: 99). Pinsker argues that treating Viennese café culture as unique obscures the transnational aspect of the café and ignores the fact that its early history is tied to Turkish and Armenian coffee.

Immigrants continue to help push the flow of coffee into Europe and elevate its status. In Ireland for example, coffee power couple Renata and Arvind Khedun both hold the top barista spots. Arvind is the reigning Irish Barista Champion and Renata is the current Irish Latte Art Champion. They met not long after immigrating while working at a chain coffeeshop in Dublin a few years back. They both hold master's degree from their respective countries, but had poor English language skills, so they had to take deskilled jobs in the food service industry.

An international migrant is someone who spent at least 365 consecutive days living in a country other than the one where they were born. While this may seem fairly straight forward, there are always caveats and exceptions. The largest one that eschews some of the data relevant to this study is that the European Union does not consider people who migrate within the EU Zone international migrants, but rather internal migrants (Kamusella 2011: 231). So, for example, someone who leaves Poland to work in Ireland is considered an international migrant by Irish and American standards, but the EU argues that the unified currency and open borders makes it analogous to an American moving from Florida to New York. That makes some of the EU numbers a little tricky to decipher and more importantly, changes the dialogue on

international migration. While I expect that will play a part in the dissertation, it is not concrete enough to devote a lot of time on for this paper.

According to Ireland's Central Statistics Office, there are approximately 535,475 non-Irish nationals currently living in the Republic. That is 11.6 percent of the total population. More than half of those immigrants are currently working in some form of paid employment. Out of the 293,830 non-nationals with the right to work in Ireland, 40,859 are working in the food service industry. Many of these migrants are younger and better educated than the general native born population. 55.6% of migrants hold at least the equivalency to a bachelor's degree. That compares to 50.6% of native Dubliners and 27% of the total national population. So, with holding higher degrees, but earning lower positions with lower income the reason for migration becomes important. Unfortunately, it is also very complicated.

In "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal" Massey et al (1993) claim there is no single, coherent theory of international migration. There are a multitude of fragmented theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries. They then set out list and make sense of at least the more popular theories of migration. This is a usefully comprehensive article that helps add depth to studies on migration. While much of the information is at least peripherally useful, for the proposes of this paper, the main points can be distilled into the a few key ideas. First, migration is rarely exclusively about economic opportunity. There are numerous other push and pull factors behind migration beyond the simplistic reason of higher wages. The world is run by a few urban epicenters where banking, high tech, and professional services create a high standard of living. These spaces need vast amounts of unskilled workers to work in support roles for the highly paid skilled workers. Second, the unit of analysis for migration should be the family, not

the individual. The decision to leave one area and relocate in another is rarely left to just the person who migrates. Families provide support (material and emotional) to the migrant and their influence and agency must be accounted for in the analysis. Third, there will always be a lowest group of the economic strata, and they cannot have a wage increase without also raising the wages of all of the people above them. To increase the wages of an entry level employee without also adjusting the income for a middle level employee will upset the balance of power and cause resentment. Fourth, once a job is deskilled or determined to be an "immigrant job" it is hard to attract native born workers into the position. Immigration changes the social definitions of a job and can make it unattractive for a non-immigrant, lest they be labeled unskilled. This is currently happening with the food service industry in Ireland, however the immigrants are able to leverage their expertise in coffee to set positions like barista apart. Finally, there is a declining cost for future immigrants. The initial immigrants to an area bear the cost of establishing social networks, learning an area, learning how to navigate the immigration process (which may include appropriate ways to circumvent the system). Each subsequent group of migrants can move into a region and essentially bank on the social and cultural capital from earlier waves of migrants.

While direct economic benefit through higher salary may not be the only reason for migration. Favell (2008) and Milmartin & Migge (2015) argue that long term goal economics play a large role in the decision to move. For Favel, it is the access to technology and knowledge centers that attracts enterprising migrants who want to develop ideas, establish networks and social connections in the cash rich host countries and return home to launch their own enterprises. Saxenian (2006) found this was the case with Chinese and Indian immigrants to the United States. The second reason is to learn English. As simple as it may sound English has won the language war and it quickly becoming the international language of business and science.

