Being a Good Ethiopian Woman:

Participation in the "Buna" (Coffee) Ceremony and Identity

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explored female identity formation of Ethiopian women and women of Ethiopian heritage as they participate in a coffee (buna) ceremony ritual. The study is anchored in the theoretical framework of a sociocultural perspective which enabled an examination of culture as what individuals do and believe as they participate in mutually constituted activities. Participants in Ethiopia were asked to photograph their daily routine beginning from the time they awoke until they retired for the night. Thematic analysis of the photographs determined that all participants depicted participation in the Ethiopian coffee ceremony in their photo study. Utilizing the photographs which specifically depicted the ceremony, eight focus groups and one interview consisting of women who have migrated from Ethiopia to Arizona, responded to the typicality of the photographs, as well as what they liked or did not like about the photographs. Focus groups were digitally recorded then transcribed for analysis. A combination of coding, extrapolation of rich texts, and identifying themes and patterns were used to analyze transcripts of the focus groups and interview. The findings suggest that this context is rich with shared meanings pertaining to: material artifacts, gender socialization, creation of a space for free expression, social expectations for communal contributions, and a female rite of passage.

DEDICATION

For each of the good Ethiopian women in my life . . . For Maka, Marta,

Betelhem, and so many others.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

There once was a goat herder in the northern region of Ethiopia who had very well-trained goats. They always returned to their keeper when they were off grazing and he never had to worry about their well-being. One day he had a wayward goat that returned noticeably changed. The goat was energized in a distinct and different way and behaved very differently from the other goats. Curious by the marked change in his goat, the goat herder explored where the goat had wandered and discovered a unique red berry, something he had never seen before. Upon tasting it, he too was quickly energized. He sensed that this energy would be useful to others and began harvesting the beans. In this way, the coffee bean was discovered. Or so the traditional tale goes amongst Ethiopians (Pendergrast, 2010).

I have repeated that story to many Ethiopians, most of whom excitedly agreed, "Yes! This is true!" Although some may not know the story, all know the coffee ceremony, for it is an important ritual that Ethiopian women engage in several times a day.

I discovered the coffee ceremony through a series of participant-centered photo elicitations while in Ethiopia. I asked community members in the capital city of Addis Ababa and in the village of Dera to capture their daily life in photos. They were given a digital camera for a little over a day to document their life from the time they awoke until they went to sleep at night. Many of the pictures began with the participant or a family member in their bed awaking.

Memory cards from the participants' cameras were then uploaded onto a computer and displayed as a slide show on the computer screen. Participants described and responded to their photos. I could not understand what they were saying but a translator helped me to understand their words as well as their behaviors and reactions.

It was in this process that I discovered the coffee ceremony. I had seen this ritual played out in the lobby of a hotel in the capital and at restaurants featuring traditional meals but had not realized that it was a central feature of the daily lives of Ethiopian women. It is an event that Ethiopian women participate in at least once a day. The ceremony was captured in each of my participant's photo studies and it seemed that this event was a tradition, rich with pride and meaning. As the photos were reviewed, I began to wonder whether the coffee ceremony might serve as a way to learn more about Ethiopian women and their children and how they live their lives.

The Ethiopian coffee ceremony is steeped in tradition. It is an important social gathering, a ritual, in which families and communities socialize. The ritual itself holds various meanings. Sometimes it is conducted within a religious context, other times it is to honor a guest. The process of preparing the coffee might even be delayed so as to enjoy more time with the guest. But always it is a time to talk, socialize, and enjoy each other's company.

In my efforts to study the Ethiopian coffee ceremony in a small village in Ethiopia, I found that I was often the center of attention, the honored guest. One such occasion was at the home of what my translator had described as an "older"

(perhaps in her late twenties), single Ethiopian woman. She was obviously bursting with pride to be able to host me and my friends for a ceremony. In the process of showing me the procedure of the ceremony, I could see her fill with confidence and satisfaction as she took command of the process and people, giving what appeared to be orders to younger children in the room (none of whom were directly related to her) and positioning the seating arrangement of the neighbors in the compound, who all seemed to be pouring into the tiny room.

To me, she seemed to be enjoying a moment of attention, a time to be in control of her situation and surroundings. And nobody seemed to mind her taking charge. In my eyes she had transformed from one who appeared to be quiet and reserved or constrained to an empowered leader in her home. It was in this particular setting that I started to wonder if perhaps the Ethiopian coffee ceremony was an important context for female identity formation and the exertion of power. In a country where I perceive females to be oppressed and to have very little power, this was one of the only times that women seemed to truly be free. In fact "being free" are words that some of the Ethiopian women that I interviewed have used to describe this setting. I will examine the meaning of this phrase, as it is used in this context, in the analysis.

The traditional Ethiopian coffee ceremony is an important time for gathering, socializing and communicating. Within this context women are free to converse and to share the happenings of their life. Seldom does a woman drink coffee alone though she may prepare it alone in anticipation of guests.

I saw this one evening as I was returning to my room, walking through the compound of the motel I was staying in. I had previously made friends with the maid that serviced my room. Although we did not speak a common language, we had become acquainted through non verbal communication. This particular evening, after having little success in my efforts to observe the interactions of women participating in the coffee ceremony, I walked by a tiny room in which this maid was sitting on the floor, with the door of the room open, fanning the flames beneath a coffee pot. She had all the elements of the ceremony (that I had seen in my observations) there before her, yet the coffee was not poured or being consumed. She was just sitting watching the pot boil. When she saw me walk by, her eyes lit up and she anxiously waved me into the room. As I sat next to her on the floor, she poured the coffee and enjoyed a cup even though I did not drink the coffee. It was important that she was not alone but rather in the company of another woman before she consumed the coffee.

As this story illustrates, the coffee ceremony has more to do with community than coffee. Although many Ethiopian women laugh and say they are addicted to coffee, most acknowledge that participating in the coffee ceremony and drinking coffee creates a time and place to gather. As I learned through my study, the ritual has many beautiful shared meanings that are an important part of daily life and collective interactions.

Purpose of the Study

Using a sociocultural framework, this study will explore whether and how the Ethiopian coffee ceremony serves as an important context for female identity

formation. In the tradition of the importance of the family mealtime for socialization and identity formation (Ochs & Shohet, 2006), this research explored the salient contributions of the coffee ceremony ritual and its impact on female identity formation in Ethiopian women. There is a dearth of research exploring the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. This study addressed the process of the ritual and the agency that women have within it as well as the passing of generational practices and rituals to daughters and younger women.

Building upon my preliminary study in Ethiopia, interviews and focus groups were conducted, using photographs to understand how the coffee ceremony influences identity formation and agency in Ethiopian women and children. The participants consisted of a population of Ethiopian refugees and immigrants in the Phoenix, Arizona, area.

Dissertation Overview

I begin this dissertation by anchoring my work in the framework of the sociocultural historical perspective in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I then review the literature that gives meaning and poses questions relevant to this study. In Chapter 4 I outline and detail my methodological approach. This methodology includes asking about the typical nature of the photographs (Weisner, 2002; Tobin, 1992) and was a powerful tool in eliciting responses to explore the meaning these women make of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony and the impact that it has had on their identity formation. In Chapter 5 I address the face-value responses to these questions and the way the women described the typicality of the photographs.

I organized Chapters 6, 7, and 8 around three stages of a ritual (Fiese, 2006) to analyze the transcripts and field work resulting in this study. Each chapter includes the questions used in the focus groups to elicit responses relevant to the study.

Nested within the preparation phase, Chapter 6 outlines the process of preparing the coffee and the emergence of specific material artifacts that represent meaningful contributions to female identity formation. The emergence of gendered roles is also explored, including how these roles have changed as these women have migrated to Arizona. I argue that the significance of material artifacts and cultural tools such as gendered roles contribute significantly to identity formation.

Chapter 7 focuses on the data pertaining to the participation phase of the ritual. The focal points of Chapter 7 include salient features of community practices that contribute to the purpose of gathering, the value the women place on this time, and changes in participation over time. I contend that here we get a greater sense of the relationships and richer meanings the women make of the coffee ceremony. This affirms the purpose of the ceremony to function as a context beyond merely the chance to drink a cup of coffee.

Chapter 8 concentrates on the study participant's remembered pasts and reminiscing of the ceremony. As the women explored the cultural processes they value, the rules of their communities, and the way they have participated in this ritual, they spoke with great affection and delight. Further, they identified with a rich tradition of national pride and heritage. I argue that this process of

reminiscing elicited important aspects of what it means to the women in this study

to be a good Ethiopian woman and how the ceremony becomes a context for

agentic practices of shared values.

Finally, Chapter 9 outlines some of the implications from the findings of

this study. I argue that the findings illuminate a rich historical tradition that

contributes in a significant ways to the female identity formation of Ethiopian

women and women of Ethiopian heritage. This study provides a window into the

daily lived experiences of women of Ethiopian heritage and the ways these

women draw upon tools of culture to form their identity.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework: A Sociocultural Perspective

This chapter addresses the theoretical framework for the study, drawing upon a sociocultural perspective to examine female identity formation and the transfer and adaptation of generational practices resulting from Ethiopian women's participation in a cultural coffee ceremony. The sociocultural perspective focuses on individuals in context and in relation to others through shared practices and activities.

The use of this theory will help make sense of (a) what Ethiopian women in Arizona say about their identity and (b) how context (the Ethiopian coffee ceremony) helps make sense of what these women say about their shared experience through their remembered past, both in Ethiopia and in Arizona. This theoretical framework centers on the application of Lev Vygotsky's core tenets in the sociocultural perspective and others' expansions of this theory.

While exploring the literature that establishes the primary underpinnings of the sociocultural or sociohistorical perspective, I argue for the necessity of studying development and identity formation in context and in relation to others. Doing so provides an important framework for the exploration of rituals as a cultural tool for the study of female identity formation. After examining context as an important feature of the study of rituals, I explore identity formation from a sociocultural perspective. This necessitates exploring "culture" as what individuals "do" as they participate in shared activities.

A Sociocultural Perspective

In approaching a discussion of gender identity development from a sociocultural perspective and acknowledging this study's deep roots in the works of Vygotsky, I began with a focus which necessitates that the researcher study participants in context as they relate to others (Cole, 1996; Rogoff, 2003). Although there are many contributors to the sociocultural paradigm, Vygotsky's emphasis on human action and mediation is paramount (Rogoff, 1995). Within this framework, an individual is studied in context and becomes an agent who draws upon cultural interactions continually in the developmental process. Simply stated: an individual cannot effectively be studied in isolation; it is necessary to explore their environment, those with whom they engage, and the activities in which they participate.

This study also emanated from the rich work of Barbara Rogoff. I drew upon her focus on informal learning through everyday participation in long-term and shared knowledge. The principle of intent community participation (which focuses on participation based on observation rather than direct teaching) contributed significantly to the theoretical framework of this study as it engaged the research in examining rich layers of meaning-making within the social world (Rogoff, 2003).

The sociocultural historical perspective focuses on the dynamic process rather than on decontextualized segmented portions of time. Past, present, and future are not individual time frames but rather continual events that flow into and build upon each other to create experience and progression. One cannot separate

the individual from the context or interaction and relationships to others or study them in isolation (Cole, 1996; Rogoff, 2003). These mutually constituted processes push the traditional psychological research of individuals beyond the study of behavior to exploration of meaningful action explored within three planes of analysis (Rogoff, 1995). These three planes of analysis are personal, interpersonal or social, and community or institutional plane. The intersection of these planes illustrates mutually constituted exchanges and will be explored in greater detail later.

For Vygotsky, the study of individuals occurs through the exploration of historical planes, which are as follows: microgenetic (moment-to-moment history of a particular psychological system), ontogenetic (life history of the individual in society), sociocultural (history of individual societies or groups), and phylogenetic (history of the species) development (Dien, 2000; Wertsch, 1985 as cited in Rogoff, 1995). Activity becomes a unit of measurement and studying processes introduces the researcher to the participant's developmental process; paying particular attention to how people participate and how they change their participation over time. The individual's mind, culture, and language are internally related (Rogoff, 2003).

Tools of Culture and Mediation

Some of the important terms used within this framework are "mediation" and "tools of culture," which are often used synonymously. Important aspects of mediating acts and tools of culture may act as a bridge of sorts between the individual or group and the actions they make, though these tools of culture are

best considered as a process and give insight into action. Tools of culture are repeatable or can be reenacted. This reenactment of commonly valued tools of culture takes place through shared meaning among social groups. The introduction of a new tool can transform processes. Further, "mediation always involves constraint as well as empowerment (Wertsch, del Rio, & Alvarez, 1995, p. 24.)" Although constraints typically emerge in retrospect and may not be noticed as such until after the fact. Yet, I argue later in this chapter that one of the appealing features of this theory is the agency that it enables individuals to use to act or adjust their actions in a given context. The phrase "tools of culture" is used to describe the participation of a developing individual within a sociocultural framework. For the purpose of this discussion, "tools of culture" refers to those things available to an individual, either literally or figuratively, in the developmental process to determine action or behavior. In a figurative way, these tools of culture (sometimes referred to as artifacts) explore the use of cognitive tools that "support thinking and problem solving" (Gauvain, 2001, p.127).

Material and social tools are used to mediate daily activity and can represent cultural practices and beliefs. Thus, symbols or tools convey meaning for behavior and artifacts thereby activating agency and choice. Symbols and tools therefore reflect not only the act of the individual but also a social norm or expectation. Artifacts or tools of culture thus gain their meaning through repeated use amongst individuals and groups (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998). Tools of culture or artifacts are tools of mediation in the social world. This is a consistent argument of Vygotsky and other sociocultural theorists. I believe that

individuals actively engage tools of culture and determine what tools they will

employ in their moment-to-moment decisions and mutually constituted

exchanges. And as previously mentioned, these tools can both empower the

individual and function as a constraint. Exploring the tools of culture was an

important point of reference for exploring female identity formation within this

study.

The Dynamic Nature of Development

Another key component of the sociocultural perspective is that it is

impossible to study cultural tools in a static way. The settings in which people

live and perform impact mediation in the process of acting. In some cases, the

setting may necessitate adaptation or even require the use of a new tool which

may impact the developing individual. In addition, gaining a historical perspective

is important because it emphasizes the dynamic nature of development. For

instance, even if the components and tools of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony have

remained the same over centuries (e.g. It is viewed to be culturally important and

bring good luck to drink three cups of coffee in one sitting and participants in the

ceremony use specific tools, equipment, decorations, and so forth.), human nature

has changed from moment to moment. This dynamic application of cultural tools

focuses on the "psychological study of human nature [and] must concern itself

with the processes of formation of human nature" (Scribner, 1997, p. 244).

Within a sociocultural context, Erikson's stages (which I discuss in

Chapter 3) may be viewed as a process in which individuals mutually engage with

others in forming identity. This process requires tasks or activities that one must

perform to advance to future development (Holland et al., 1998). Holland et al.

(1998) challenge the discussion of Erikson's stages by proposing a sociocultural

theoretical perspective following a similar theme of participation in activities by

drawing upon Russian theorist, Mikhal M. Bakhtin.

Activity Within Planes of Development

Power and social positioning are utilized to explore development through

specific practices and activities, allowing a look at "specific worlds" that

individuals participate in, such as the coffee ceremony. This moves the

exploration of identity formation beyond general characteristics, or static markers,

derived from race, geography, nationality, and so forth to a world of individual

identity in specific contexts. Such characteristics are often used to identify

individuals in their social worlds. This reinforces the works of Rogoff (2003) who

explores culture as a process by looking at the "routine ways of doing things"

within communities and through practices (p. 3).

The work of Michael Cole (1996) thrust this perspective in a similar

direction, namely sociocultural or cultural-historical psychology studies

development through "culturally mediated, historically developing, practical

activity (p. 108)". For Cole, culture is the utilization of artifacts or tools by a

social group, as they engage in a historical experience. Rituals are wonderful

contexts that draw upon such historical experiences and utilize tools of culture.

The value of rituals is that the routine way of performing them has traceable

historical trajectories with clear delineations of the beginning and ending of the

ritual. The coffee ceremony has distinct phases and processes that will be

described in detail in later chapters. Therefore, I argue that rituals are important occurrences for identity formation within a sociocultural perspective.

Within Vygotsky's cultural activity theory, Cole draws upon the underpinnings of Vygotsky and Alexander Luria in the development of a sociocultural theory as a cultural psychologist. Vygotsky then becomes the common thread among all three of these theorists (e.g. Cole, 1996; Holland, et al., 1998; Rogoff, 2003) as does the exploration of daily activities, the routine ways that individuals go about living their lives within cultural worlds.

Furthermore, when exploring the nature of the sociocultural perspective and identity formation, a broader understanding of the three planes of analysis previously referenced is beneficial. Barbara Rogoff (1995) utilizes the study of planes by looking at a personal plane, an interpersonal or social plane, and a community or institutional plane. These planes reflect Bronfenbrenner's bioecological system, in which contexts are nested within each other like Russian nested dolls (Rogoff, 2003). The bioecological system studies individuals in context, accounting for biological factors in proximal processes within various systems (micro, meso, exo, and macro systems). An image of overlapping circles is often used to illustrate the processes and is similar to planes of development in that there are different levels of societal influence on the developing individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1995; Marshall, 2004). These levels of societal influence affect identity formation. This is an example of how earlier lifespan developmental psychologists have provided a springboard for current and future research and theoretical development.

Although Rogoff utilizes Bronfenbrenner's system as an important contribution to understanding a sociocultural perspective, she expresses concern for the way the systems relate to one another. A key restriction of this theoretical framework is the separation of the systems and removal of an individual from the processes in which that individual participates. The use of planes in exploring development is more effective in placing the individual within the interactions of cultural processes, as the three planes intersect rather than act as separate ecosystems (e.g., micro or macro). The sociocultural perspective focuses on the exploration of ecological niches and the study of daily routines and interactions that remove the study of linear relationships to nested processes wherein each system is constantly influencing each other in concentric relationships. The sociocultural perspective therefore maintains that the individual cannot be separated from any system and must be studied as a part of and product of her cultural influences. This is an argument with which I align myself.

Development Studied in Context

Within a sociocultural perspective, individuals are not studied in a sterile lab or out of their social context but rather by using a lens based on the assumption that persons and contexts mutually compose each other through reciprocally constituted and mutually defined activities within their context. This provides the framework for the exploration of identity, looking at the whole process and experience of individuals. The study of portions or stages of an individual's life (as suggested by Erikson's psychosocial theory of development) is inconsistent with the core tenets of the sociocultural or sociohistorical

approaches. Though one plane may become the focus of research, all are considered throughout the process.

This study of female identity formation takes a contextual focus on the cultural ritual of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony studying in particular the women's participation and mutually constituted engagement in the ceremony. Examining the intersection of the interpersonal plane, social plane, and community plane in the context of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony allows me to study the activity of gendered roles over time, which are important tools of culture.