Learning English in a native speaking country puts the immigrant at an advantage over their fellow job seekers back home. An interesting note to this is that some countries, like Ireland, are now encouraging their residents to learn their mother tongue in addition to or even instead of English. Irish schools are becoming more popular and the government is pushing for a bilingual society, with signage and documents in both languages.

A more contentious reason for migration, which has not received as much attention is lifestyle migration for the creative class. The idea of the creative class was popularized by Richard Florida (2002). According to Florida, The creative class is comprised of a 'super creative core', which includes people whose job it is to create new ideas, new technology, and/or new creative content'. This includes scientists and engineers, artists, architects, cultural worthies, think-tank researchers, and writers and journalists. He argues the quality of human capital in any place is the most important factor in driving economic growth. He argues that this creative class will seek out cities for the region's ability to provide cultural capital based on the 3Ts: technology, talent and tolerance. In his critique of Florida's thesis, Boyle (2006) argues that Dublin offers none of those and immigrants are focused more on economic, rather than cultural opportunities. Boyle, who was working in Scotland at the time, first pokes holes at Florida's "flashy and slick" approach and arguing that cultural factors are not as important as Florida believes. He convenes a cohort of 50 people that he recruited at the airport and conducted focus groups. While the groups seem to be frustrated with Ireland overall, Boyle takes it an attack on the creative class thesis. His closing argument is that Dublin scores low on the tolerance index, which negates Florida's thesis, showing that economic opportunity is the reason behind pull migration. However, 12 years later things have changed quite a bit in Dublin, which makes one wonder if Boyle's small sample size and lack of understanding of the shifting sociopolitical

climate eschewed his results. Since the article was published Ireland has legalized same sex marriage and abortion. The arts scene is thriving which is attracting even more young professionals. An updated study by Gilmartin and Migge (2015) of 40 migrants working in Ireland shows that only 8 cited economic opportunity as their primary reason for migrating to Ireland. The others gave cultural or personal reasons for the move. I would also like to add, as a personal note, that for as much as Boyle mocked Florida's flashy approach, Boyle was the subject of a weeklong celebration at his last institution called "Markfest", where there spent a week celebrating his accomplishments.

While Boyle may not feel this creative class lifestyle migration is a valid way to attract migrants, it is working in Melbourne. The Australian city is a supporter of Florida's ideas, and also the current hub of western coffeehouse culture. Having no major landmarks, they still attract a large number of lifestyle migrants from other commonwealth nations like Britain and Ireland to work for at least one year under the Holiday Working Program. This gives a one year working visa to citizens of commonwealth nations who are under 30. While many return home after their year, there is a proportion who decide to stay and make Australia their home. In a focus group conducted by Clarke (2005) many of the holidaymakers cited Australia's cultural scene and liberal politics as a major factor behind the decision to apply for the working scheme. Many of these migrant workers are seen by the state as the "right kind" (healthy, attractive, young, disposable income) and officials work to actively recruit similar migrants by providing low cost housing in the hip city center near bars, restaurants, cafes, and other shopping.

Back in Ireland, the largest demographic is young, educated, and ambitious immigrants from Poland. According to the Central Statistics Office, Pols make up the largest group of migrants, even including workers from the United Kingdom. The majority of the Polish migrants

currently living in Ireland migrated within two great waves. The first was in 2004 when the Irish economy was booming. Ireland was one of the first countries to allow workers from the newly admitted EU states, which included Poland, the right to work. The second wave came after the global economic collapse of 2008. The number of Pols living in Ireland doubled between 2006 and 2011. Kamusella (2011) argues that while the Irish economy was bad, the Polish economy was even worse and the existing Polish population had created a chain migration effect. To drive the point home she points out that while approximately 50,000 people speak Irish, nearly 200,000 people in Ireland speak Polish (243). Even when the economy is rough, or a Polish immigrant is looking to leave Ireland, they usually go to another EU state instead of returning to Poland. The number of Polish migrants who now call the British Isles (Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England) is more than 1.5 million which has created both a cottage industry of Polish goods and foods, allowing the migrants to travel in dwelling. It has also created a link between the islands and the continental mainland with more than 400 low cost flights each week from Britain and Ireland to Poland.

The initial openness of the Irish government to Polish migrants is one of the reasons why Pols make up such a large percentage of the population in Ireland. Others like Belchem (2011) argue that Ireland and Poland share similar cultural elements that makes it easier for Pols and the Irish to integrate. They are both Catholic nations, they were both colonized by neighboring nations, and they both sent waves of emigrants to America and Britain looking for economic opportunity. However, Ireland, unlike Poland has experienced two tiger economies.

All of this exists while Ireland is struggling to define and reform its immigration policies. As Cannedy (2018) discusses, Ireland is learning how to manage its new role as economic power, instead of colonized neighbor. And the Irish economy could continue to boom as Brexit

moves forward more transnational corporations like Facebook, Google, Apple, and Amazon are setting up shop in Dublin to maintain a strong EU presence. These large corporations both bring their own international workers and attract more with the hopes of a well-paying job, even if that job is making a latte for the CEO.

Movies and Methods

An ethnographic film and other visual elements are going to make up a substantial part of this dissertation. I have not decided if the final submission will include a series of four short (15-20 minute) interrelated films, a single 60 minute feature documentary, or a combination of the two. At this point the most accessible films are single, feature length documentaries that focus on either the production or consumption of coffee. The notable difference is *The Cappuccino Trail: The Global Economy in a Cup* (2001). This 50 minute film produced by the BBC is one of the only films that bridges the production, distribution, marketing, and consumption of coffee in a fairly successful manner. In the video we meet Penny, the new managing director of British based Café Direct. She travels to Peru and visits farmers in the coffee cooperative there. She hopes to establish a direct trade agreement with them to purchase their green coffee beans for well above market price. The film then shows how Café Direct plans to use the beans to create an entire branding and marketing campaign around their organic coffee. Interspersed with shots of Penny schlepping all around Maccu Picchu acting slapstick silly around the farmers (probably a mix or nerves and altitude sickness) are Lawrence and Natasha. They are an uncle and niece who are visiting their local Safeway to purchase items for a Sunday meal. They discuss, and bicker, over the importance of socially conscious labeling, food production and distribution models, and show how consumer misinformation and lack of knowledge are a major problem. The film also introduces us to Michael Fairholm of Urban Espresso. He is teaching a class on the

basics of making an espresso and coffeehouse managing. Fairholm, clearly an expert in coffee, discusses the important elements of preparation, designed to bring out the flavors of the complex oils and other substances in the roasted bean, were the fineness of the grind, the pressure at which the ground coffee is "tamped" into the brewing apparatus, the temperature of the water used for extraction, the length of time given to extraction, the speed at which the extracted coffee liquor pours into the cups, the temperature of the cups, and the way the frothy boiling milk is added to the top of the coffee liquor. The important angle of this film for my research is that it looks at how the consumers infuse value to their coffee, whether it is from a store or prepared at a coffeehouse. The film explains that the value of coffee is created by the importing and roasting companies and even if a little value is added back to the supply side it will not make a large difference to the consumer. The film argues that even if the price that the farmers receive increases, it scarcely makes any difference to the price of a cup of coffee in a coffee shop because it represents only a tiny fraction of that price.

The Cappuccino Trail is helpful because it shows how to bridge the discussion between roaster and consumer. While my project will not look much at the farming, harvest, and exporting of coffee, it will acknowledge the labor that goes into getting the beans from plant to cup and how that value is often stripped once the beans are imported and roasted. My dissertation will include surveys, free listing, pile sorting, interviews, as well as basic demographic collection from all participants. It will also employ visual methods like video, photography, and 360 immersive imagery to help document and analyze the coffeehouse space and its location within the physical neighborhood. Initially, I was excited to use some of Dean Cycon's book *Java Trekkers* (2007) and films like *Coffee: The Drink that Changed America* (2016) to the list, but unfortunately they are only marginally relevant and so filled with white

savior complex and low brow humor I feel they are not productive to this conversation and feel more like an immature commentator making crass jokes from the corner. My stopping point on *Coffee: The Drink that Changed America* is where Cycon made references to Khaldi having intercourse with his goats. His book *Java Trekker: Dispatches from the World of Fair Trade Coffee* (2007) started off well intentioned enough, but in the last few chapters diverged into an ethnocentric parade of white savior complex and sexual fetishism of native women. By the last chapter, which sensationalizes a night of narcotics and a possible three way with two women while hallucinating about a mushroom god I felt I needed to shower and repent after spending so much time talking with him in New York. It is very important to me that this project refrain from exploitation or sensationalizing the coffee or the workers.