What is Culture?

For the purpose of this study, culture is defined as what people do and say (Rogoff, 2003). This may differ from popular beliefs about culture that may include categories or other constructs used to identify groups. Michael Cole (2005) describes culture as the process of helping things to grow. He uses a garden metaphor to explain and identify the tools individuals use to understand their lives. Cole includes the "farmer," or researcher, as an outsider who has different ways to think about things other than the garden itself.

Culture becomes an interactive process that spans generations and evolves in a dynamic, developmental way:

We view culture as a socially interactive process of construction comprising two main components: shared activity (cultural practices) and shared meaning (cultural interpretation). Both components of cultural processes are cumulative in nature since they occur between, as well as

within, generations. Meanings and activities not only accumulate but also transform over both developmental time—across a single life cycle, and historical time—between generations (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligini, & Maynard, 2003, p. 462).

This dynamic perspective of culture can be examined in the day to day occurrences. Through the study of rituals and routines, culture is discovered in the ordinary, routine ways in which people engage in their daily lives (Weisner, 2002). For Ethiopian women participating in a coffee ceremony, culture then is what they do and say within this context. For example, many Ethiopian women told me that participation in the ceremony is something that "good Ethiopian women do."

When viewing culture in a traditional sense, one may question my ability to be a good Ethiopian woman as a white Arizona native. However, with further analysis and questioning, the women helped me learn that what they were really saying to me is that the things that I do and say qualify me to be considered a good Ethiopian woman. These things will be explored in greater detail in the analysis section.

Significance and Relevance of the Study

Within the framework of the theoretical underpinnings of a sociocultural perspective, I anticipate this study to be a contribution to the body of literature that employs ethnographic methods to research a sociocultural, sociohistorical perspective. This particular study is unique in its scope and gives important insights into gender development in a specific context. For instance, it is in this

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context that women learn specific gendered roles by participating in the ceremony which appears to serve as a rite of passage that culminates in marriage. Ethiopian women utilize this setting to teach their daughters the expectations of community belonging. As younger Ethiopian females observe the mutually constituted exchanges of other women, they are informally instructed in the practices which give them access to cultural citizenship.

The Ethiopian coffee ceremony provides a unique view of the daily lived experiences of Ethiopian women in and out of Ethiopia and of the way each woman draws upon tools of culture to form her identity. I believe this study opens up an area ripe for research on female identity formation within the context of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony as it appears to be the first to approach the ceremony in this developmental way.

In this study, I use three planes of analysis: personal, interpersonal or social, and community or institutional plane to explore the heuristic and dialogical development of these women within the stages of a ritual. The process of seeking to understand the important historical nature of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony while learning about individual women's histories and interactions with their community through their participation in this ritual unpacked the women's rich expressions of the feminine spirit. For the purpose of this study, the feminine spirit is viewed as "cultural feminism." This term used by Linda Alcoff (1988) pushes feminist research beyond androgyny and the "minimizing of gender differences" to the exploration of a space where "the ideology of a female nature or female essence" can be examined without confines imposed by a social system

or economic institution (p. 408). I believe that the context of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony is such a setting that allows the women to escape situations in which they feel constrained. In the coffee ceremony, the women can remove themselves from restrictions and constraints. Buna (the Amharic word for coffee), therefore becomes an important space for the exploration of power, position, and agency.

In this study I examined women's participation in and shared meaning regarding the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. This study focused on gendered roles, socialization, and development through changes in participation over time. In the next chapter, I further review relevant literature on identity formation, heuristic development, the dialogical self, space, community, and rituals.

Chapter 3

Review of the Literature

In this chapter I will discuss the literature relevant to this study of female identity formation and development overtime within the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. First I operationalize the term "identity." To do so I focus on identity of the self, identity of the self within a context, and the importance of the self within social worlds, such as communities and cultural groups, as I explore relevant literature pertaining to identity formation. I also explore applications of Bakhtin's work while discussing heuristic development, dialogism, and space as necessary explorations of identity, agency, and power. The focal point context of the study of rituals will be the unit of analysis in this study.

Anchoring this review within a sociocultural perspective, principles of the formation of a group identity or community within a figured world will be explored. An important feature of community is the concept of imagined communities or figured worlds. The purpose is to deepen the concept of studying identity formation of an individual in a dynamic way and in relation to others.

To discuss this concept, I consider Barbara Rogoff's (2003) perspective of generational changes in cultural practices and processes. While arguing for the need to address groups while studying identity formation, I also seek to articulate issues of power, position, and gendered roles. I believe this framework is the best application of theory for this particular study of female identity formation because it utilizes a dynamic and contextual perspective. The study of identity formation is difficult as individuals are continually changing and redefining themselves.

Studying this developmental feature through a theory that focuses on dynamic changes seems to be the most appropriate and applicable. Finally, I relate the coffee ceremony to the research on the family mealtime as it seems to be a comparable context to this study of the coffee ceremony.

What is Identity?

An important anchoring feature of this study has been my need to continually ask the question "What is identity?" Therefore I begin by seeking to operationalize the term identity and to discuss some of the salient features of identity formation as explored throughout the literature. Identity is viewed in a number of ways, all of which vary according to the individual and the culture in which she belongs. Typical identifiers might include class, race, gender, and so forth. Ultimately, I believe identity is how a woman makes sense of her inner self in relation to her outside world. It is making sense of oneself.

In his work of utilizing identity as an analytic tool, Gee (2000) talks about "certain kinds of people" in various contexts (p. 110). This idea suggests that an individual's behavior reflects the social norms of a particular group such as yuppies, hippies, or preppies. Given this particular meaning of the term identity, it is safe to assume that individuals take on many different identities according to the context in which they find themselves. They begin to exhibit a "core identity" that may emerge consistently in any given context.

Holland and Lachicotte (2007) define identity as an intimate self-making that involves the cultural production of oneself. This is embedded in a sociocultural perspective which explores "history in person" and the way an

individual mediates herself in her social life. She is viewed as a "social, cultural, and historical being." An exploration of her daily practices and lived activities is necessary to examine what she values as a reflection of self. Additionally, this perspective argues that identity is a continual process that evolves and transforms from moment to moment. It is important to acknowledge the necessity of interaction with others in the process of development and the continual state of active existences.

The following statement by Holland et al. (1998) argues that "Because the self is the nexus of an ongoing flow of social activity and necessarily participates in this activity, it cannot be finalized or defined in itself, in its own terms…The making of meaning, self-authoring, and self-identification in the categories of the other all focus attention on the centrality of cultural forms in the formation of the acting subject" (p. 173).

This authoring of self necessitates an examination of cultural tools, production, and resources used to explore and express the self. The social activity creates a space for the enactment of practices with shared meaning that contribute to the self functioning in cultural, figured worlds.

I like this view because it pushes beyond set categories of sex, race, and class (which I believe marginalize females) to a perspective of examining the mediation of the self through tools of culture such as language, focusing on what people say.

In summary, for the purpose of this study, I define identity as the production of self through every-day practices. Identity is dynamic and a process

of mediation. This may include the use of language, outward appearance, adaptations in social settings, and so forth. In addition, this research is embedded in an exploration of identity formation through the planes of development: the personal plane (the self), which includes behavior, values, and beliefs; the interpersonal plane (social) which focuses on the dialogue and conversations of the women; and the community plane (history), which considers the women's shared history. All three planes are explored in this study.

Traditional Perspectives on Identity Formation

This section examines some of the general and traditional perspectives of identity formation amongst lifespan developmental psychologists. This includes an overview of the stages outlined in Erik Erikson's psychosocial development theory. Though this is an important introductory perspective, I believe it is too male-centered and that the stages are too prescriptive. As I have begun to define identity, I have also begun to explore a formation process through mediation. Before exploring neo-perspectives of identity formation, this review will explore a traditional identity formation theory.

Perhaps the most classic lifespan developmentalist perspective is that of Erik Erikson. Erikson's work and psychosocial development theory (1963) continues to be an important framework for identity formation. Erikson made an important contribution to theoretical approaches of identity formation through his psychoanalytic theory of social development. His work became an important framework for the study and exploration of identity formation. Erikson defines

identity and suggests the exploration of the inner person and the development of identity through this statement:

Identity is "a conscious sense of individual identity . . . an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character . . . a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis . . . a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity." (Miller, 2002, p. 149)

This statement fosters a perspective of identity in which an individual achieves both understanding and acceptance of herself and the world in which she lives. This occurs through a feeling of continuity and sustainable practices within her cultural world. Erikson's theory focuses on an individual and the exploration of who she is through life stages, beginning at birth with the expansion of one's social world throughout one's lifespan. Conflict and climax achievement become an important goal of each stage. Throughout an individual's life, she will experience significant development as she advances through each of Erikson's proposed eight stages of life. (Post-Erikson theorists suggest additional stages which take an individual throughout the lifespan, rather than ending at midlife [Franz & White, 1985].) These stages are associated with maturation and span a period designated by age. Stages can overlap but occur at specific biological times in the lifespan. For instance, Erikson labels the fifth stage as "Identity formation or repudiation." This stage is often attributed to adolescents roughly within the age range of 12 years to 18 years old. During this stage, the individual is concerned with relationship formation and connection of self with a social world. The ability to navigate this social and cultural context, mixed with biological

development and psychological stamina are important factors to identity

formation (Erikson, 1963; Miller, 2002).

Although these stages are widely applied and utilized as a systematic

perspective on the development of individuals within lifespan developmental

psychology, I argue that the theory is too prescriptive and negates the

individuality of the developing person in context and in relation to others. Rather

than studying the individual in stages, particularly in a discussion of identity

formation, I argue for the necessity of studying the developing individual in

context as identity forms and evolves throughout her lifespan. This acknowledges

the adapting and dynamic nature of the individual in moment-to-moment

experiences occurring over time.

Post-Eriksonian researchers (e.g. Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Sorell

& Montgomery, 2001) argue for the development of "ego" and for identity

statuses. They suggest that these stages may not be sequential and that they are

not universal across cultures. Therefore, the application of the core principles of

Erikson's stages becomes a springboard into neo-studies of identity; much like

how Erikson's psychoanalytical theory expands on Piaget and Freud's (see Piaget,

1968; McAdams, 2001) work. Piaget suggests that identity is a basic premise or

characteristic of an individual that cannot be changed. Both Piaget and Erikson

emphasize a process of "becoming," and in my opinion, improve upon Freud's

more negative approach in which identity is derived from parental influences in

the creation of the superego (Schwartz, 2001; Miller, 2002). As this discussion

reveals, theory is ever-changing and evolving, pushing us to a better understanding of lifespan development.

A Different Perspective on Identity Formation

While establishing a different paradigm for the study of identity, it is important to acknowledge that many theorists who study female identity formation believe that a psychoanalytic perspective is too androcentric and argue that gendered roles need to be considered in identity formation (Chodorow, 1989; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). This reflects my previous argument for a need to study what people do rather than who people are. I argue for a perspective that looks beyond preconceived stages through which one must pass, to a study of the person in context. I do believe that Erikson's model is applicable if it is utilized to view the experiences of individuals as they participate with others in co-constructing identity. A focus on context and experience, culture and the tools of culture, activity and co-constructed activity, expand identity research to include women and others that don't necessarily fit the scope of the male-centered constructs of Erikson's identity theories (Chodorow, 1989; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001).

Chodorow explores the socialization of males and females as an important contributor to identity formation. For the purpose of this study, I rely on Elinor Ochs (1991) definition of socialization as the process "whereby novices gain knowledge and skills relevant to membership in a social group" (p. 143). Citing Margaret Mead and others, Chodorow identifies societies in the world where both males and females equally exhibit gentility and other female terms and attributes.

This argument suggests that gendered roles are a result of cultural practices and socialization. (This aspect of identity formation will be embedded in the interpersonal or social plane.) I do align myself with the argument for the impact that socialization of male and female children in gender roles has on gender specific identity formation. It is important to examine the practices applied to children through socialization while engaging in work and other expectations. This is an important feature in this study, as gendered roles are examined within the coffee ceremony. It is also significant to note that Chodorow argues that females are the primary socializers and that gender specific identities are acquired by "doing."

Gendered roles play an important function in identity formation. Acknowledging that there are particular behaviors and acts that are and are not acceptable for male or female children plays an important role in identity formation. For instance, within some groups (in some communities in Ethiopia for example) a man will never step foot in the kitchen. A male child may do the work in assisting his mother in the kitchen (or preparing coffee) but the time will come that it would be viewed as socially inappropriate for him to enter the kitchen.

Expectations of gendered roles differ depending upon the society. In Western societies, feminine roles are often not static and contingent on context. A female child may be socialized to be gentle and nurturing at home yet aggressive and dominant at school. Further, the socializer plays an important role in that her own identity will impact the identity of the children. Her clear sense of self is an important contribution to the formation of the identity of her children. The use of

language specifically the kinds of words that are used, are also important to the socialization of identity and to social expectations (Ochs, 1991).

Gee (2000) suggests four lenses through which to view identity. The first of these lenses is the nature perspective. This has to do with the genetic, biological, or naturally inherent attributes of an individual. The example Gee uses to illustrate the nature perspective is being a twin. A focus on institutional perspectives is the next lens that Gee identifies. Natural identities gain their strength from the power that institutions and others give them. This includes titles that are given to individuals (such as relative to their work) and may imply authority or power. The third lens is a discursive perspective which draws upon personality traits that are unique or give *individuality* to the person. The last lens is an affinity perspective in which an individual feels a sense of belonging or connection to a group with shared cultural traits. I find that each of these four views provides a perspective on the interactions of the self with others in the social world and addresses the three planes of development. The self is active and the society provides various contexts for the exploration of identity. Gee's perspectives also offers a different way to categorize the development of identity beyond sex, class, race, and so forth, by placing individuals in various social settings. Moreover, Gee's four lenses include biological attributes, which are innate to individuals, while expanding Erikson's psychoanalytic theory to a view of the lifespan inclusive of a given context.

I maintain that the core identity of the self emerges in each context. Ultimately, I believe it is important to study the active self in relation to others, as

it develops throughout one's lifespan. This relationship with and to others is an important feature of one's identity formation.

Identity Formation Within a Sociocultural Perspective: Heuristic Development

By focusing on culture, I can explore the historical context of activities or practices, including interactions and various tools of culture, to gain further insight into a term called "*heuristic developmental*" (Holland, Lachiotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998). This term addresses the processes individuals navigate as they seek to translate their perceptions of who they understand themselves to be as they are developing over time. Merging the theories of Bakhtin and Vygotsky creates a space for the examination of identity formation inclusive of development and dialogism.

The principle of heuristic development focuses on evolving individuals and the adaptations that they make in any given moment. In the process of "re-forming" themselves, individuals draw upon cultural tools and past experiences to respond to a given situation. In Bakhtin's study of personhood, he focuses on the creative process of development within a socially and historically constructed context. These creative processes are the adjustments and improvisations individuals make in the moment of action and use of agency (Holland, et al., 1998). Within the study of heuristic development, the researcher focuses on the origin of experiences from an historical perspective and interactions and their use for future interactions, in the "next moment of activity". Thus, these experiences become tools of culture, used to make decisions in a given situation and re-

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forming of identities as practice. Accordingly, mediations, when used consciously, become a source of agency activated to control one's own behavior though spontaneous in acting in the present.

Additional fundamental elements of heuristic development include a discussion of *figured worlds* which are historical and are developed through participation. These processes and traditions allow an individual to identify with others based on experience and shared meanings. They are social encounters and position or rank matter very much to the outcome of the activity or interaction. Figured worlds are "socially organized and reproduced" (Holland, et al., 1998, p. 41) tools which allow the individual to re-create roles and behaviors in a cultural world. These characteristics of humans within societal and cultural interactions give meaning to the interactions and a frame of reference for future interactions and processes. This study of "history-in-person" implies that an individual will draw from a bank of past experiences and then act in a moment according to her frame of reference as to what she believes is expected or "normal" behavior. This all depends on cultural norms and behaviors brought to life in the present situation.

Holland and Skinners's (See Holland, et al, 1998) ethnographic work is grounded in the theoretical workings of Vygotsky and Bakhtin, which provide a secure framework for the consideration of symbols within a historical context, through a study of identity as exploration of an individual's inner life. This draws theory of identity formation away from specific events or particular labels, such as ethnicity or gender, to an examination of activity and participation by "the

grounding of cultural identities in the specific worlds in which they are part"
(Holland, et al., 1998, p. 7). This framework utilizes the dialogical self, which
may be understood to be the internal self in the context of the dynamic,
developing self in her cultural world.

The following example illustrates a process of heuristic development.
While working in Nepal, Holland and Skinner (1998) discovered the workings of
caste systems in which individuals were banned from houses in the community, a
practice that Holland and Skinner did not honor in their research sites. Caste
systems in Nepal are strongly defined and limit interactions of lower caste
members with those of a higher caste, especially when it comes to entering the
home and "polluting" food. However, when a woman of a lower caste was invited
to enter the home in which Holland and Skinner were conducting ethnographic
interviews, the woman saw that there were women of a higher caste present and
she chose to scale the wall to the second story balcony. Though the researchers
did not know the internal motivation of this act, they hypothesized the cultural
significance of this behavior and the impact of the various women's positioning in
their social structures. Perhaps this was a position imposed upon her by the world
in which she lived?

In this example, heuristic development involves the woman's evolving and
adapting to the circumstance of entering the home and how she responded from
moment to moment while drawing upon core beliefs and values. Perhaps she
valued the researchers more than the native women in the house and therefore
needed to make an adaptation to her cultural practice to accommodate the

circumstance. This allows for a discussion of agency and the tools of culture or mediation that took place in this moment. In retrospect, it seems she was either empowered or constrained, something that I believe can only be answered by the woman who climbed the wall. This important use of agency in a mutually constituted situation is a necessary aspect of identity development in the ever-changing female.

This example from Holland and Skinner's research illustrates an important example of the interchange of the dialogical self (Hermans, 2001) and the tools of culture available to this woman, or *any* woman, as she is faced with an improvisation of the norms she is familiar. The heuristic nature of this particular woman's development along the trajectory of her life can be explored through her use of personal agency and power (or the lack of) within a complicated social situation.

The development of this woman's identity is illustrated through a very unusual entrance to a home. Through this example, we see that throughout time, and particularly when responding to a specific event in a specific setting, individuals constantly adapt to meet social constraints which evolves their individual identities. It appears that at different points in time, individuals are making decisions and using agency, whether or not they feel that they are powerless or not.