This next section will discuss the visual anthropology and methodological approaches as well as some sample questions I plan to use that will hopefully prevent me from even unintentionally sensationalizing or objectifying the participants. Visual methods are valuable because “films have a way of exceeding theoretical bounds, and of showing anthropologists’ purchase on the lived experience of their subjects” (Taylor 1996:88). “Film expands our vision as it represents not just an act of seeing but a sensory and equally emotional experience” (Barbosa 2010:300). Film as research method makes field inquiries more accessible and “thicker” in Geertz’s sense. We have words, plus intonations, plus pauses, plus facial expressions, and even a suggestion of the elusive quality of relationship between anthropologist and informants, matters which an anthropologist along might have difficulty writing about (Loizos 1992). The ability to actively participate during events allows me to have a proactive approach to my filmmaking, while providing other researchers the ability to comb through the material I collected and form their own hypothesis and research questions. With these “properly

collected, annotated, and preserved visual and sound materials, we can replicate over and over again and can painstakingly analyze the same materials" (Mead 2003:4).

I do not plan to direct, stage or re-crate any activities for the sake of getting it on video. There are enough staged and highly produced coffee documentaries already available. I am hoping this dissertation fills the niche of adding to the anthropological record, which will force me to keep reflexive and "honest" (I recognize the problematic nature of the word honest, and it is an aspect of the process of which I will have to remain conscience). Taking a lead from Paul Henley (2000), if I missed something on camera, I would either address it in the paper or try to film a similar moment that illustrated the same concept. Observational cinema, like traditional participant observation, requires the anthropologist to spend time with participants in everyday settings, not just specific circumstances that may fulfill the researcher's pre-conceived "script". I acknowledge that I construct a narrative every time I press record regardless of whether or not I actively direct participants' actions in front of the lens. Reading from Sarah Pink's work (2013) My hope is that I could minimize my influence by not telling participants how to behave or asking them to engage in a particular activity. Through using moments that were recorded as unobtrusively as possible, my hope is to construct an accurate representation that is available to other researchers. I took inspiration from Young's (2003) essay to avoid any contrived tension while editing clips together. Instead, I will rely on the subject matter to carry the interest. I felt the material would still be engaging since this approach "does not rule out the possibility that a film's events will have the weight of general metaphor, but first and foremost they will have meaning within their own context" (2003:113). When done correctly, ethnographic cinema is not only a "record of culture…but also an analytic record about culture" (Taylor 2010:82).

One of the counter point that I will have to keep in mind is the line between art and anthropology. Eliot Weinberger illustrates this diving in his essay “The Camera People”. On the first page he goes right after the purist ethnographic filmmakers “They worship a terrifying deity known as Reality, whose eternal enemy is its evil twin, Art. They believe that to remain vigilant against this evil, one must devote oneself to a set of practices known as Science. Their cosmology, however, is unstable: for decades they have fought bitterly among themselves as to the nature of their god and how best to serve him. They accuse each other of being secret followers of Art; the worst insult in their language is "aesthete." (1992: 24). He then go on to layout a brilliant history and critique of the discipline. Weinberger agrees that ethnographic filmmaking is still in its infancy, but only because the practitioners spend more time criticizing each other than actually developing a craft. He goes on to lament that even at contemporary ethnographic film festivals many of the entries still start off like John Marshall’s *The Hunters* (1957) with a wide shot of a jungle or an opening shot from an airplane and a narrator professing something trite and condescending, like a professor lecturing to a group of small children “This is the heart of China. This is rice. They grow rice in their fields” (*ibid*. 52). I also notice this trend. I act as either a judge or screener for several film festivals and the entries marked “academic” are usually slow, painfully narrated, and have amateur production techniques. I do not think I need to dumb down or sex up the film portion of the dissertation, however, I also do not believe adding an attractive aesthetic will detract from the academic validity of the work.