This work encourages the researcher to look closely at the tools of the moment manifested in words, expressions, and material production (tools or artifacts) that an individual may generate to improvise in a given situation. This

particular research invites researchers to examine carefully the way women relate to others with higher/and lower social status. Doing so is important for understanding societal roles for female identity formation in relation to power, position, and agency within a community. It also illustrates the intersection of developmental planes as the interpersonal plane interacts with the social plane. The framework of the dialogical self interests me because it offers a perspective on caste systems and the practices acquired from one's youth. Both issues are relevant to my research which involves Ethiopia's hierarchical social structures.

Ultimately, I argue for a focus on heuristic development, particularly in identity formation, rather than a more general and traditional psychological view of identity formation. Heuristic development considers the process of development from a historical perspective in moment-to-moment experiences and activities.

Heuristic Development and the Dialogical Self

As illustrated by the woman who climbed up the wall, there appears to be an internal dialogue at play within the mind of individuals as they interact in the social world. During the process of self-talk or dialogue, individuals make decisions regarding how she will behave or act from moment to moment. Therefore, the use of agency plays an important role in the development of self in that an individual's perception of her ability to choose for herself, her influence on others, and her ability to draw upon cultural tools and resources is manifested in the everyday moment choices (Holland & Lave, 2000; Wortham, 2001). This dialogue can become a personal narrative applied to navigate choices and actions.

The "dialogical self" is a term used by Hubert J. M. Hermans (2001; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007) to explore the concept of the self and culture as co-constructed, working together, and developing over time. Hermans draws upon Bakhtin's concept of multivoicedness to theorize the dialogical self as dynamic, multiple in fashion, and evolving over time. I imagine the principle of the dialogical self as an engagement in conversation (or dialogue) with the self and the cultural world that occurs as individuals position themselves in an external and outside world.

Dialogism is a central feature of Bakhtin's works, which explores a world that "is dominated by heteroglossia. Everything means, is understood, as a part of a greater whole—there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 426). It is therefore necessary to acknowledge a prior meaning or shared language that can be applied both externally (in a verbal exchange between individuals) or internally through thought. Utilizing Bakhtin's claim that "every utterance has two texts" (Wortham, 2001, p. 21), the dialogical self draws upon words already used and understood by others, giving voice to the past while speaking in the present and projecting the receipt of those words into the future. This dynamic process places the speaker or agent in a position to represent the historical nature of the expression while considering the speaker's relationship to those that are being engaged or interacted with in the present. Holland and Lave (2000) term this as "history in person" as individuals activate past experience and norms while pushing through present struggles and choice.

It is important to note that no interaction or dialogue is ever final: there is always room for further interpretation and analysis. Bakhtin labels this concept as "unfinaliziability," meaning that a dialogue is never complete and can be readdressed. This pushes research forward, however, because of the need to argue for and discuss the process of positioning and its relevance in determining interpretations of exchanges (Wortham, 2001).

Using the concept of the dialogical self, Hermans (2001) argues for an understanding of the role of internal dialogue; he contends that internal dialogue contributes to the developing individual by influencing their relation to others and a sense of ownership for their feelings. In this framework, Bakhtin's polyphonic self is useful. In the process of polyphony, an individual identifies herself in various "I's" that may include roles she plays in her life. There is, then, an internal dialogue in which she explores how to respond in a social situation. Within this mutual representation of the self and culture, the self becomes culturally inclusive and culture becomes self-inclusive. The history of the individual is acted out in the moments of struggle, contention, or action within local exchanges (Holland & Lave, 2000). Identity is manifested in the individual's use of agency to respond to a social setting in a way that is consistent with a sense of identity (Wortham, 2001).

Some of the important components of this framework of exploring the self situated in space and time include the spatial nature of the self as expressed in the words "position" and "positioning," which suggests a more dynamic and flexible role than the traditional role the self plays (Holland et al, 1998). Ultimately, the

self works to solve a problem or engage successfully in any given social context and align her beliefs and values with the expectations of her community.

The concept of mediation is also important to consider when discussing positioning within a dialogical framework. I align myself with Stanton Wortham's (2001) grounding of the meaning of "mediations" in Bakhtin's concept of voice. Mediation is the process in which verbal cues express social meaning within a particular context. In mediation a narrator utilizes concepts from a larger social world within a given environment. Wortham illustrates this point through a narrative of a classroom discussion on the Spartans' practice of judging the health and life of a newborn child. The conversation of the students and teachers seem to support commonly held social and welfare stigmas in the United States. For example, they employed negative terms and tools of culture, such as the lack of work ethic and laziness of individuals receiving social aid, in their historical discussion of the Spartans. This example illustrates the mediation of greater current social beliefs imposed in a given historical discussion.

In identity formation, mediation is an important framework particularly for a female. As illustrated in this example, if a female is struggling with poverty, particular social norms or dialogues may be used to express who she is. In Wortham's illustration, the students and teacher navigate the historical discussion of Spartans with a personal history of experience or valued beliefs within their own political and social world. I argue that throughout the process of mediation, interpretation of values emerges, thus making way for formation of identity.

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Further, the study of the dialogical self can be examined through storied life narratives and relationships within a social context, which opens doors to understanding the relationship of the self within a community plane. Dan McAdams (2001, 2004) argues for the study of identity through life story as a natural and powerful context to identify an individual's values, norms, and reflections, as well as their interactions with others within a cultural world. I believe the telling of one's story reflects identity, power, position, and agency within a community. The telling of one's own dynamic story is a unique metaphor for one living in a particular moment of history and time. Life stories therefore provide a new view of identity. McAdams discusses how an individual arranges or configures the self to be able to understand and integrate "synchronically and diachronically such that it situates him or her into a meaningful psychosocial niche and provides his or her life with some degree of unity and purpose" (McAdams, 2001, p. 102).

Throughout this theory, McAdams aligns many of his principles of identity formation with those of Erikson (1963), with a primary difference being that identity is dynamic in its formation and comes to fruition in adulthood with the recollection of the journey in the telling of the story. I argue that the ability to positively connect one's story with a theme of unity within the cultural community, over time, to meaningful memories that are sustainable and consistent with the values and practices is a rich representation of identity formation.

The writings of Dora Shu-fang Dien (2000) illustrate this point, Dien joins McAdams, Vygotsky, and Erikson in telling the story of her own life and identity

formation, including her ability to exercise agency through a sociocultural framework. A beautifully crafted narrative of her life experiences as the first educated female in her Taiwanese family details her education in Japan and later Berkley, California, USA. With a solid theoretical framework based on the work of such theorists as Ogbu, Gibson, Berry, and others. Dien explores the identity of immigrants struggling to utilize new cultural tools in adapting to a new environment. Dien examines this adaptation through a Vygotsky/Scribner model for self-identity. In doing so, she begins an important discussion of personal identity within cultural or ethnic groups. In the life story model (McAdams, 2001, 2004), group identity is developed through custom, history, traditions, geography, and so forth, all with shared meaning among individuals (Fiese & Pratt, 2004). As can be seen in Dien's example, the dialogical self can emerge in such a way to illustrate internal dialogue with the expectations and opportunities found in a social world or cultural community.

A Place for Space

Another important contribution to a sociocultural perspective on identity formation is the literature relevant to space. Power and position exercised in the social world are more aptly viewed through an exploration of space, namely "*thirdspace*," a term used to describe the pushing of boundaries in a further identification of the self. Low & Lawrence-Zuñiga (2003) argue "the most significant change for anthropology is found not in the attention researchers increasingly pay to the material aspects of culture, but in the acknowledgement that space is an essential component of sociocultural theory" (p. 1). This

advocates a perspective beyond physical space to include what people do and the meaning they derive from it. *Thirdspace* pushes for an emergence of activity and cognition to a space of possibilities and what could be. Bakhtinian scholars also discuss space because it is consistent with the development of the dialogical self (Hermans, 2001; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). I argue that agency is impacted by social situations, politics, and social norms imposed upon individuals.

Within the theoretical perspective of *thirdspace*, I feel I can utilize both direct interactions and indirect tools of culture to study a woman's identity formation within her cultural world. I believe that studying women's interactions with others and their understandings of their participation in the coffee ceremony afford me a lens into a *thirdspace* perspective. Rituals are a milieu which fosters such a lens. Some of the guiding principles of a sociocultural perspective on identity formation include viewing identity formation as a dynamic process rather than segmented portions of time (past, present, and future) and rejecting the notion of identity as developing in individual time frames but rather continual events that flow into and build upon each other to create experience and progression. An individual cannot be separated from her context or interactions and relationships to others. Therefore, identity is mutually constituted and dynamic.

An individual physically dwells in a space termed "first space" by Soja and others (e.g., Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Malkki, 1992) to speak of a physical or literal shared social milieu. However, the space to which I refer is that of a *thirdspace*, an internal and external space that is contested by the individual as she

seeks for understanding and meaning regarding her physical world and her imagined world while navigating the possibilities of her and her life. For Soja, this connects the history of the person, the sociality of the person, and the experience of the person to create a flexible and ever-changing space. *Thirdspace* pushes for a critical analysis and openness in othering and affords for creativity in problem solving and a "journey to a multiplicity of real and imagined places" (Soja, 1996). It is the representation of the possibilities of what could be for her in her world and is ever-present.

In many ways, Soja's argument for *thirdspace* merges the planes of the sociocultural perspective with a first space drawing upon history and geography and with a second space that is spatial and internal in nature. This second space is cognitive but contrived from physical places. First space's boundaries become blurred in the second space. *Thirdspace* is a push for a new paradigm, an escape from othering and a critique of first and second space. From a theoretical perspective, it is accelerating research to a dialectic framework.

A sociocultural perspective not only draws the researcher into the context of the social world and space (the outside world and internal world) but escapes the broad theoretical foundations of predominately white, middle-class, European men who may be limited in their perceptions and understanding of other cultures and the individuals within them. A sociocultural perspective can extend the argument for space as it becomes more specific by focusing on the routine and common activities of daily life and as it includes the individual and personal experiences of individuals (Sorrell & Montgomery, 2001).

As the physical sense of space or place may be in jeopardy in this ever-changing world, *thirdspace* becomes an increasingly important framework from which to operate. Physical places and boundaries that anchor space seem to be rapidly dissolving and losing their value as anchors to cultural communities. These changes are happening through globalization, immigration, and the displacement of refugees (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). This dissolving of physical space through world changes and physical movement makes room for a continued argument of *thirdspace,* where an ontological rebalancing can take place.

Adapting a spatialized lens in many ways reflects the dialogical self because it takes place both internally and externally. It also accounts for the various experiences of individuals in context, in history, in space and time. When exploring a socially produced space, it is important to consider not only where people act and their interactions within that space but also how those spaces are understood and perceived by those participating in them (Arzubiaga, Brinkerhoff, & Seeley, in press). Thus, lived-in space becomes dynamic through the experiences of those that are dwelling in it.

As has been stated, there are differences in space as a physical place versus spaces as socially produced space (Soja, 1989, 1999; Tejeda, 2000). The coffee ceremony is a great example as it represents an important social practice but can happen in any given space. It relies on specific cultural tools and creates an important social space. As I discuss the coffee ceremony as a ritualized tool of culture, my intent is to demonstrate the spaces available to Ethiopian women.

Community Identity: Belonging to a Social World

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The examination of the social group (community plane) and context provides a milieu for the study of female identity formation because it is within the social group and context that identity emerges. As Gee (2000) states, the core identity is shaped and reshaped in various social settings. Before I discuss important components of community identity, I argue that females need same-sex relationships: I believe that females need each other.

bell hooks (1986) explores "Sisterhood" and the tensions females might experience between each other due to social constraints such as competition, political posturing, or racism. Ultimately, she argues for the need for female connection and solidarity in order to maintain a feminist movement that counters sexist and racial polarization. Political propaganda and societal expectations may separate females from naturally supporting and sustaining each other. The unification of females is a powerful discourse for identity formation.

Although literature regarding the positive aspects of same-sex friendships appears to be contradictory, when examining identity formation within a social and cultural world, it seems vital to explore this need for "Sisterhood" (hooks, 1986). Historically, women in various eras have relied heavily on one another to fulfill household (and even farm) duties. At the same time they socialized through tea and coffee, and they found ways to spend extended periods of time together on a consistent and regular basis (Smith-Rosenburg, 1975). Smith-Rosenburg's work focuses primarily on letters exchanged between women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but reflects the general sense of group belonging felt by women in an earlier time. Women had close connections with female kin as well

as other females in their communities. This reflects Gee's affinity perspective (2000), which I believe can also be referred to as a cultural community or a community plane of development.

Within this discussion, it is also important to explore the various meanings of the term "community." Community is an interesting term to discuss as it can have many meanings and connotations. Gutierrez and Arzubiaga (2011) argue for an *imagined community* that is often created with positive images and metaphors of belonging. Yet they push for a comprehension of non-dominant communities that are often overlooked or misunderstood. To understand the misrepresentation of culture, one must seek to understand metaphors used to create static communities. This is expanded upon in Rogoff's work (2003).

Rogoff (2003) suggests a sociocultural lens for understanding communities, particularly cultural communities. She does so by first stating that an individual will belong to many different cultural communities, often at the same time. The process of development remains dynamic, as does participation in communities: "Cultural processes can be thought of as practices and traditions of dynamically related cultural communities in which individuals participate and to which they contribute across generations" (Rogoff, 2003, p. 80).

Viewing communities in this ever-evolving, active, sociocultural way allows for the intersection of suggested social categories, such as nationality, race, social class, religion, and so forth, and frames them with a historical context while examining the lived experiences within communities (Rogoff, 2003). Boundaries of community can evaporate and the exploration of the individual's experience as

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a "multilayered network of interconnected activity systems" begins (Guiterrez & Arzubiaga, 2011, p. 22). Succinctly stated, for example, cultural citizenship is a collective community activity that occurs in daily life and may extend into national identity.

Cultural communities can be studied by exploring changes over time, shared history, and rules, and values of a group. Individuals may take some of these traditional practices of communities they participate in and build upon the past and act upon them in the future. The coffee ceremony is an ideal illustration of a cultural community because it includes historical features, social interactions, and the individual. Change comes as an individual participates in many communities at the same time. The meaning of one community is enhanced as an individual takes what is valued from the past (or participation in past communities) and applies it in the present (and participation in present communities). This generational process intersects the past and present in creating mutually constituted meaning. Rogoff (2003) contends for exploring the changing individual over time and throughout time because continually exploring generational changes over time reveals a rich perspective of tools of culture and the process of identity formation. Examples may include an individual moving from a rural to urban area or even another country and bringing cultural meaning with them to re-imagine the present situation. Another illustration is Rogoff's (2003) research on the generational transformations of birthing and the adaptations and changes that have occurred over time in the process of giving birth.

An example of identity formation within a cultural community can be seen by drawing upon the research of Dien (2000) and her life story as an illustrative point. Dien explores her own development and dialogical self, as she weaves Vygotsky and Scribner's four levels of history into her own history while developing a process of arriving at a positive interaction between her personal identity and her cultural identities. This cultural identity development helps to illuminate a theoretical discussion of cultural communities. As Dien utilizes Vygotsky's levels of history (general history, ontology, and the history of mental function with a personal history [both cultural and biological]) to address the general history, history of individual societies, the life history of an individual, and the history of a particular psychological system (Dien, 2000) all woven together through activity while being mutually represented. Dien's powerful discourse drafts the historical and political stories of Taiwan, China, and Japan with her family history shedding light on communities. She describes her efforts to be a "perfect" Japanese girl as a child in Taiwan and then the arrival of a political shift that ended Japanese rule and transitioned her, her family, and her country to a Chinese cultural perspective. On a more intimate level, changed school policies afforded her to pursue a dream of becoming educated. She was the first female in her family to do so.

Her education brought her to America (Berkeley), where she married an American Jewish man and struggles with her perceived cultural expectation of the need to be assertive. In her auto-narrative, she describes the exchange of many internal voices as she adapts to various communities and ultimately writes and

rewrites her personal story of identity as she navigates this path and accomplishes her goals. I sense that her agency increased over time as her opportunities expanded, yet at times her agency was limited due to the availability of resources and to her dependence on the acceptance of others. Dien's poignant example of agency shows an individual navigating an ever-changing globalized community, imagined and otherwise.

Cultural tools work as a means to identify expectations in a society that contribute to identity formation. For instance, Dien (2000) draws upon Erikson's model of identity and merges it with a Vygotskian, sociocultural framework. She discusses the problematic use of labels, such as one's ethnic, cultural, or national identity, to define self and the complexity of such a definition. Her experience within various nations provides an interesting perspective on the importance of studying the experiences and activities of an individual from infancy on, which also aligns with Erikson's model of psychosocial development and applies a sociocultural lens.

Dien's writings illustrate concepts of social identity explored within the planes of a sociocultural perspective by including not only an individual's attempt to create an identity for herself, but also the expectations that others place upon her. Dien's work also addresses historical influences and their impact on her identity formation. Social identity is often found in the rituals in which a cultural group or society consistently participates and for which they have a shared meaning and purpose (Greenfield, Kelly, Fuligini & Maynard, 2003). Dien elaborates on her discussion of Vygotstky's planes of development through

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Schribner's (Dien, 2000) discussion of weaving three planes of history together to examine identity formation within specific individuals. Drawing on four historical planes provides a deeper perspective on the developing person.

Belonging to the Nation

Sharing daily routines within a larger cultural community fosters a sense of belonging and unity. Many individuals identify with their nation or national practices and cultures. I believe this is an important contributing characteristic of Ethiopian women as they foster feelings of belonging and identify within a larger community. The coffee ceremony seems act as an important bridge to "home." In Liisa Malkki's (1992) paper, titled "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees", Malkki begins with this statement: "To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul" (p. 24). And then suggests that this statement from war time 1942 has evolved in our day of uprooting and globalization. This focus on connections to identity and territory frames Malkki's argument and discussion of the displacement of refugees and their loss of and contention for a national identity.

The focus on culture or a territorial identity as directly associated with a geographical location is misplaced. Within a framework of development through practice and activity, national identity can transcend geographical boundaries in a dynamic way. This perspective exists among social groups that have shared practices, such as Diasporas. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) refer to the "hybrid culture" that is created as people are more transitory (p. 7). In these hybrid

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cultural practices, migration helps individuals to determine what to acquire from a new home and setting and what they may want to avoid. Various immigration studies explore such adaptations. Challenges of acculturation in migration emerge as individuals navigate new worlds, choosing values, rules, beliefs, and practices they want to retain.

The movement (whether forced or by choice) of individuals within their own country, continent, or elsewhere begins to expand cultural borders and erase territorial boundaries. The principle of "imagined communities" plays out when individuals long for home and re-create cultural practices acquired in that original space.

The coffee ceremony is an important cultural practice that evades geographic boundaries yet represents a sense of national pride or culture. It connects women together in a larger cultural community that represents a nation. Rituals such as the coffee ceremony, are an important context for participation in shared cultural practices and socialization and act as the analytic tool for this study. Participation in ritual is therefore vital in identity formation.

Rituals as an Important Context for Identity Formation

Another important tool of culture relevant to this discussion and to the development of identity is the study of rituals and an individual woman's participation in rituals. Rituals can emerge through the exploration of the study of daily routines. Looking at the common, everyday occurrences that are often seen as ordinary or mundane may reveal important values and features of a

community, family, and individual. Thomas Weisner (1984, 2002) explores an ecocultural niche in which individuals and families draw upon resources and constraints within their cultural world in order to practice sustainable routines. Ecocultural niches include the economic resources and cultural tools available to an individual or family. While exploring such routines, it's not so much what is being done, but rather the patterns that emerge as individuals engage in cultural pathways that are valued by their community. Development occurs in these pathways, which consist of everyday routines (Bernheimer, Weisner, 2007). The coffee ceremony emerged in the examination of daily routines. This is an important ritual for examining identity.

To explore the impact of rituals on identity development and agency for females, it is necessary to operationalize the term. An important feature of rituals and their impact on identity, both for an individual and a group, is the historical nature of the event. According to Barbara Fiese (2006), a ritual is a symbolic event that has three fundamental parts: preparation for the event, participation in the event, and reminiscence of the event. The symbolic nature and parts of the ritual are consistent with a sociocultural perspective, as previously discussed.

These three elements of a ritual can, and often do overlap, much like the intersection of planes within a sociocultural framework, with participation being a central feature. For instance, an individual may remember and reflect on past participation while preparing for a future event. Within the context of a ritual, a group or community defines themselves and demonstrates their values and beliefs through the use of artifacts, symbols, and communication. Such enduring nature

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of the event has wonderful generational ties that can reflect the history of the family or group, as they progress over time and through generations. It also reflects a family or group's commitment to the future goals (Fiese, 2006). This history of the group or community can be both ontogenetic and phylogenetic, depending upon the group and context (Rogoff, 2003).

Van Gennep (Viere, 2001) furthers Fiese's emphasis on three stages of a ritual by proposing similar stages that also emphasize preparation, participation, and then reentrance to the community. A separation becomes the focus of the preparation phase and is an important time to ready the individuals for participation. As individuals participate together, they experience a transition in which they undergo this particular ritual process for the first time. Steeped in tradition and order, the participation stage is still a time for newness as it has never happened in this particular space or time. With a reintegration of the new self to the community, individuals now experience the beauty of the delineated practices of the ritual.

Many rituals have deep roots that tie a family or person to past generations, much like a historical perspective is used to understand sociocultural, historical exchanges. Though the ritual may evolve to accommodate changes, including technology and accessibility to tools and artifacts, the practices are often steady and consistent. For example, Fiese (2006) studied the routine and ritual of the family mealtime, a practice that can be found throughout the world. When the family meal is explored as an analytic tool, often reflects the values and beliefs that an individual and group have created over time within this context.

These repetitive, daily routines reinforce cultural patterns and norms of the group, family, and community and thereby reinforcing behavior (Fiese, 2006). Furthermore, Fiese argues for the consideration of the emotional connection to ritual participation in this microgenetic study (Rogoff, 2003). She supports the "eager anticipation and occasion to replay past experiences through storytelling or even in flashbulb memories of a specific event" (Fiese, 2006, p. 130). This use of personal narrative makes way for the examination of identity and the intersection of mutual engagement. It is important to note that the support that an individual receives in this context and the support that is solidified both depend upon the positive or negative reinforcement that one receives from the group.

Additionally, a sense of identity and agency can be developed through participation in rituals as this may become a context in which the individual can experience feelings of success in their various life roles. The communication and shared meanings experienced in a ritual may provide reinforcement and encouragement that create feelings of value and worth (Fiese, 2006; Viere, 2001).

Such reinforcement can begin through rituals experienced in childhood. Elinore Ochs (1991) discusses how children are socialized through language from their earliest age. They learn through sensory modes how to mutually constitute acceptable social norms. Ochs and Shohet's (2006) research on the family mealtime as a ritual event provides an example of the narratives of the day that are elicited during the mealtime through the construction of questions and through discussion. In this process, a family is defined not only by the sharing of the meal but by the co-construction of the story of the day. The valued practices of

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community can be explored through language practices and can also demonstrate the constructs of gender identity. For example, exploring the way a mother acknowledges or praises her child within a context such as the family mealtime demonstrates the emergence of certain roles and expectations. When rituals become gendered, the constructs of gender identity become clearer. Gender identity will vary and emerge in the present based on the individual's moment to moment activity, the individual's life history, and on the community's history, all of which are always present.

Thus, individuals' social identities are co-constructed as individuals work with those around them to mediate their sense of self within a community that shares common behaviors, language, and norms. As individuals participate with others in examining and exploring their roles and relationships within a group, they gain competence and understanding on how to navigate particular settings. The ability one has to navigate her social setting successfully contributes to the development of self.

In addition to family mealtime, stories can become a powerful ritualized experience for empowerment and agency (McAdams, 2004). Stories are rich with symbols, communication patterns, order, and accomplishment of tasks (Fiese, Foley, Spagnola, 2006). It's not so much about the content of the family mealtime (or other setting in which a ritual takes place), but rather the process of creating a meaningful narration and then consistently having this time together as a dynamic cultural group utilizing the past, present, and future (Bernheimer & Weisner, 2007; Ochs & Shohet, 2006).

Other types of rituals that contribute to the development of an individual include rites of passages. Rogoff (2003) explores female participation in a rite of passage ritual that is symbolic of fertility. In some Native American cultures, such rites of passages exist only for girls as a reaffirmation of the matriarchal community. Often such rituals are seen as a time of developmental transition when important gender roles are established.

Examining locations and specific places can become ritualized and make a significant contribution to development. The physical spaces and settings, or the sites for rituals are also significant, as Keith Basso (1996) illustrates. Often the significance of a space has more to do with what happens there, including the opportunity for individuals to self-reflect and ponder. It is in the shared knowledge of the significance of occurrences in physical places that people and cultures sense the importance of self and their connection to community. This shared knowledge is developed through participation in rituals and events.

This is exemplified through Basso's ethnographic experiences among the western Apache Indians. He recounts the oral traditions passed on by grandmother to granddaughter, mother to female child, and so forth as the women portray stories that draw upon specific locations and their significance. The orator moralizes cultural meaning through storytelling. Basso describes women always concluding their tales, with the invitation, "Think about it . . . because wisdom sits in places" (p. 134). One of Basso's participants, Ruth, recalls the intentional tutoring she received from her mother and two female aunts who taught the value of hard work and the importance of not being lazy through story telling. With

these particular narratives Basso reveals the significance of oral histories for creating familial connections and loyalty to physical spaces, "localities on the surface of the earth" (Basso, 1996, p. 159). Through this process, rituals then activate agency and deepen a sense of self within females.

Basso's reference to the ritual narration of a space reminds me of the story of the goat herder that was used in the introduction of this study. In Ethiopia, it is not uncommon to hear this story told to remember a place called Kaffa (usually the narrator repeats "Kaffa" several times to illustrate that the place sounds like the word "coffee") and to represent the discovery of coffee. Coffee is an important reflection of pride for the Ethiopian telling the story.

It is in the acquisition of knowledge through familiarization of places that this group seeks to acquire knowledge of themselves, their community, and their culture. Understanding is manifested in the lived experience. In other words, a person will demonstrate that they are wise by behaving according to the community's expectation, an expectation established through traditional stories attached to specific locations. This example draws together many of the aspects of a sociocultural perspective through the context of ritual. For instance, the use of gendered roles as found in historical, "history in person", and engagement with others are some of the features of the sociocultural framework that are illustrated.

Another important factor to consider in the development of identity and agency for women and girls is the socialization of sex types and roles. Basso (1996) also mentions gender roles as women are found gathering acorns and being taught through storytelling while male children are hunting. Gender roles

traditionally have been tied to biological functions but ultimately are established as children observe and participate in the roles of their communities. The interaction of parent and child in daily life and activity reflect such expectations (Rogoff, 2003).

A central feature of female roles in rituals has revolved around the home and childrearing. Female children are accounted for more often than boys, especially in more rural societies (Chodorow, 1989; Rogoff, 2003). The example of the family mealtime as a ritual, again illustrates traditional sex types that may be expected in a community or culture specifically for females. For instance, females traditionally are responsible for the preparation and serving of food, as well as clean up (Goebel & Hennon, 1983). Males may be responsible for the initiation of dialogue at the dinner table and the discussion of the day (Feiring & Lewis, 1987). It is interesting to analyze gendered roles through the three stages of a ritual.

Some researchers acknowledge that there are societies in which females perform what may be deemed more masculine traditional roles and assert aggressiveness or other attributes primarily termed as male (Chodorow, 1989). This raises important questions, namely, is biology an important indicator of sex roles and agency? Does participation in rituals reinforce these roles?

The example of childbearing and rearing is an important biological consideration for female roles. Even if a female does not want to bear children, if she lives in a society without access to contraceptives and chooses to engage in sexual behaviors, she may conceive and bear a child (Chodorow, 1989).

Furthering the argument that gender-related roles are socialized, children in simpler societies interact more often and directly with both male and female adults, opposed to traditional complex societies in which children are primarily socialized by a female caregiver. This clarifies female sex roles and makes females the primary socializers for both male and female children (Chodorow, 1989).

The consideration of oppression, racism, domination, and so forth must also be considered in the context of rituals, as women are often subservient in male-dominated societies. bell hooks (1991) beautifully captures "narratives of struggle" as she details her own challenges as a researcher who is seeking to eliminate power and oppression (p. 55). She writes of the challenges that women, particularly women of color, face in asserting personal choice and power. She explores the freedom of imagination to escape such oppressions as a woman participates in "rituals of remembrance that sustain her revolutionary spirit" (p. 56). Once again, ritual, like community should be readdressed and expanded to events both externally and internally, in a dialogical way (Hermans, 2001).

It is within this context of the mind that a woman constructs her agency in a powerful and meaningful way, as she enters the quiet chambers of her own thoughts and participates in an event of significance and meaning, a ritual. Agency is individually constructed based upon prior participation with others and on experiences with space, stories, and other tools of culture. This is a principle that is socially and culturally constructed (e.g., Basso, 1996).

The question, then, of power is unique and individual to the woman and her experience and perception. Although there are often obvious biological differences among size of men and women in general, these differences should not create constraints in ability or achievement. It is important to note that power is defined according to the community. For instance, the value of a female's role and power that she has within her home will differ according to the value that the community places on her work. Often productivity and measurable achievement determine the power of a woman (Rogoff, 2003). Power is played out in the positioning of individuals within their social groups. Power is enacted in day-to-day interactions and can relate to . . .

> positions of influence and prestige. Figured worlds provide the contexts of meaning and action in which social positions and social relationships are named and conducted. They also provide the loci in which people fashion senses of self—that is, develop identities (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998, p. 60).

Therefore, I argue that rituals that involve deep and shared meanings and values can have a significant impact on the positive development of identity in females. In many ways, participation in certain rituals are the only times in which some females are able to exert any power or position. Many women have agency in their shared endeavors only through participation in societal rituals.

Fitting it All Together: Buna and Identity

With this review of literature on what I believe are the most salient aspects of identity formation of a female within a socioculutural perspective, I will review

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the brief literature available on identity formation through participation in the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. Coffee in Amharic (the national language of Ethiopia) is "*buna*" and "the coffee ceremony" is a term used by Ethiopian women to describe the event. Though the ceremony is explored in travel literature, restaurant critiques, and is even referenced in explorations of the origins and history of coffee, there is a dearth of literature on the significance of this event in female identity formation.

One exception is David Palmer's (2007, 2010a, 2010b) exploration of buna as an important context for "identity management in exile" in his study of Ethiopian refugees in the United Kingdom. Palmer focuses primarily on the ceremony as an important ritual for Ethiopian women in transition. He states

> On the basis of research to date, therefore, it can be stated that the Buna
> ceremony in exile acts as a foundation for community relationships and
> allows members to share their skills and knowledge in support of each
> other and the wider community. The Buna ceremony as practiced in the
> United Kingdom is thus evidently more than simply a gathering for coffee;
> in addition to the attachment to the coffee itself and the traditional ritual
> proceedings surrounding the Buna event, the ceremony can also be seen to
> provide insights into the complex and challenging ongoing processes of
> settlement, adaptation and identity management, experienced by the
> participants in exile. (2010b, p. 331)

Palmer's work is the closest to my study although he does not address identity formation but rather what he calls the "management of identity" as an

Ethiopian woman is displaced (2010b, p. 322). Palmer argues that the ritual functions as an important setting for stabilizing the impact of the loss of a woman's home and removal from her country. Palmer's narrative studies have been helpful in confirming my own findings.

Along the lines of buna acting as a context for resettlement, Melissa Edelstein (2002) explores the coffee ceremony as a reminder of 'home" for Ethiopian Jews who have migrated to Israel. Yet this study is more focused on the religious identity of the Ethiopian Jew and the contested validity of their claim of being Jews. Edelstein's study is focused on religious identity and not on gendered identity. Further, Edelstein explores religious practices conducted within the buna ceremony. This includes a superstitious practice of Zar Spirits, something that my participants indicated was unacceptable to them.

An interesting study was conducted by Thera Mjaaland (2004) on the gendered practices of Ethiopian women. Her fascination with Ethiopian women stemmed from her discovery that some women in the Tigray (the most northern region of Ethiopia that borders Eritrea) fought in the Tigray Region's Liberation Front during the years 1961-1991. Mjaaland primarily focuses on the limited agency that women exert in Ethiopia and argues that what appears to be the most important "choice" an Ethiopian woman makes is to be a good, traditional Ethiopian woman. That includes tending the house and household duties, having children, and being a good wife and mother. Mjaaland claims that few women have challenged this choice but some women have successfully navigated alternate choices for their lives.

Mjaaland's discussion of the coffee ceremony as a context in which women are expected to do the work acknowledges that the ceremony is an important context for exploring gender roles. For instance, she claims that a man who prepares buna is questioned regarding his masculinity. This questionable male activity creates clear values and behaviors for male participation in the ceremony. Of significance in this paper is Mjaaland's acknowledgment that her Ethiopian husband prepares buna for the two of them, as she does not know how to do it. Further, the author talks about her own female identity being questioned by Ethiopian women because she has not had a child (and isn't sure if she wants to) and because she wears pants.

Janet Yedes, Robbin Clamons, and Amal Osman (2004) explore buna among Oromo (another Ethiopian region) Muslim women in America as a sacred ritual and context for communication and maintenance of their national identity. These authors contend that buna is an important context for passing on cultural practices intergenerationally. Intergenerational cultural practices are examined in various immigration studies (e.g., Portes, 1997; Suàrez-Orozco, 2001; Gibson, 2002; and others) that explore the process of acculturation while maintaining a sense of home.

Therefore, this study is anchored within the theoretical framework of the sociocultural perspective. Operating within this paradigm and based upon this review of the literature I pose the following questions for this study:

1. What does the ritual of the coffee ceremony represent for Ethiopian women living in Arizona?

2. In what ways does participation in the ritual of the coffee ceremony contribute to the identity of Ethiopian women?

It appears that no other study has approached the examination of female identity formation within the specific context of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. As has been explored in this literature review, a sociocultural lens has been applied to view development within a variety of other settings. The theory has proven to be effective in eliciting rich research for the field of developmental psychology. I believe that application of these past studies functions as a springboard for my research and the exploration of the implications of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony on female identity formation.

I hope this study will therefore contribute greatly to the small body of current research on the Ethiopian coffee ceremony, expanding the ceremony as an important social factor in identity formation. Additionally, this study will add to the emerging body of research utilizing the sociocultural historical framework.

Chapter 4

Methods Research Design

With a theoretical perspective rooted in a sociocultural context, I will now explore the rationale and framework for the study. The purpose of this study was to gain insight and understanding into the identity formation of females as they participate in the ritual of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. With an emphasis on routine, ritual, and buna as the context of analysis, I sought to understand the complexities of female identity formation while exploring gendered practices. One of the primary objectives of this study was to see through the Ethiopian women's eyes. Capture the meanings of the ritual of buna through shared practices and constructs of identity.

The Preliminary Study Utilizing Photo Elicitation

I began this study by conducting preliminary research with women in Ethiopia utilizing photography. I intended to have a focus on learning the women's daily routine (Weisner, 2002) by having participants capture photos of their day from the time they awoke until they went to sleep at night. Photo elicitation (Margolis & Rowe, 2004) can afford participants an opportunity to express their perspectives and typical experiences in a more unique and authentic way without imposing the researcher's own interpretations. Further, it removes the researcher from the process of gathering the preliminary data.

Within a sociocultural perspective, it is important for the researcher to move beyond her own preferences or predetermined methodological approach and instead to choose a methodology that best answers the research questions (Rogoff

& Chavajay, 1995). The use of photo elicitation worked well in this study as the participants were able to express their daily lives in images without the researcher present. Photo elicitation also opened the way for the study of activity as the unit of analysis and the exploration of the cultural way of doing things.

Acknowledging that a key component of a sociocultural framework for research is that cultural practices become the unit of analysis, I designed this research to explore such practices and elicit responses that reflect tools of culture within the specific context of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony (e.g., Cole, 2005; Gutiérrez, 2009; Rogoff & Chavajay, 1995). The coffee ceremony (called such by Ethiopian participants) appeared in each participant's set of photographs both in the capital of Addis Ababa and in the village of Dera and was identified as an important visual theme. This ceremony dates back hundreds of years and has been an important historical event in the daily lives of Ethiopians (Abbink, 1995; Edelstein, 2002; Yedes, Clamons, & Osman, 2004).

I conducted a second study of the ceremony in Ethiopia by observing the ceremony. However, as the researcher, I felt I was distracting the participants because I had not adequately gained rapport with this community. As an outsider, I felt that I disrupted the process of the ceremony and was not able to observe anything but the procedural ritual of preparation. Regardless, I did observe that this ceremony was an important time for socialization (Ochs, 1995; Ochs & Shohet, 2006) and gender identity formation (Chodorow, 1989), a time for building bonds and connections amongst family, kin, and community (Yedes, et. al, 2004; Palmer, 2010; Gutiérrez & Arzubiaga, in press). This assumption is

based on the repetition of images depicting females in this context, including laughter, conversation, and other communal expressions. Although little research has been done on the coffee ceremony, one researcher who has studied the ceremony (Mjaaland, 2004) argues that the coffee ceremony may be a significant space in which an Ethiopian woman might exert power because she is fully responsible for the process and can make a significant contribution to the outcome of the experience. Though men can and often do participate in the ceremony, it is within this contextual role that women exert control and exercise some power.