On the opposite side of these purist ethnographic filmmakers is Errol Morris. Following more in the footsteps of Jean Rouch or Robert Gardner who both waffle between artist and academics. Morris’ film *Thin Blue Line* (1998) uses the case of Randall Dale Adams, who is accused of killing a police officer in Texas. The film used various, shadowy recreations of the

night in question as a way to throw doubt in the viewer's mind to question the official count of events. These re-created moments cost Morris an Oscar nomination because the Academy felt they violated the standards for documentary (Schulz 2011). In his book *Believing is Seeing (Observations on the Mysteries of Photography)* (2014) Morris lays out an interesting argument about the idea of staging and the limiting power of sight, especially when the gaze is only through photography. The book, laid out more like a textual film, with pertinent opening scenes and credits, a title page, then the meat of the discussion, Morris tediously combs through several interesting arguments on defining truth, or at least arguing that a photo is not *untrue*. Calling out some of the more respected names in photo critiques, like Susan Sontag, for example in a way that I am not sure is absolutely accurate. Regardless, Morris makes us question the documenter and their relationship to the thing being documented.

Morris' thoughts come closer in line with Werner Herzog who has produced approximately 30 documentaries during his impressive 60 film career. In the book *Ferocious Reality: Documentary According to Werner Herzog* (2012), writer Eric Ames sets out a compelling augment to support Herzog's style of documentary filmmaking. In the book he acknowledges that Herzog prizes aesthetic over academic value, and argues that it is within that more value is actually hiding within that aesthetic. Ames explores what Herzog called "ecstatic", which is how there is a deeper strata of truth in cinema. It is mysterious and elusive, and can be reached only through fabrication and imagination and stylization." Taking a page from Robert Gardner, who founded the Film Study Center at Harvard, Herzog sees the truth as elastic and fought off critique from followers of cinéma vérité like Richard Leacock, DA Pennebaker, Robert Drew, Albert and David Maysles, among others.

It is no surprise that this style is also championed by Gardner's successor, Lucien Castaing-Taylor. At a workshop I attended with Castaing-Taylor and his partner Véréna Paravel, he described himself as a "recovering anthropologist" and took a few playful shots at my decision to pursue visual anthropology over a straight film or journalism degree. He argues in "Iconophobia" (1996) that anthropologists are scared of the visual image, and prize the outdated method of writing. Castaing-Taylor, who founded the Sensory Ethnography Lab where students are free to explore with less restrictive methods of sensory ethnography than observational cinema or cinéma vérité.

These thoughts are echoed and dare I even say refined by Wilma Kiener in her article "The Absent and the Cut". She argues for a higher truth through responsibly created montages that use editing (she defines the major types of editing techniques) as opposed to long static shots. Focused on Clifford's idea of "being there" (1986), she believes "On the screen it is possible to understand the invisible by taking things apart and reassembling them in a new way… The question of veracity and authenticity, ever so haunting in nonfictional filmmaking, eventually leads to the one most striking difference between the aesthetics of the ''vacuum shot'' and montage cinema. Montage cinema, aside from on the purely visual level, also marks a crucial shift in the position of the viewer" (2008: 407). Observational cinema is often rife with these "vacuum shots" or "long takes". This is where the camera will stay on one subject, uninterrupted for minutes at a time. However, Kiener argues that it is in the cuts that ethnographic cinema shows its value against observational cinema.

Defending the genre of Observational cinema are Anna Grimshaw and Amanda Ravetz with their appropriately titled *Observational Cinema* (2009). This academic text calls for a renewed appreciation for the now chided Observational Cinema. Acknowledging the approach

has the potential to be problematic in the way some claim it objectifies the participants and detaches the viewer from the subject matter with an unblinking stoicism, the authors counter that the style allows nontextual anthropology the ability to be rigorous, epistemologically challenging, and relevant. The text does bring out some important films that helped shape visual anthropology in its early years, but like Warhol's film *Empire* (1964), any rigor is lost to the monotony of the static shots that, I argue, protect the filmmaker anthropologist from making any edits or acknowledging their agency in the process. If observational cinema is analogus to nontextual anthropology, then the same argument can be made that field notes should not be written up and edited, rather just submitted. I argue that the act of the montage is where the analysis comes in for the visual anthropologist. While observational cinema has value, and its techniques are relevant, in its pure form it does not allow the reflexive or analytical aspects of the project.

Regardless of my filmic approach, this project is, an anthropological PhD dissertation and not just a documentary. This is where the research methods are critical. Like creating meaningful montage from static shots, the methods will allow me to make informed observations and then interpret the data. While I will use mixed methods, I will rely primarily on qualitative methods to collect the data. Maxwell's *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* (2013). This book, like Cresswell, lays out straight forward approaches to designing and executing qualitative research. It reads like a flow chart for how to decide the best approaches and then ways to implement those strategies. Loaded with charts, diagrams, and straight forward language, it is like an IKEA instruction manual for writing and conducting qualitative research.

Once you have the design from Maxwell, then Creswell's *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design* (2013) will help you with the specifics of your design. This concise guides lays

out five powerful qualitative research methods. Written in plain talk, the book explains the process and implication of designing and conducting a qualitative study using narrative research, phenomenological research, grounded theory research, ethnographic research, and case study research. What is clear from this book is that none of these methods are pure, and are not meant to exist in a silo. For example, I plan to use all three approaches while conducting my research. The narrative research is particularly helpful when talking with participants about their unique experiences, but then the phenomenological approach will help discover correlations between the individual stories. It goes without saying that ethnography will play a major role in my research, and Creswell provides some interesting approaches to ethnography that will help supplement my anthropological training. One such example is the work of Wells & Lo Sciuto (1966) observing grocery store shoppers. They argue that researchers must observe purchasing decisions in person to have a better understanding of how these decisions are negotiated. Following a group of shoppers around a store, they documented not only what shoppers ultimately purchased, but also how they interacted with items before purchasing or ended up not purchasing at all.

While I will also include this in my proposal, I plan to ask a set of questions to each person based off their relationship to the coffee industry. These questions were developed using techniques developed by Johnson (1986) and Bernard (2011). I particularly like the idea of the grand tour question (so far I have between 11 and 17 specific questions depending on the participant's relationship with coffee). I will also hold free listing sessions where I try to refine some of the larger questions and categories of coffee. I will run the answers through coding methods developed by Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw (2002).

Of course no University of Florida Department of Anthropology study would be complete without mentioning *Research Methods in Anthropology (2011)* which I plan to use in

conjunction with Johnson's *Selecting Ethnograohic Informants* (1990). Bernard's text, considered foundational for research design is where I am pulling my ideas and design plans from. Specifically, I plan to conduct interviews (questions attached), free lists, pile sorts, and collect demographic data. I will use Johnson's work to help establish reasonable guidelines for selecting and excluding participants. While I plan to get more in-depth in the research proposal, one of the side aims of this research is to determine a working definition for coffeehouse. The literature discusses coffeehouses, and work on third place even mentions signal fixtures that distinguish the different types of third places from each other, however a large gray area seems to exist between coffeehouse, café, delicatessen, and pastry shop. I am hoping to create free lists, then pile sorts to determine, if possible, what boundaries mark a coffeehouse from a café or bistro that serves coffee. While this may not make or break my specific research project, I think it will be interesting to see if there is a consensus on if there is a line between a bakery that sells coffee and a coffeehouse that sells pastries.

Conclusion

While this literature is obviously not exhaustive, and many potentially valuable texts are absent, I feel that is does present an adequate overview of the relevant films and literature for this dissertation. I also allow that the course of my research and this committee may identify even more gaps in this knowledge base, and I will dutifully work to fill in those deficient areas. This project has evolved much over the past two years, and I expect that I will continue to shift and refine my specific questions and methods as I get immersed in fieldwork. It would be naive not to expect some minor and a few possibly radical shifts in my research. I also acknowledge that while Ireland is the main focus at this point, I hope to have acquired enough of a knowledge base to eventually investigate if what I find in Ireland is applicable and replicable in other geographic

territories. That being said I hope not to make this another ethnography about a specific place, but rather a look at coffee and the community that surrounds it.

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