In the preliminary photo elicitation study, there were 20 participants: two children, one seven-year-old male and one nine-year-old female; one male teenager, age 15; 16 women, ages 19-50, and one man age 45. Eight participants lived in the capital city of Addis Abba, one lived in the town of Nazaret, and all others lived in the village of Dera. I included participants in different areas of the Amhara region in Ethiopia in order to identify patterns in daily routines that were consistent in various living conditions. Each of these participants included a visual representation of the coffee ceremony, which validates the small sample size for the preliminary study.

A follow-up study using photo elicitation was focused exclusively on female participants within the village of Dera. I asked an additional 16 female participants (ranging in ages 18- 55) to conduct a daily routine photo study. My intent was to compare their images with previous findings of participation in the coffee ceremony in Ethiopia. I identified participants based on prior recommendation, rapport, and access gained through my key informant, as well as

on desire and time for participation. The key informant also served as the translator and played a very important role in assisting to gain access to the participants as well as helping to understand some of the cultural norms. In many ways, it was to my advantage to be an outsider because everything was new and different to me. I was able to ask questions and utilize my naivety to learn more about the social context.

Verbal consent was given for participation in the photo elicitation. Verbal rather than written consent was used based on the high percentage of illiteracy among this population and on participants' lack of interest in discussing consent. Ultimately, they appeared to be happy and eager to participate.

Participants were given instructions on how to use the digital cameras and directions on photographing their daily lives. They were asked to photograph their lives from the time they awoke in the morning until they went to sleep at night. They could take as many photographs as they wanted in order to capture what they felt best represented their daily lives. No other specific instructions were given. Participants had about 32 hours to complete the project, after which they were met to view their photographs.

Photographs were uploaded onto a laptop computer for viewing and participants were asked to respond to their pictures (See Appendix A for the photo elicitation protocol). Very little probing was used to encourage participants to narrate their photos. However, participants were asked to give more details by using unstructured interview questions, such as "What happened before that

picture was taken?" or "Tell me more about the people in this picture." All communication was done through a native-speaking translator.

Interviews were recorded using a digital recorder for analysis and transcription. The key informant (translator) asked further questions when needed. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain uniformity in questioning and to assist in analyzing the data. Additionally, photographs were analyzed by identifying visual themes and repeated images in participant photographs.

Arizona Site Selection

Women of Ethiopian heritage were identified in Arizona to conduct this study and build upon the preliminary work from Ethiopia. A network or snowball method for recruitment was used to recruit participants by approaching women at a local Ethiopian café and in Ethiopian religious congregations. As the researcher, I was transparent in my intentions for requesting participation.

The women in the café invited me to a coffee ceremony where I was able to pilot my questions while observing their ceremony. Additionally, I gained access to women in an Ethiopian Orthodox church by attending their services. Leaders of the Ethiopian community also attend this congregation and helped me to connect with women of other faiths to help diversify the population.

Prior to meetings, the participants signed forms that explained the purpose of the study, the use of recordings, and the benefits of the study (see Appendix B for a copy). The following key descriptors were collected through the focus groups:

Focus groups were held in locations convenient to the participants, including their homes and public locations, such as cafés. For this study eight focus groups and one interview were conducted with a total of 27 women. The following table outlines the participants, by focus group. Key descriptors including age, marital status, number of children, amount and type of education in Ethiopia and in the United States (if applicable), employment, religion, the number of years living in the United States, and sending city are listed. Addis Ababa is the capital of Ethiopia.

Table 1

Participant Descriptors (N = 27)

Category	
Marital Status	Married = 67%
Number of children	M = 2.35
	Minimum, maximum = 1, 4
	No children = 22%
Ethiopian Education (years)	M = 0, 16
	Minimum, Maximum = 0, 16
	Graduated with certificate/diploma = 59%
	Average= 11.42 years
U.S. Education (years)	M = 0, 9
	Minimum, maximum = 0, 6
	Current student = 26%
	College graduate or higher = 15%
	Average= 2.4 years

Current Employment	Nurse = 26%
	Food service = 18.5%
	Professional/Accounting = 7%
	Unemployed = 7%
Religion	Orthodox Christian = 63%
	Protestant/Evangelical = 26%
Years in U.S.	$M = 9.57$
	Minimum, maximum = 2, 31
Ethiopian Origin (*Rural or Addis Ababa*)	Addis Ababa= 63%
	Rural = 26%

All of the women but five were married. One was engaged to be married. Additionally, 18 of the 27 women had children. Seven of the women came from rural areas in Ethiopia. Seven of the women were full-time students at the time of the study. One had no education. One had a Masters degree in Business Administration. Seven of the women were nurses, two were registered nurses, and the other five were licensed nurse assistants. One of the women travels between Ethiopia and Arizona every six months.

Table 2

Focus Group Descriptors

Focus Group	Number of Participants, Ages	Location of Recruitment
Focus Group 1	2 sisters, ages 18 and 20	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
Focus Group 2	4 women: 1 mother, 1 daughter, 1 niece, 1 friend, age 26, 30, 38, 54	Café

Focus Group 3	2 women, friends, age 29, 32	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
Focus Group 4	3 women: 1 mother, 1 daughter, 1 friend, age 31, 32, 54	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
Focus Group 5	7 women, friends, 20, 28, 30, 31, 32, 36, 54	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
Focus Group 6	2 women: mother, daughter, age 47, 66	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
Focus Group 7	3 women, friends, age 32, 36, 54	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
Focus Group 8	1 woman, age 38	Oromo Refugee Placement
Focus Group 9	3 women, friends, age 24, 28, 34	Ethiopian Protestant Church

Because I focused on a snowball method to recruit participants, focus groups were not organized to include a variety of women, but rather I relied upon the women who had willingly volunteered to meet with me to arrange the groups. The women that would gather were either related to one another or already close friends. From the focus groups and interviews I hoped to learn what the coffee ceremony means to women from Ethiopia.

Interview and Focus Group Process

Printed photographs taken primarily by the participants in Ethiopia were used to illustrate various aspects of the coffee ceremony. The photographs were organized by the researcher in what appeared to be a sequential order to represent the process of preparing buna. Photographs appear in the order they were used in this study in Appendix A. The photographs were printed in 11 by 17 prints so the

women could touch them, arrange them and study them. Questions pertaining to the typical nature of the photographs were used to explore what women say about the ceremony and how this contributes to identity formation. The initial intent was to form focus groups of seven to ten participants; however, the women seemed hesitant to form this size of group. Therefore, the average size of the groups was two to three women.

All focus groups were digitally recorded on an iPhone and transcribed by the researcher. Additionally, field notes were made immediately following focus groups to capture observations of interactions, reactions, and questions for follow up. Often, the initial field notes were made in digital recordings and then transcribed. Notes were also made during analysis pertaining to assumptions, further follow ups, emergent themes, and questions to ask additional focus groups.

When considering of the theoretical research and implications of this study, I determined that the photographs were powerful visual cues to lead participants to further discuss the ceremony (see Tobin & Hsueh, 2007). Tobin and Hsueh (2007) discusses a process he terms "video-cued multivocal ethnography," which uses a video designed to cue reflection (p. 5). Tobin describes how in video-cued mutivocal ethnography, each scene is arranged to pose a question. Though a video was not utilized in this research, photos were selected and arranged to depict assumed important aspects of the ceremony. For instance, in the preparation stage, an image of a woman sorting coffee beans prior to roasting them was used. The questions included the following: "Is this typical?" and "Is this how you sort and clean your beans?" Additionally, a

photograph showing the grinding of the beans by a young man was specifically used to elicit discussion on gendered expectations in the preparation of coffee. Images of women sitting and talking were also used to explore topics of discussion, with questions such as "What kinds of things do you talk about in a coffee ceremony?"

The following questions were used to initiate discussion within the focus groups. They were not used in a specific order but rather were used as a framework in facilitating group discussion. Once the purpose of the study was presented, some of the women immediately began to talk about the coffee ceremony without any visual cues. For the most part, discussion naturally occurred.

When necessary, these questions were referred to in order to keep the focus group talking about female identity:

Pertaining to the viewing of the photographs:

What did you think of what you saw?

What is not shown that you think should be shown?

Did anything surprise you?

What did you like?

What did you not like?

Is this typical?

Themes to be explored through the focus groups:

Preparation of the coffee:

What is the proper process and order of the preparation of the ceremony?

Who can prepare the coffee? Can more than one person do it at a time?

Do you like preparing the coffee?

Are these procedures typical (e.g., fanning the coals, the cooking

equipment used)?

What is a man's role in the process?

Participation in the coffee ceremony:

Who can participate in the coffee ceremony?

When does the ceremony take place?

What is the purpose of gathering?

What sorts of things are talked about? Are traditional or family stories

told? Songs sung?

How does this contribute to who you want to be as a woman?

Can you drink coffee by yourself?

Reminiscing about the coffee ceremony:

What is your earliest memory of the coffee ceremony?

What is it like for you to be in a ceremony?

When do you find yourself thinking about the ceremony?

Change in participation over time:

What is the purpose of the ceremony?

How do you do it now compared to how you do it then?

How do you suppose your daughters will participate in the ceremony?

Mother-daughter relationships:

What is your earliest memory of the coffee ceremony?

At what age does a woman learn the ceremony?

What is the expectation of her role?

For who does she prepare coffee?

Open-ended questions:

What would you like for me to know about the coffee ceremony?

What do you think others think of the ceremony?

Who do you hope to be, what is your identity? Does this ceremony

contribute in any way to who you are and who you want to be?

What does it mean to be an Ethiopian woman?

The questions were designed to elicit responses and to learn about this

common occurrence in the lives of these women.

Three focus groups were asked to member check the transcripts from their

focus groups. They were given copies of the transcripts and asked to affirm what

they said or change what they had said. Minimal changes were made to the

transcripts. One focus group was followed up with three additional times to

explore findings and ask additional questions. Of this same group, two of the

members were interviewed individually one time each. Another woman from a

different focus group was followed up with and when asked about her educational

attainment, she quickly ended the phone conversation. Following up with

participants through phone calls was more effective than asking the participants to

read the transcripts. Participants indicated that they were not interested in reading

the transcripts or did not have time. Ultimately, it was important to follow-up with

participants to receive their validations of the findings of this study.

Analysis of Data

After nine focus groups were conducted, I felt that I was beginning to reach saturation in that it was easy to anticipate or predict answers to questions or responses to the photographs prior to anything being said. Transcription of the recordings was ongoing and themes began to emerge throughout this process. I used the analytic software Dedoose (www.dedoose.com) to code and analyze transcripts. The analysis began by coding data, followed by the extrapolation of rich texts, and then comparing and contrasting codes and texts looking for patterns and themes in each of the groups.

Coding the data. I used the questions from the focus groups to create codes. Ultimately, I looked for how the women were answering the questions, and I felt that it was logical to create simple codes for the transcripts. The code sheet used in this study is included in Appendix B. The first stage of coding was simply identifying the direct answers to the questions, looking for face-value responses. In addition, I used code for a photograph being typical or not typical.

I also used additional codes to identify important phrases repeated by the women. These phrases and concepts seemed salient to the ultimate research questions regarding identity. An example is the superstitious practice of studying the residue of the third cup of coffee. When I chose this particular photograph to use in the focus groups, I thought the photograph portrayed a woman acknowledging that she had finished the coffee. What emerged in all of the focus groups, however, is that this is a superstitious practice, much like fortune telling, and that it was frowned upon by each of the participants as being a practice that

they would not allow in their coffee ceremonies. A code of superstitions practices was applied to such statements.

Extracting rich texts. I identified and extracted particularly rich texts that seemed to describe the formation of identity to compare with other participants texts and to form a typology (Bamberg, 2010). My intent in doing so was to address the original research questions of participation and female identity formation. I sought to understand the "small stories" (Bamberg, 2007, p. 165) that these women were telling about themselves so that I might search for a sense of their identity. This concept is articulated by Paul Drew (1998) in the following statement:

> In the (interactional) circumstances in which we report our own or others' conduct, our descriptions are themselves accountable phenomena through which we recognizably display an action's (im)propriety, (in)correctness, (un)suitability, (in)appropriateness, (in)justices, (dis)honesty, and so forth. Insofar as descriptions are unavoidably incomplete and selective, they are designed for specific and local interactional purposes. Hence they may, always and irretrievably, be understood as doing moral work – as providing a basis for evaluating the "rightness" or "wrongness" of whatever is being reported (Drew, 1998 p. 295)

These small stories illustrate shared values, norms, rules, and practices that the women discussed in talking about the coffee ceremony. Additionally, I used the small stories to identify patterns in development

and changes in participation over time. The use of codes pertaining to age helped me identify passages that explored how the women prepared and participated in the coffee ceremony throughout their lifespan.

Findings and patterns. Findings from both coding and rich texts were organized according to how the women answered the questions used in the focus groups. Additionally, the data was organized within the framework of the three phases of a ritual: preparation, participation, and reminiscing (Fiese, 2006). Chapters seven, eight, and nine are organized to present and analyze the findings according to these three phases. All women agreed upon the order and significance of the ritual. The most interesting rich texts emerged in the discussion of participation and the interactions that women had with one another while in coffee ceremonies.

The Researcher

The goal of this research was to become as transparent as possible in exploring the Ethiopian coffee ceremony and the Ethiopian women. There is no doubt that I am an outsider in this community although I have been called "a good Ethiopian woman" by some of the participants and a friend in Ethiopia. This was a useful phrase to bring up with the women and to explore what that concept meant to them. However, I wondered about the authenticity of the compliment and always felt like an outsider, particularly in the consumption of coffee because I am not a coffee drinker. Yet all of the focus groups had coffee as a part of them: whether we were meeting at Starbucks, churches, or in one of the women's homes, there was coffee present. Five of the groups performed the ritual during

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the focus group. My not drinking coffee evoked interesting dialogue regarding religious and dietary practices.

My travels to Ethiopia over the past two years were also useful in building rapport and gaining access to the women. The women seemed to be sincere in their gratitude for my interest in this topic. However, I still felt like an outsider. Each of the participants at some point spoke in her mother tongue, Amharic. As the researcher, I felt that there were times that I was treated as a guest and that the participants were interested in pleasing me. In some cases I wondered if the women were cautious to present the happenings in the Ethiopian coffee ceremony in the best possible light, to reflect positively on their culture and home.

Merits of the Methodology

One of the benefits of the use of photo elicitation in this study is that all the participants saw the same images, providing consistency for the research. The images also removed the researcher from the study in a sense. The women held the photos to their chest, talked about "home," and seemed to genuinely enjoy talking about buna.

The use of focus groups in many ways seemed to mirror what may naturally occur in the coffee ceremony. I had attempted to observe coffee ceremonies while conducting preliminary research in Ethiopia but quickly discovered that I was more of a distraction and felt that I was not able to observe the context in authenticity. However, the use of the photographs within focus groups seemed to activate a social setting. The women laughed and talked and reminisced while exploring the photographs.

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Lastly, in focusing on the routine ways of doing things, a cultural context that is unique to Ethiopia emerged. Exploring this context with women from Ethiopia afforded them the opportunity to reflect in new and deeper ways on the importance and value they place upon the ceremony while discussing their routine ways of doing things.

Chapter 5

The Typical Nature of the Photographs

The Ethiopian coffee ceremony is a ritual that the women of Ethiopia have participated in for centuries. The findings of this study affirm that the procedures pertaining to the ritual are typically agreed upon by these women. In this study, each focus group was asked about the origins of the Ethiopia coffee ceremony. None of the participants knew the answer. It is claimed that the coffee bean was discovered in Ethiopia around the fourth century (Pendergrast, 2010). Perhaps women began to gather and socialize with coffee soon after the discovery. Regardless, all participants agreed on the purposes for gathering and a routine set of procedures in the preparation of buna.

Is This Photo Typical?

As suggested by Joseph Tobin (1992), I first explored the typical nature of the photographs, which postured the data for analysis based on participants' direct responses to the question "Is this photo typical?" A code pertaining to the typical nature of the photographs was applied to transcripts when participants responded directly that the photo was typical. (Coding structure and explanations are in Appendix B).Face-value was assumed based on the specific response and use of the word "typical." There were a total of nineteen photographs used in each group.

Of these nineteen photographs, participants chose two in particular as favorites. The photos were identified as favorites based on the women calling them a favorite. Once a woman identified a photograph as her favorite, all other

participants were asked if they had a favorite photograph. All participants identified a favorite photograph. The first was a photograph of a woman sorting beans prior to roasting them. (See photo number one in Appendix A.) This photo was favored because the woman represented what the participants felt was a "perfect" depiction of the preparation of buna. She is sitting low, near the ground, and has a tray with cups, saucers and a *jebena* nearby. I took the photograph in a rural village during the summer of 2010. This woman was preparing the buna ceremony to demonstrate it for me.

The following responses were given for this photograph:

W3.1: Yeah this is perfect. I like that! She is the lady, she is sorting the

coffee, she makes

coffee. This is perfect. This is too perfect.

W3.2: This looks like a rural house, not in the city. Because they use that

to make a fire, with the wood. And she's just picking out the good one and

the not good one, she's going to pick out the good beans and then she

washes them/

They call it "sine" in Amharic.

In addition, one woman held the photograph throughout the focus group and asked if she could keep it because it made her feel so happy. Asking about the typical nature of the photograph was a natural segue to further discussion of the coffee ceremony. Women were quickly engaged in this process and would often reenact the ceremony or begin to describe important features of their participation in the coffee ceremony. Typicality was open-ended enough to elicit a meaningful

face-value response to the photograph, yet engaging enough to encourage further response and deeper meaning. The merits of utilizing the typical are that the topic is familiar, ordinary, and the women found it was easy to talk about. In fact, simply explaining the purpose of the study often got the participants talking about how important the ceremony is to each of them.

Based upon these responses, I argue that the coffee ceremony holds many rich artifacts for the women, each representing an aspect of her identity. Anchored in the self-authoring that took place in the discussion of the typical and routine way of performing the coffee ceremony (Weisner, 1984, 2002), women were able to express shared meaning in the ceremony (Holland, Lachiotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998). Weisner (2002) urges researchers to pay special attention to the expression of the ordinary in discussing routine ways of doing things. These routines often represent core values and beliefs sustained through repeated, shared practices.

Weisner (2002) and others have studied daily routines and family rituals and their impact on individual and family well-being (e.g., Feise, 2006) in an effort to evaluate family accommodations to a child with special needs (Bernheimer & Weisner, 2007), and family contributions to academic outcome (Arzubiaga, Rueda, & Monzo, 2002).

Weisner's work began in Africa and has expanded to children in the United States, particularly children in the stages of middle childhood focusing on the "ecocultural niches" in which they develop (p. 335). Ecocultural niches is a term used by Bronfenbrenner and others to explore and describe the sociocultural environment and resources available to families. Within this context, the

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researcher can explore the scaffolding available to families in raising their children (Weisner, 1984). Weisner and his colleagues have further applied the use of daily routines to explore accommodations families might make for their children with special needs in seeking well-being and sustainable routines. As the daily routine is studied, practitioners and family members can create and implement consistencies in the family's routines and practices as well as interventions that best suit the needs of family members. (Bernheimer & Weisner, 2007)

Building upon Weisner's work and ecocultural features, Arzubiaga and her colleagues (2002) have examined Latino families and the impact of their daily routines on reading engagement and motivation. Their study explored immigration and other important sociocultural features that affect academic outcomes (Arzubiaga, Rueda, & Monzo, 2002).

This study contributes to the study of ecocultural niches and daily routines. The coffee ceremony creates such an ecocultural niche, which was evident as I examined the typical nature of participating by using the photographs as a cue. After explaining the routine way of doing things within the activity of the coffee ceremony, women were able to express their shared meaning making. The coffee ceremony becomes an important activity, tool for analysis, and measurement as it creates a venue for examining shared practices and meaning making (Rogoff, 2003). For instance, the proper use of the sine (stove) for preparing the buna represents a mutually constituted practice for preparing coffee, as does the process of sorting and cleaning the beans prior to roasting them.

In general, the participants agreed that the photographs were typical of the coffee ceremony. Though participants may not have liked the way the ceremony was depicted or the way the participants looked, they agreed that the typical nature of preparing and participating in buna were accurately portrayed. Therefore, the photos acted as a powerful stimulus for unpacking the meaning of the ritual.

Favorite Photos Elicit Cultural Practices

The second most commented-on photograph features a large number of women sitting on the floor. This photograph also includes the tools needed for the preparation of the buna. (Photo number 15 in Appendix A.) Though the photograph was well received and said to be typical, participants acknowledged that the size of the group is not typical and indicated that this might be a special ceremony for which the women were meeting. Initially, I did not understand the following statement as I thought that they were talking about the morning time rather than being in mourning.

W3.2: Is this mourning? I like it.

JB: All the women? Why?

W3.2: Did someone die?

W3.4: It looks like they're having fun. I like it. When you gather this many people, you talk a lot. You talk too much. Especially women!

W6.1: I love this one! I love this many women!

W6.2: This one! Oh oh! Buna! Wow. Look! This is the real buna. Look at this picture! All friends! Family! Look! Look! At that time you relax. Look how she lay down there. Look!

To the participants, the image represented a traditional gathering of women in mourning. As shown in the above excerpt, one of the women was pleased with how much fun the photographed women were having, how they were talking, and she stated that she loves this particular picture. The tradition of mourning for Ethiopian women could possibly represent a time of celebration, perhaps a celebration of the life of the deceased. Further, the participant's enthusiastic responses affirmed the figured world that the coffee ceremony represents. Gathering for mourning represents a time and space for expressing common cultural values and practices. The social production of mourning and the recognition of the practice of utilizing buna for the gathering of a large group of women to mourn represents a shared practice.

Just as Barbara Fiese (2006) suggests that what occurs through the routine ritual of the family mealtime often reflects the values and beliefs that an individual and group have created over time, this woman's rich text (Bamberg, 2010) provided a representation of a typical gathering of Ethiopian women. Through the repeated practice of gathering at buna for mourning, the image represented a cultural pattern that can be reenacted and that represents shared beliefs among the group.

Though the information that was gathered in relation to this photograph is contrary to a period of mourning, the fact that another focus group responded to

this photo in a similar way exposes the coffee ceremony as an important shared practice that contributes to identity formation of females. Identity formation is represented in shared meanings and rich expressions of values in a ritual (Fiese, 2006).

The women in the second focus group navigated what they found to be typical in this photograph by examining how the women were seated and the way they wore their shawls. Drawing upon shared meanings assigned to behaviors appropriate to certain contexts (in this case gathering to mourn), they were able to more closely negotiate what they believed the photograph represented.

W7.2: In Ethiopia you sit on the floor when you are mourning, when you have lost someone. But the way that they are raised up, it's not the right way.

JB: So you sit on the floor when you are mourning?

W7.1: It's the shawl.

JB: What about the shawl?

W7.2: In mourning. This is not mourning. She will show you.

W7.3: I will show you. (She demonstrates the way you wear the shawl with the fringe up toward the face.)

JB: Maybe they don't have enough chairs?

W7.3: No. No. Here's how you wear it. You have to wear it like this.

W7.2: It's a sign/

W7.3: This is the sign. Nobody wears it without a reason except mourning. If you see me walking like this you know something is wrong.

You have to ask me or I will be mad at you! Like you didn't hear. I have someone like my cousin or auntie and you didn't hear. I walk past and you see this "Oh [name], what happened?"

Not only does sitting on the floor in a large gathering for coffee represent mourning, but the way that a woman wears her clothing indicates an important change in her life or the lives of her loved ones. The way clothing is worn also represents an important mediated tool that contributes to a woman's identity. This furthers the argument that an expected response represents social positioning and appropriate responses to lived experience.

As this focus group continues, I probed the participant to further unpack the meaning of the mediated tool of how one wears one's shawl and the expectation of the shawl within their figured world. In this case, reactions to the typical and routine way of wearing one's shawl should elicit appropriate verbal responses to what it represents.

JB: What if I don't know you?

W7.3: You don't have to say.

W7.2: But it tells you something. It gives you a message.

W7.3: Like "that lady, she has a mourning."

JB: If I didn't know you, when I saw you, would I say something?

W7.2: No you don't say anything/

W7.3: No don't say. But if you know me. If you don't ask me, I get offended/

W7.1: "Why she don't ask me?"

JB: So they aren't wearing it right?

W7.2: No/

JB: Sitting on the floor is a signal for mourning?

The signals identified in the photograph of sitting on the floor and how a shawl is worn represent the routine way of doing things (Weisner, 2003). Or perhaps they were recognizable because they were not routine? It appears that these are agreed upon behaviors among these women. As they draw upon historical and cultural tools to represent their social world and expectations, they unpack what may be ordinary to them in representing cultural practices within ritual. This illustrates the intersection of the women's social worlds with their personal worlds and in many ways represents their identities and expectations, especially in the way they express their expectations regarding the kind of language that is used when these tools are represented. As the women communicate that others should acknowledge a person's mourning and loss and the woman's displeasure towards those who neglect to do so, they articulate an important cultural tool that contributes to proper mourning practices.

Thus, this discourse of the typical nature of the photographs is nested in the intersectionality of the participants' language (a representation of their personal worlds) with the shared meaning making of the way one sits or wears an item of clothing (a practice of her social world). Sitting and wearing a shawl in a particular way represents the communal plane. Here, the sociocultural perspective draws upon the ecological niches expressed in mourning in a routine way. The dynamic process of identity emerges in the interactions of a given moment of

acknowledging the shared practices by influencing one another in this active way (Rogoff, 2003).

This focus group continued to explore important routine ways of participating in the coffee ceremony. Focusing on the typical nature of the photographs allowed the women to delve into the various meanings they make of the gathering. Particular features of the cultural world are expounded upon within the following excerpt as the women describe other social gatherings for women within the coffee ceremony. Once they looked for the visual clues of how the shawl is worn and determined that the photograph did not represent a group gathered in mourning, they began to discuss other special times in which women gathered for buna. Specifically, they discussed practices related to holy days and the events that honor women within the coffee ceremony.

> W7.2: What we were thinking was that there is another ceremony. Like
> the people in Ethiopia celebrate a traditional holy day, like the church/
> W7.3: Like the virgin mother's day. The 21st of each month in the
> Ethiopian calendar. That's virgin moms day. So we just, What do we call
> it? We remember that day. So the mothers, 10 to 15 mothers come
> together every 21st of the month. Turn by turn. My house. Your house. 12
> months, 12 houses. You have another turn in the year. You cook the food,
> really nice food. They have a drink, an alcoholic drink. This might be like
> that? So that day they eat good. That's their day. The woman's day.
> Nobody talks to mommy that day. Whatever she makes is right that day.

That's for mommies. Whatever she does she's free that day. This might be

that ceremony too. That day you sit on the floor or a mattress.

JB: Other than that you never sit on the floor? What if you are poor?

W7.3: Even though they're poor/

W7.2: The poorest one/

W7.3: In the countryside/

This focus group proceeded to describe the types of chairs found in even

the poorest areas. Even typical chairs are expected tools used in the coffee

ceremony. This is something that spans regions of Ethiopia regardless of fiscal

means.

Another consistent response to the photographs was the agreed-upon tools

used in the ceremony, from the jebena, to the type of chair, to the reason for

sitting on the floor. Asking about the typical nature of the photo therefore helped

elicit cultural practices that would not have been explored or discovered

otherwise.

Further, the designation of one day in the month for the women indicates a

societal practice of honoring women and affording her a space. This space

represents the mutually constructed practice of taking a break or being free from

the pressures of life. Being free has an important shared meaning in that women

are not confined to the typical daily routines of work, child rearing, and so forth.

The value of having a predictable time to be free will be discussed in greater

detail in chapter seven. [1]

Typical Caste Systems and Social Hierarchy?

In addition to recognizing typical tools and practices by viewing photos of

the coffee ceremony, most participants expressed dismay at one or more of the

photos reflecting images of poverty and lower living classes. Photographs

showing children in tattered clothing, homes with dirt floors, or newspapers on

the walls of dwelling places elicited responses of the non-typicality of the

photographs. Many of the women responded to the clothing in the photographs by

leaving the room and changing their own clothing into traditional Ethiopian

dresses. They insisted that certain clothing should be worn when participating in

the ceremony and would then demonstrate the ceremony. Though their clothing

appeared to be the only marked difference in the way that they performed the

ritual, strong feelings were uttered as to how inappropriate the photos seemed.

With further probing, the women agreed that what is worn while participating in

the ceremony is not as important as following the order of preparation buna.

Other women showed me paintings of the ceremony in their homes and

would reference the paintings as being typical. The paintings featured beautiful

women in white linen dresses, pouring the buna. All the salient features of the

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[1] It is interesting to note that this photograph was not a setting for any of

the possible gatherings that the participants described. Rather it was described by

the Ethiopian photographer as a gathering to discuss micro finance ventures; it

was a business meeting!

ceremony were included: a snack, the jebena, the sine, a tray with cups, and so forth.

While viewing photographs, one woman left the focus group to bring a painting of the coffee ceremony. She picked up the stack of photographs and shuffled through them as though they were playing cards. As she tossed each one to the table, she commented that she did not like any of them, that none of them accurately represented her memories of the coffee ceremony in Ethiopia. At last, she said the following:

W2. 4: Why don't you have nice pictures of the coffee ceremony?

JB: You don't like those pictures?

W2.4: No I don't like.

JB: What would be a nice picture? What would it look like?

W2.4: Coffee ceremony? Woman wearing traditional clothes.

W2.3: With green grass. The one I like/

W2.4: Yeah the green grass.

W2.3: Popcorn. They don't have any popcorn here.

W2.4: (leaves and returns with a painting of a woman in a coffee ceremony)

JB: Okay so when you have coffee ceremonies, is that would you look like?

W2.4: Typically. Maybe. Yeah!

JB: You wear traditional clothing?

W2.4: Coffee ceremony you should have the popcorn/

W2.3: Popcorn, yeah.

W2.4: The incense burning, looking nice.

JB: These women don't look nice?

W2.3: This is day to day life (name of woman).

W2.4: Yeah.

W2.3: You make special when there is holy days.

JB: So when you think coffee, you think holy days, special days?

W2.4: When you do the whole thing you are supposed to have those things. The ceremony, that's how it is. The incense is for the ceremony, the grass. The popcorn is the snack.

W2.3: The popcorn makes you drink the coffee.

JB: When you have a coffee ceremony like that you have all these people, is it special occasion to have/

W2.4: Most houses in Addis have it like this (pointing to painting).

In this example, the woman left and brought a painting that she preferred to the photographs. Her experience living in Ethiopia was only into her early teenage years. I contend that her participation in the coffee ceremony differs from other women in this study who lived in Ethiopia into their adult years and had hosted their own ceremony while living there. Ultimately, using the photographs to elicit discussion helped the women to visualize what they felt was the range and variation in that which might be considered a "typical" coffee ceremony. The absence of a snack or traditional clothing seemed to matter very much to the participants in the proper portrayal of the ceremony. Moreover, it appears that the

women wanted the ritual to be represented in a specific way. That way seems to be one in which those that are featured in the photograph are wearing certain types of things.

As John Ogbu (1981) would argue, the women may be questioning the competency of those in the photographs and their ability to accurately participate in the coffee ceremony. This competency stems from expectations relative to the capacity to perform valued roles in a community. Such expectations create hierarchical structures that depend upon economic standards and capacity to access the tools relative to the activity. If the presence of specific material artifacts in the coffee ceremony represents the typical nature of the process, then the absence of such artifacts would create a deficit. Additionally, the accurate portrayal of the coffee ceremony reflects national identity and national pride, as they want their homeland to be represented in a beautiful way.

Expressions of disdain for the photographs, specifically pertaining to appearance, seem to make an important contribution to understanding a social structure amongst these women. Privileging participation based on such assumptions seems to create a space for a discussion on social constraints and limitations. Though the women were hesitant to respond to any of my specific questions regarding caste systems or social hierarchy, their statements regarding clothing and dwelling alludes to such practices.

I pursued this topic with questions relative to women in Ethiopia that I know who are HIV positive, Muslim, or leaving their husbands. In this very brief

exchange, I had told two participants about my friend who is HIV positive. This was their response:

W1.2: How is she seen in the culture being HIV positive? Has she talked to you about that?

JB: Why?

W1.2: I just wonder. Does she tell people?

My response was that I was unsure about the way in which the woman communicates regarding her health. The woman in the focus group quickly changed the subject. Another focus group talked in a little more detail about the changes that are happening with HIV and people's willingness to be open regarding their illness. Though they were not willing to talk in detail on the subject, and like the other focus group, changed the subject.

Regardless, the stigma of this illness seems to create a serious social constraint. Kloos and Mariam (2000) in their study on HIV and AIDS in Ethiopia discuss the need for human rights protection for those who are sick with these diseases. The stigma, misunderstandings, and discriminations against those suffering HIV and AIDS are often so strong that both health workers and patients are afraid to say the diagnoses. In addition, those that are ill are often seriously abused and mistreated:

Traditional harmful practices, including violence against women (rape, abduction, and domestic violence); child marriage; female infibulations, excision, and clitoridectomy; ritual scarification; ear piercing; minor

surgery; and cauterization are widespread in many parts of Ethiopia (Kloss & Mariam, 2000, p. 25).

In addition to the non-typical clothing shown in the photos and brief discussions regarding serious illnesses, women in two focus groups attributed inappropriate behavior in a coffee ceremony to women that "may be Muslim." Othering the women based on their religious affiliation indicates a type of social class that "demonstrates the potency of cultural meaning systems" (Holland, et. al, 1998, p. 11). As the women classify activities that are unacceptable social norms, values, or rules, they create a social constraint that characterizes women of differing religions with such potent systems.

Another such example of creating positions of power and dominance emerged while discussing photo number 19 in Appendix A. This photograph was printed with the intention of using it in the focus group. However, upon further examination, it did not appear to be a photograph that represented the coffee ceremony and was going to be excluded. However, the women in the first focus group saw the photograph and so it was included in all other focus groups. All participants commented about how poor the children appear to be. This was a good opportunity to probe further on the possible implications of social positioning. Almost all of the participants limited their responses to expressions of sympathy. Initially, one focus group responded to the typicality of a small child fanning the fire and began to ask me more questions regarding the children in the photograph.

W1.2: That baby is young. But she's feeding the fire. They always do that. They leave them to fan the fire.

W1.1: We used to do that/

W1.2: These people are very poor.

JB: Yes. Very poor.

W1.1: Do you know about them?

I then explained to them that their young mother had lived in a northern region of Ethiopia where she met and married the children's father. Before the birth of their second child, the man moved the family to his home village of Dera. It was then that he told her that he was also married to another woman and had another family. Once they moved to Dera, he spent most of his time with his other family and would severely beat the young mother and take any money she had earned when he came to see her. The woman was given a small sponsorship to help her return to the area in which she had grown up. At this point I asked the two women in the focus group the following:

JB: Is that okay (for her to leave)? How does it reflect on her socially?

W1.2: Probably not good if she has children/

W1.1: No other guy is ever going to take her/

W1.2: She's probably going to be single for the rest of her life . . . Being from Addis Ababa is different than rural. Even I feel different when I'm there. I'm a foreigner.

W1.1: If she's in Addis Ababa she'll be ok/

W1.2: That's not true!

JB: She's going to Tigray region. Not Addis Ababa.

W1.1: I've never been there but I don't think she's going to be okay.

W1.2: Is she Muslim? Right? If she's Muslim it's more strict.

JB: It must have been a bad situation?

W1.1: Where's her home?

JB: Tigray/

W1.1: Where is this? (the photograph)

JB: Dera/

W1.2: Her husband brought her to Dera.

The social implications expressed in this excerpt are ripe with possibility. Though the woman who took the photograph was being abused, the two women in the focus group believed that she would suffer social rejection and perhaps never marry as a result of her choice to leave her husband. The woman's agency is limited by strict social constraints.

bell hooks (1986) contends that women who conceive of themselves as victims or powerless were able to conquer their limited agency as they would bond with other women in similar circumstances. The two women in this focus group imply that this woman is not going to be okay as a divorced, Muslim woman. The comment that "Being from Addis Ababa is different than rural. Even I feel different when I'm there. I'm a foreigner" creates a space to argue for the second-class treatment of women in Ethiopia. This argument is an important discourse for this study, as I believe that the coffee ceremony is a near exclusive context for the empowerment of women in Ethiopia. Additionally, I will note, that

the woman who took the photographs reported that she rarely participated in coffee ceremonies while living in Dera. Though I was not able to elicit exactly why, I believe it is a result of her being an "outsider" to the community.

Moreover, I argue that the size of the focus groups is a reflection of the groups that may form in participating in the coffee ceremony. All women agreed that their typical coffee circles in Ethiopia consisted of the same women. Rarely did the size change nor inclusion of different women. Once a woman joined (or was invited) a group, that woman will always belong to the same group. The size of the group typically was kept to approximately six to seven women, in an effort to organize a rotation for the daily preparation of the coffee.

Initially, it was the intention of this study to form larger groups of women from various contexts in order to gain insight from more participants. In attempting this, women primarily gathered in small groups that consisted of women they already had relationships with and were hesitant to join with other women of Ethiopian heritage that were not in their social circle. The women that gathered already gathered naturally for social settings, including buna. As a result of this simple behavior, I sense that the coffee ceremony consist of exclusive social circles that may not be flexible in accommodating new members. Though many women talked about the coffee ceremony as an important tool for showing hospitality, the coffee ceremony that is intended for a close group of women appears to have tight parameters as to who can participate. As the women in the focus groups viewed photographs, they were asked who would participate in the ceremony and if the size was typical. Returning to the example of the group of

women that were thought to be mourning, it appears that large gatherings are not typical and that the women gather with those that they are accustomed to and most familiar with. Inviting new women to join a social group is not typical.

Asking about the typical nature of the photographs elicited a wealth of responses that would not have been discovered in ordinary interviews. Other aspects of the typical nature of the ceremony were coded according to the three phases of a ritual, including the preparation, participation, and reminiscing of the ritual (Fiese, 2006).

The following chapters are organized according to the responses the women in the focus groups gave to these three stages. The typical responses will be addressed using excerpts that represent female identity formation while focusing on rich texts. These "small stories" (Bamberg, 2010) are intended to represent mutually constituted practices that portray the coffee ceremony as an important activity for the examination of identity.

Chapter 6

Preparation of Buna

There are three rounds of boiling and drinking coffee in the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. According to a woman from the Oromo region of Ethiopia, the first is called "Abol" and is literally translated as "first" in Amharic as it represents the first boiling of the coffee. Each woman in the coffee ceremony drinks a cup from this first dark, rich, and concentrated coffee. The second round is called "Lamafa" in the language of Ofon Oromo (a regional dialect) and "Hulettengana" in Amharic. No new powder or coffee grounds are added, only water is added to the previous pot. The residue of the coffee is boiled again and not as strong as the first boil. Once again, each participant will drink a cup from this pot of coffee. The last and final round is called "Baracka" in Amharic literally translated as "the last one". Once again, no new coffee is added to the pot. The final round of coffee is extended by water and the coffee is very diluted.

The three stages of a ritual, namely the preparation, participation, and reminiscing of the ritual (Fiese, 2006), nicely illustrate the process of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. This chapter explores the women's responses to the process of preparing the coffee and what they said about their own identity in this particular stage. By examining their words, expressions, the material production they engage in, and their meaningful actions, I discuss how these women participate in the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. My intention is to identify how these actions contribute to identity formation in this context.

Though it may be argued at what point preparation begins, all of the women began their narratives of preparation of buna at the point of gathering the items needed for the ceremony. This may be a result of the images they were viewing and my assumptions in beginning with the gathering. They then talked about cleaning the beans and making the coffee. The central questions explored in the focus groups pertaining to the preparation of the ceremony are as follows:

What is the proper process and order of the preparation of the ceremony?

Who can prepare the coffee? Can more than one person do it at a time?

Do you like preparing the coffee?

Are these procedures such as fanning the coals, using particular cooking equipment, etc. typical?

What is a man's role in the process?

Although not all of these questions were asked directly, most were addressed during the process of the focus group's discussions. Responses were extracted through a coding process focused on how the women responded to questions pertaining to the preparation of coffee.

The Process for Preparing Buna

There was little variance among each of the participant's descriptions of the process of preparing buna. In fact, most shared the same details of the process from gathering everything that would be needed, to sitting low on the floor, to detailing which tools should be used. The following are the synthesized statements of the participants on the procedures of the ritual. There were no discrepancies in this order.

First, items such as a tray with coffee cups and all of the items needed for making coffee are gathered and brought to the space in which the ceremony will take place. The primary principle of organizing all of the items is to gather everything at once so that the woman or child preparing the coffee does not get up to collect other items later. If other items are needed, someone will bring them to the woman or child. The ceremony space is typically in a living room where others can sit comfortably and watch the preparation of the coffee ceremony. Coffee is rarely prepared in a kitchen.

It is important to sit on a stool or can, close to the ground, to have the stove accessible. In one photograph, a young girl was squatting rather than sitting on a stool. Many participants agreed that this is not typical and perhaps is even dangerous.

Some women called the stove a barbeque grill, others were unsure of the name. Many of the women have purchased a similar grill to use in their own ceremonies here in Arizona. The stove is not electric but rather heated by coals. Once the coffee beans are cleaned and sorted, they are roasted on the stove. Once the beans transform to a rich, dark brown color, they are roasted and ready to be ground. The fragrant, roasted beans are taken around the room so that participants can enjoy the aroma. Incense is also burned to add to the fragrance of the coffee, though it is often referred to as "smoke." The participants agreed that the absence of incense negated the validity of a proper ceremony; the photographs were viewed as atypical when they did not include incense burning.

Once the beans are roasted, they are ground. In America, a coffee grinder is used. In Ethiopia, they are pounded in a can with a metal rod or with what appears to be a car axel. Though the cultural tool changed in America, the importance of maintaining the process was consistent. Each of these features of the coffee ceremony represents an important tool of culture that is necessary within this social setting. What the women wear is also an important representation of this figured world.

Cultural Artifacts Utilized in Preparation

Within a sociocultural perspective, analysis of the use of physical tools as well as the activities participated in represents collective efforts in participating in the ritual. The agreed-upon practices within the coffee ceremony embody Vygotsky's cultural historical theory. The following statement by Stetsenko (2005) expresses the established processes of Ethiopian women in the preparation of coffee:

> Vygotsky realized that social exchanges among people require equally complex
> mechanisms that allow for self-regulation by every individual involved in these exchanges. Individual participants' ability to take part in collective processes of social exchanges was conceived as crucial for these exchanges to be carried out. It was understood that because high demands are placed on participants in these collective processes, complex mechanisms suited to meet such demands—namely, human subjectivity (in its various aspects)—evolve (pp. 73-74).

The richness of the preparation of the ritual of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony rests in the women's ability to reenact shared processes that are historical in nature. The dynamic nature of preparation is anchored in self-regulation while maintaining expectations of key constraints in the process. For instance, using a jebena, having a proper tray for cups, the presence of incense, and so forth are all essential historical tools, although different women adapt how they are used.

An example of an adaptation is the portrayal of a young man grinding the coffee in a photograph. The photograph captures all of the essential elements of the ceremony but features a male performing the work. A male's role in the coffee ceremony becomes an important discussion point for gendered roles. Findings on gendered roles will be discussed later in this chapter.

While performance by a male creates a dynamic process, valuing shared tools is an important representation in meaning making. In the following excerpt, Holland and Lachiotte (2007) explain the importance of these physical tools for examining identity formation:

> A typical mediating device is constructed by assigning meaning to an object or a behavior. This symbolic object or behavior is then placed in the environment so as to affect mental events. It is important, however, to remember that Vygotsky saw these tools for the self control of cognition and affect as, above all, social and cultural. "Assigning meaning" and "placing in the environment" are not just individual acts. Rather,

mediating devices are part of collectively formed systems of meaning, products of social history (p. 36).

The coffee ceremony is rich with material artifacts with designated meanings. Women in this study expressed strong feelings regarding the necessity of specific tools in fulfilling the ritual. The jebena, an often ornate clay pot, is used to boil, prepare, and serve the coffee. Use of any other pouring or cooking pot was deemed inappropriate and negated the process as being for buna. Many women insisted that the women in the photographs using other pots were not preparing coffee but perhaps tea.

Valuing the jebena as an important material artifact in the coffee ceremony can be seen in the following excerpt, in which a 64 year old refugee woman passionately expresses her need for the jebena. Another woman also talks about hosting a visitor without the jebena and being asked if she still participated in the ritual. With the jebena absent, the visitor did not feel that the ceremony was truly a ritual. The following excerpt illustrates this point:

W7.1: I think this one it not coffee. Not for coffee. This for/

W7.3: Tea/

W7.1: For tea only/

W7.3: Not like that for coffee.

JB: So if it doesn't have the jebena it's not a coffee ceremony?

All: No.

JB: No jebena means no coffee ceremony? All of Ethiopia would agree?

W7.2: Yes.

W7.3: I agree.

W7.1: I think about the lady I think maybe they have no money.

W7.2: Sometimes they don't have enough charcoal. Here that makes quick coffee. Jebena doesn't makes with a small fire. You have to have enough charcoal. It doesn't matter if you are poor or not one jebena takes four even though you already have. If your jebena broke today you make again really fine and you make coffee with this until you get another jebena. But we don't make coffee with this.

W7.1: Me, I don't need it to drink coffee pot like that. Because/

W7.3: She wouldn't even drink coffee from this one.

JB: No jebena and you won't drink the coffee? If you went to someone's house and that's how they did it, you wouldn't drink?

W7.2: She don't really feel like she's drinking coffee if she's drinking from this one.

JB: So it doesn't feel like a ceremony if it doesn't have a jebena?

W7.2: Yes.

W7.1: I have to have the jebena. Did you see it at my house. One day the jebena, I put it in the hot, it come the buna you know, people they coming to drink your coffee. I put it like this and she put like that and broke the jebena. The coffee on the floor. How am I going to drink. I'm sad. [Daughter's name]! [Daughter's name]! What? Look my jebena. She broke my jebena. She say just go now to sleep. I say no! I can't go to sleep. I go for my neighbor. Hey, now don't talk to me. I broke my jebena.

Give me your jebena. Because I want to go to my house and drink my

coffee. "Huh" she says. Do you have an extra? I take it! You don't have

another jebena I take it and I go and make coffee and drink my coffee and

I'm okay. But if I don't have a jebena I have to go to all people and ask for

a jebena. Even my work I ask do you have an extra jebena? I need a

jebena!

W7.2: You didn't come to my house! I'd give you one!

W7.1: Everybody! I asked them/

JB: You all agree that if you were to come and there was no jebena it

wouldn't feel right?

W7.3: It wouldn't feel right/

W7.2: You wouldn't even think it's right. Like my friend comes and one

time, she's in Texas, she came for vacation here. Unfortunately I didn't

make coffee like this with the jebena like this. She hold the cup in her

hand and she was waiting, waiting. (she'd come from back east… Texas)

She was waiting, she was going to make coffee with jebena tomorrow.

The next day no jebena. She says "You don't really have jebena? What's

wrong with this house? You don't make coffee?"

Valuing specific physical tools is a powerful cultural tool for participation

in the coffee ceremony. For these women, the jebena is a tool of culture necessary

for participation in the tradition. This shared tool of culture represents an

important feature of the delineated routine of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. The

absence of the jebena negates the ritual. This is a powerful discourse on the importance of shared meaning making within a sociocultural perspective.

Furthermore, additional salient features that may be shared artifacts included snacks such as popcorn or bread, to be enjoyed with the ceremony. One participant insisted that a snack needs to be a companion to coffee. Snacks might include roasted barley wheat, bread, or popcorn. The coffee ceremony is never just coffee. This snack is enjoyed throughout the preparation process and during coffee consumption, perhaps with the intent of initiating thirst and prolonging the experiences. The use of the tool fosters an intersection of the personal and social plane by prolonging the practice and allowing the women to spend more time together.

The process of preparing coffee is long. Tradition mandates the boiling of three pots of coffee and consumption of at least one cup of coffee from each pot. To drink to the third is a sign of good luck and a blessing. Perhaps even more important, boiling three pots of coffee lengthens the time the women have together and prolongs their enjoyment!

The typical nature of the shared practices explored in the preparation of buna represent a sense of the "culturally mediated, historically developing, practical activity" (Cole, 1996, p. 109) that the women engage in. The mutually constituted practices activated during the preparation process of the coffee ceremony create a common historical experience while examining physical and tangible tools of culture. These external objects (Stetsenko, 2005) serve as a means for enacting the ritual. In addition to the expression of the necessity of

physical tools needed for the coffee ceremony, the women discussed nontangible tools of culture. One of these mediated activities was gendered roles.

Gender Roles in Participation

Perhaps one of the most salient aspects of this ceremony is that it is a special time for women. This was talked about by each participant. The ceremony is a woman's space to communicate, relax, and socialize. Although little research has been done on the coffee ceremony, one researcher who has studied the ritual (Mjaaland, 2004) argues that the context of the coffee ceremony may be the only space in which an Ethiopian woman can exert any power as she is fully responsible for the process and can make a significant contribution to the outcome of the experience.

McDermott and Varenne (1995) argue in their classic piece "Culture as Disability" that every culture teaches people what they should value through patterns found in cultural practices. As a result, cultural practices produce disabilities or positions of power. The active participation in shared meanings may "organize ways for persons to be disabled" (McDermott & Varenne, 1995, p. 13). Though McDermott and Varenne's research is focused on learning disabilities, I argue that their theoretical lens also applies to Ethiopian women. The lived experiences of these women seem to produce social disabilities or powerlessness through historical meaning making. Discourses of oppression have established a social standard of females as second class citizens despite political efforts in Ethiopia and among other African countries to work toward equalizing gender roles in society but are slow to be accepted (UNICEF, 2004; Redi, 2010).

Ultimately, I argue that the coffee ceremony is a unique historical context for the empowerment of Ethiopian women.

To further this argument, I draw upon Margaret Gibson's (1991) work to define the word "minority" as follows:

> Subordinate position in a multiethnic society, suffering from the disabilities of prejudice and discrimination, and maintaining a separate group identity. Even though individual members of the group may improve their social status, the group itself remains in a subordinate position in terms of its power to shape the dominant value system of the society or to share fully in its rewards (p. 358).

For the purpose of this discussion, the term will be applied to the exploration of the meaning made and shared in determining the social position of female Ethiopians living in the U.S., a racialized society with social hierarchies.

Multiethnicity is not necessarily the issue faced for Ethiopian women but rather multigendered discrimination. The social status or power exerted through male dominance imposes expectations in which the women operate.

Examining the context and the narratives of the women illustrates the importance and value placed upon participation. The coffee may be prepared three times in one day for various reasons including a meal. Participants indicated that there was a time to drink coffee with family and clearly distinguished a time to drink buna with the intent of enjoying the company of other women. The first and third preparation of buna may be for breakfast or dinner and may include immediate family, including male members. The second preparation of the day is

the time when a woman calls her female neighbors and friends to gather, to enjoy one another's company. This is a time when the men in their lives are often away and they can focus on each other.

Male Participation in Buna

The following is an exploration of the ways in which males do participate in the ceremony. My argument is that the significance of the age-appropriate participation of males supports the discourse of oppressive social disability for Ethiopian females. Though men are rarely present during this gathering, male children often are. In examining the role that males play in the coffee ceremony, one photograph became very important. This photograph elicited a range of responses. In the following excerpt, two college students expressed shock at seeing a male grind the coffee beans.

JB: Can a man do it? (prepare coffee)

Both: No. I've never seen a man do it/

JB: What do people say if a man did it?

W1.1: It wouldn't be funny/

W1.2: It would just be weird. I don't know? What would they say?

W1.1: I don't think a man would even know the process?

JB: Have you ever seen a boy do it?

W1.2: That's so weird!

JB: Let me show you something (picture of boy grinding coffee) Is that OK?

W1.1: Not really!

W1.2: It looks photoshopped to me!

Laughs

JB: Really? So that surprises you to see a boy grinding the coffee?

W1.2: If anything that would be the only part that he could do. You didn't Photoshop this?

JB: No. I took this photo. He's probably a teenager/

W1.1: This is the only part he did though?

W1.2: I've never seen anything like this. Not men.

JB: If you were to see this in a magazine or something, what would your first thought be?

W1.1: I'd think it was a girl with short hair/

Laughs

JB: What does it tell you about the man?

W1.2: Back home, they don't even go in the kitchen. Have you seen a man cook in Ethiopia?

W1.2: No. NO!

W1.1: Like there you won't see a man cook. Here maybe my dad does but over there it's so unnatural.

Clearly, these two women were disturbed by a male child participating in the preparation of the coffee ceremony. The implication is that the preparation of buna belongs exclusively to females. As they continued to talk about gendered roles in preparing coffee, they discussed their disparagement for young girls preparing the buna. They did not make coffee until they were in America and did

not enjoy doing it. Instead, hopes for girls having the opportunity to study or be in school were expressed. When asked what the boys would be doing instead of assisting in the coffee ceremony, they suggested they'd be playing soccer. Their distinction between females studying versus males playing soccer pushes a discourse in gendered activities to a space that removes female stigmas and place females in a position to exert power. The women's comments reflect that they preferred young women to be doing things other than prepare buna.

HIV research conducted in Africa indicates that there are significant educational gender inequalities. Females' education and literacy rates are lower and the rates of child labor for females are higher. Researchers also argue that females are at greater social risk for infection of HIV. Moreover, the correlation of low education and employment appears to lead to gender discrimination (Stockemer & Lamontagne, 2007; Abbink, 1995).

Upon further questioning, these women also expressed feelings of disappointment with associating with males their age at church in Arizona. In their opinion, their male associates have failed to embrace their mother tongue and learn the rituals conducted in the church. I argue that these two participants' social position revolves around being oppressed through dominance in their cultural practices, their sense that women are more productive in their work efforts, and therefore feel they are superior to lazy males.

These two women were the most outspoken of all the participants. Their sense of identity enabled them to feel empowered to stand up for what they believe and to vocalize their opinions. It is important to note that these two

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participants have lived in the United States for six years. One is 18 and the other is 20 years old. As stated earlier, their experience with coffee in Ethiopia varies dramatically from other participants in that they were young children when they lived in Ethiopia and were enrolled in universities at the time of this study. Their family employed a maid who was responsible for the preparation of the buna. However, their experience in the United States changed as they assumed this role and prepared the buna for their family. Both stated that they did not like preparing the coffee but did it to please their grandmother.

Their strong opposing response to a male adolescent grinding the coffee beans was different from that of other participants who lived in Ethiopia for longer periods of time and later into their lives. Other participants had experiences preparing the coffee from the time that they were young. These perspectives allow a place for male participation in preparing coffee up to a certain age. The following are excerpts from three focus groups. All participants in these focus groups agreed that they feel it is appropriate for a male child to assist in preparing the coffee but that men should not prepare the coffee. Further, I deliberately asked if it was appropriate for a man to prepare the coffee. A common response of laughter followed the question. Laughter seems to imply a shared cultural tool relating to gendered practices regarding the appropriateness of a man's participation in the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. Both the ways in which a man can or cannot participate as well as their laughter serve as tools of culture.

The cultural practices and assumptions as to the appropriateness of who participates in the coffee ceremony (and when) supports Chodorow's (1989)

argument that females are (a) the primary socializers and (b) that identity is formed in *doing*. In this instance, the male child was supporting an exclusively participated in female activity by physically working in the preparation of the coffee. Utilizing a male child to do what may be viewed as the hardest work also reinforces a social message that males are stronger than females.

His age determines his participation and is focused on achieving a specific task. The male child does not partake of the coffee nor has he experienced in being socialized through the entire process. His role was primarily in support of the most rigorous physical task and was viewed as a way for him to honor and support females, particularly his mother.

Further, the clear distinction of gendered roles seems to clarify the development of gender identity within this context. This specific example draws upon the co-constructed identity of individuals in their social world as they participate in the preparation of the buna. The following excerpts are responses to male participation in preparing buna from a focus group consisting of seven women, all of whom are related and who met together at a church function. This excerpt is their responses to viewing the photograph of the boy grinding the coffee.

JB: Have you ever seen a boy do that?

W2.1: Yeah! It's okay/

JB: I showed it to girls the other day and they were shocked.

As is evident in this excerpt, I intended to be very transparent in probing on this particular question. Because the previous focus group had been so

surprised by a boy grinding coffee, having called it "weird," I wanted to ask specifically about the typical nature of gendered practices in the preparation of coffee. The first two women were the only participants in this study that were shocked by a male adolescent participating in the coffee ceremony in this way.

W2.2: No, it's okay. Some boys do that/

JB: Yeah/

W2.1: I think so/

JB: Do boys or men attend?

W2.1: Yeah. Most of the time the ladies do the work. It's okay for men to come/

JB: Will the man make coffee? Your husband?

W2.2: No.

Laughter

W3.1: This boy grinding coffee. He's doing the hard work. The lady needs some help.

The emphasis on the boy doing the hard work was consistent amongst all of the women. This reinforces the argument that males are socialized by what they do, namely the boys are involved in the ceremony to the extent that they are helping with something that might be viewed as too difficult for a female. Though the boy may be smaller in size than the older females in the room, his gender implies that he is stronger and more capable of exerting physical strength to accomplish a rigorous task.

The practice of encouraging male children to perform roles that are more masculine or male-oriented socializes the child in gendered roles (Chodorow, 1989). While observing a coffee ceremony in Ethiopia, I asked to pound the beans. The woman preparing the coffee demonstrated the process and handed me the tool. It was not a particularly easy task and my lack of skills and experience elicited laughter from those present. The tool (which looked like a car axel) was taken from me quickly and then the woman preparing the coffee continued to grind the beans. Though I was not an expert in grinding coffee, I feel that I have the physical strength to accomplish the task. Was she keeping me from doing what might be viewed as strenuous labor? Or was she anxious to maintain her role as the preparer of the coffee for an honored American guest?

Another focus group also agreed that it is appropriate for an adolescent male to participate in this way in the coffee ceremony. This group consisted of three women, all from the capital of Addis Ababa. The women were unrelated to each other and were gathered after church and willing to participate in the study.

In viewing the same photograph of the boy, these women expressed a similar feeling for the role of male children and men in preparing buna. Once again, the woman in the following excerpt talks about the male child's role in assisting a woman and behaving in a manner that reflects his respect for an older female, especially his mother.

JB: Do men make coffee?

W3.2: No.

W3.1: You don't see it/

JB: What do you think of this?

W3.2: He's just grinding. Men don't make it. Sometimes you call the children to help with the hard part.

JB: Is that typical, this boy working?

W4.1: Only if he helps his mother. It might be a hard job for her. He's helping his mom. He must help his mom. A man would not do it. It's not good for his age. Maybe in America a man will cook and she does the ceremony. The ceremony is for the woman. She looks nice doing it. Bad names if a man does it.

That male child does the hard work is a consistent, shared response to the gendered practice of preparing the coffee. However, this woman allows for changes in participation that have occurred in male roles as she has immigrated to America. But even though she suggests that a man might cook in America, she maintains that a male will not prepare the coffee for a coffee ceremony. As a result, I argue that this space is exclusive to women, a space in which a woman can exert power and control over her setting and environment.

Social Norms for Gendered Participation

Anchoring this argument in Soja's (1996) work in *thirdspace*, the discussion of male participation in the coffee ceremony became a space in which the women navigated social norms and expectations while exploring possibilities for the context. While critiquing the historical outside world of the ceremony, the women pushed to define gender roles based on prior experience with the appropriateness of male participation. Meanwhile, they clarified the shared

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perception of the age of a male's participation in the ceremony. It is acceptable for a male under a certain age to be present or participating in portions of the coffee ceremony.

A female's role in the preparation of coffee places her in a position of power. I was present when the photograph of the boy grinding the coffee was taken. The woman making the coffee was not related to the boy and she was deliberate in assigning him the task. It was his role and perhaps even duty to assist her in the most laborious aspect of the ceremony. The age of the male seems to contribute to her exertion of power.

This excerpt from a third group is a response consistent with the earlier excerpts, but it also generates an expression that reflects social position relative to gendered roles. The Ethiopian woman's societal role is an expression of the norms relative to her community and the expectations of male and female participation in the coffee ceremony within this context. Historical planes, including the history of the society, intersect personal and interpersonal planes. Gendered participation in the preparation of the coffee is once again limited to males performing the perceived arduous task of grinding the coffee.

This focus group was made up of three women, who met in the home of one of the women. Two of the women grew up together in Ethiopia, having met in high school. They later chose to live near one another in Arizona. The third woman participated in two focus groups. She was an Ethiopian refugee who had lived in Sudan and later came to the United States. There was a great feeling of respect among these women. They were very open and happy to talk about the

ceremony and began discussing what it means to them even before they were shown photographs. In this excerpt, the women introduce the concept of the male child showing honor or respect to his mother.

JB: What about this picture?

W7.2: It's okay for this boy. He helps his mom.

W7.1: They love her mom because he don't want to see her work too hard.

JB: Will he prepare the whole thing?

W7.2: Yes, the whole thing. Not when he's older. You know what happen is some women, some mothers only have boys. No girls. Only boys. So they don't have choice those boys to help their mom. They don't want to see their mom is like she don't have a girl to make a coffee. So she has to make the coffee all the time. So some boys they help. Just like a really good girl. Maybe sometimes better than the girls. Some boys make coffee up to age 15, 16. Those teenager boys. They help.

These women are the first and only participants to suggest that a boy might know the whole process of preparing the coffee, rather than just grinding the beans. The difference here is that the women suggest that the mothers may not have daughters, thus necessitating that a male child fill this role. The discussion of the coffee ceremony as a possible rite of passage for female children will be explored in chapter seven.

It is important to note that these women consistently generate expressions that reflect a clear delineation of the age in which a male prepares the buna. These

women also laugh at the possibility of a man preparing coffee though they have affirmed that a male child can do it.

JB: After that. Will a man prepare coffee?

W7.2: No. Really/

Long laughter

W7.2: You need that answer, Jennifer? Really?

Laughter

W7.1: Sometimes my son. What are you doing? I'm coming for buna. I have headache. If I tell him that he knows that I want coffee so he prepares everything.

JB: As a young boy. Not as a man?

W7.3: No, no, no.

Laughter

W7.2: Are you crazy? No way. Even the boys, sometimes what they do is they get it ready. They want to help mommy. So they gather everything to help her. It's just easy for mommy to sit down and do the coffee. Maybe roast the coffee. The up and down is harder for the mommy. She works hard at the Mercado. You've seen how the Mercado is. She has these little businesses. She's tired. Maybe she stayed to help somebody and she walked a long way. We don't have that much transportation. You know about that. So they come from that. She's tired, up and down. Making the coffee, washing the pans, all of this. Bringing everything is a little bit makes her more tired. She sats down and he brings everything closer to

her and he stays close to her to pass the coffee for the ladies. Collect the

cups again. Pass it, things like that.

JB: I see/

W7.2: So this is right/

JB: So he's a good boy?

W7.2: Oh yes! He's a blessed boy!

This third response triangulates the data to reinforce the important societal

role of a male in the preparation of buna. This may be viewed on a community

plan or within Gee's (2000) institutional perspective of identity formation as it

appears to be agreed that there is a clear distinction as to the age and role of a

male in the preparation of buna.

These responses become shared values that represent the appropriateness

of male or female children's engagement in the ritual. Important questions emerge

as a result, such as the following: Does the gendered role of doing the hard work

as an expression of love or being a blessed boy socialize a male in cultural norms

within the society? In my field work, fatherless adolescent males spoke of the

burden they feel in providing for their mother and siblings. There exists a social

practice that eldest male children are responsible for the watch care of their

mothers in the absence of a father. Perhaps this is perpetrated through simple acts

of doing the hard work in a day-to-day ritual.

Additionally, how might this notion of doing the hard work reinforce a

discourse of male dominance and power? My perception of male dominance is

grounded in the women's statements that a man is no longer welcomed as an

adult, even to do the hard work. Or does this reinforce a female position of power because a woman may enjoy having the help and support of a male child that she feels dominant over, rather than an older male that she would feel subservient to? Regardless, the absence of adult males in the coffee ceremony while younger males are accepted represents an important social practice in the routine ways of doing things.

The function of the social plane (Rogoff, 2003) in the development of the child acts as a catalyst for the development of gender identities that function in adulthood. Within this community, a male child can prepare or participate in aspects of preparation of the buna when he is living with his mother (or up to a given age) yet not when he is a grown man living with a wife. This seems to be an important feature of gender development and identity. The contrast between the women calling the male "blessed boy" to help his mother prepare the coffee and then laughter at the prospect of a man helping prepare coffee is a classic contradiction of a social expectation for male children.

In many ways, this reflects the argument that Chodorow (1978) makes that there may be greater gender identity confusion for male children because their roles and participation in the coffee ceremony change over time whereas female children never abandon the context of the coffee ceremony as they emerge into adulthood. A male child participates in order to help but abandons the practice with age. A female child helps throughout her life, even as an adult. In chapter seven, the coffee ceremony will be explored as a rite of passage for female participants.

It appears that male participation in traditional gendered roles may have changed as these women have come to the United States. Aside from the first two participants discussed in this chapter, all other participants agreed that the grinding of coffee is a job that boys and young men will participate in to show love and respect for their mother. It is an honor to do the hard work and relieve this burden from their mother and other women. Men may know the process of the preparation of the buna and could possibly even make it, but they do not do it and will not be present past a certain age, near their late adolescent years.

As the women in this study have migrated to Arizona, they have noted perceived changes of male participation in what may be viewed as female work in Ethiopia. They have expressed the changes while living in America as a positive change. It is something that one woman has embraced and appreciates. This particular woman has lived in the United States for ten years, has earned a bachelor's degree, and works as a registered nurse. She invited me to her home following a celebration at the church for her deceased mother's life. Though her husband, brothers, and father were not part of this study, they were very interested in the focus group that this woman formed.

While she was viewing the photographs, she volunteered to prepare the buna for me so I could see it done "properly". She didn't think I had photographs that properly represented what she wanted me to see. As she was preparing the coffee, she talked to me about her traditional Ethiopian wedding, for which she returned to Addis Ababa. She also was optimistic and enthusiastic about societal changes afforded to them in Arizona, that she and her husband have embraced.

JB: Are you happy here?

W5.2: Oh yeah! It's an interesting job. You know, you're helping people. You save life. I love saving other people. As I told you, I love it here because I stand for myself. I love it so much. I'll show you my wedding pictures. I went to school back home but this is different. I don't have to wash and cook and put the food on the table. I have machines. I pick whatever. Washers and dryers. We all have different life styles here/

The modern tools of culture, machines, are an important aspect of this woman's life becoming simplified. She loves having washers and dryers, things that help her to use less time for food preparation. Coffee is now ground using a machine rather than by hand. This completely eliminates what had been agreed to be the "appropriate" male role in the preparation of coffee.

In addition, the woman's most important statement may be "I stand for myself" here. With this statement, she appears to exert power and expand her ability to make choices. Her ever-dynamic identity development has now expanded as she is able to stand for herself.

We continued this exchange by discussing the typical nature of the life of a woman who lives in the countryside or in a rural area of Ethiopia. Her mother had grown up in a rural area and so her experience is primarily second hand through her mother's remembered past.

JB: What would a rural woman in Ethiopia say about being an Ethiopian woman?

W5.2: What I know is they would say they work hard. My dad he said in the rural area there is a farmer wife. She works inside the house and works in the farm/

JB: And even still she has coffee!

W5.2: Yeah. Sure! Everybody has the coffee. They all do and always will.

JB: So busy but still break for coffee?

W5.2: Definitely. Maybe they need a break. For me now, you make me to think more. Why do they do it? We see it every day and it's our culture. It's what we do. There's always time for coffee.

JB: You know, here we're too busy. Aren't these rural women busy?

W5.2: Yeah, they are busy. They cook every day. They cook for breakfast. They cook for the lunch, they cook for dinner. When my mom was here she cook all the time. She cook breakfast, she cook lunch fresh. She cook dinner. You eat every three meals different. At the same time she's a part of it. She has the coffee. Every day she has coffee here. But she doesn't have the neighbors here. Doing this. It's too much. She make her own little table and all of this stuff and she'd put it out. Buna, incense, everything. The thing is she doesn't bring on the floor. Here she doesn't have neighbors. Who is she going to drink with?

Hard work is an important theme that emerges in this rich text. Even when the woman's mother came to live in Arizona, she continued to work hard. She had new tools available to her to potentially simplify her work, yet she made meals

three times a day. For her mother, it seems that an important valued expression of her identity was hard work, perhaps a production of her life in the countryside.

The importance of participating with others and sharing the coffee in a social group will be discussed in the next chapter. However, the consistency of expressing the need for all of the important cultural tools is reiterated here with this woman. Even here in Arizona, it is valued to have the incense, everything to participate in the ceremony. The tools become an important feature of the women's identity and her sense of belonging to a larger whole. A sense of cultural identity is expressed through these mutually agreed upon practices.

JB: Did she like being here?

W5.2: First it was hard for her to be here by herself because she doesn't have her friends we all work she was here by herself. My dad he goes to work. She has the house to herself. She doesn't like this. And she sit here by herself. She doesn't like it. After a while she loved it. Then she got sick/

JB: She grew up rural?

W5.2: Oh yeah. Then she lived in the city for a long time. She went to school to grade nine. She can read. When she was sick she came here for a while and we were communicating with her with writing. My mom she learned to read and write so she was able to communicate with us. It's really good.

This last statement about her mother's education, the fact that she can read and write, ties back to the concern expressed by the two college students in this

study for the opportunity for female children being in school or studying rather than preparing coffee. I argue that education becomes an important feature of the empowerment of women both in Arizona and Ethiopia. In Ethiopia, females are primarily responsible for work related to the home, including preparing food and caring for children. However, this is something that the women in this study talked about changing as they came to America.

Ultimately, the important aspects pertaining to identity formation that emerged through the discussion of the preparation of buna included the material tools of culture used in the process and the attachment women have to the shared meaning that the tools represent. In addition, gendered practices relative to male and female roles in preparation are important contributors to social positioning and role expectations. And lastly, the changes in participation as the women have adapted to living in Arizona primarily consist of new tools, such as machines that simplify the work, and appreciation for the increased role-sharing of male partners.

In the next chapter, data pertaining to the questions regarding the process of participation in the ritual will be analyzed.

Chapter 7

Participation in the Ethiopian Coffee Ceremony

One night, while in Ethiopia, as I walked into the compound where I was staying, I saw my new friend, a maid, sitting in a tiny room with all the components of the coffee ceremony in front of her. My day had been spent trying to capture the way in which women participant in the ceremony and to observe the exchanges between the women. Frustration was bubbling over as ceremony after ceremony I had become a guest of honor, elevated on a higher chair, presented with a variety of foods, while I watched coffee ceremonies. There didn't seem to be authenticity in the nature of participation in the coffee ceremonies I observed. Instead, I was becoming an expert at learning to prepare the buna.[2]

As I passed this woman sitting low on the floor, fanning the flames, I recognized the important elements and asked if I could take her photo. She was dressed in blue jeans, a tee shirt, and a pink Spalding jacket: American clothes bought at the bi-weekly marketplace. (See photograph number ten in Appendix A). And she was sitting all alone. When I entered, she enthusiastically motioned for me to sit and join her. I honored her request but refused the buna. Yet she drank. At last, perhaps? Had she prepared the buna in anticipation of a guest so that she could partake herself? Is it appropriate to drink alone?

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[2] In retrospect, I see that this experience of observing coffee ceremonies reflects a strong shared value of honoring guests. The space became a context to show me hospitality.

Coffee as an Important Time for Socialization

This photograph has elicited interesting responses in answer to my queries and it has led me to examine the communal nature of this context. As the two youngest participants in my research insisted, buna is to be enjoyed in a group setting, being together is more enjoyable and a truer reflection of culture:

JB: Can you drink alone?

W1.2: No/

W1.1: Not really. No/

JB: Why?

W1.2: It's bad/

W1.1: It's no fun/

W1.2: The culture… it's meant to take time, sipping and talking, you know/

W1.1: I think that's why they make it so tiny so you can do it so many times and it takes longer. And it's very strong too. Yeah, you can make it 3 times and dilute it as it goes.

JB: So this woman, (the photo) I saw her, she had prepared it. Was just sitting/

W1.1: She was doing it by herself? No one was coming?

JB: Yeah/

W1.2: That surprises me. That's not normal/

W1.1: It's a social event/

JB: Was she waiting?

W1.2: It's like going to the movie by yourself. Some people might thinks that's okay. It's weird.

It's interesting that one of the women in this exchange draws upon a cultural practice she has learned or observed in American culture of the expected norms for attending a movie to illustrate the meaning making of drinking buna. She used going to a movie to describe a social practice she had learned in Arizona to compare the purpose of the coffee ceremony. As far as she is concerned, going to a movie is to be a shared experience, just like coffee. This places the discussion within the community plane, which emphasizes the shared history of the women. The expectation of drinking buna together rather than alone implies a social expectation and reinforces the gathering as an important time for socialization. Further, this magnifies the possibilities for the intersection of planes of development in a dramatic way. The history of the woman intersects with her personal beliefs and values. The shared practices create a cultural community that spans generations (Rogoff, 2003).

The richness of the meaning of the ritual is enhanced as an individual takes what is valued from the past (or participation in past communities) and applies it in the present (and to participation in present communities). For these women it is a time to feel a sense of belonging rather than seclusion. As Ethiopian women, they enjoy knowing everyone and feeling that others are friendly toward them. They express as much in the following excerpt:

JB: So for an Ethiopian, it's really important to have others?

W1.1: Oh yeah/

W1.2: It's not just important, it's typical, like everywhere you go, you have to know your neighbors. Everyone is so friendly. It's not like America where you're like, oh you know. Secluded/

For these two women, knowing their neighbors and feeling a sense of community is what makes Ethiopia special. When referring to their present surroundings in Arizona, they indicate a feeling of isolation or seclusion because they have not established close bonds with their neighbors. When I probed further on this issue, they had not made significant efforts to become acquainted with their neighbors, perhaps an implication of not feeling comfortable or perhaps an unwillingness to make the effort?

Though most of the women in this study acknowledged that they prefer to drink in a social setting, one participant responded that she enjoys the practice of buna in solitude. It is important to note, however, that she admitted that she does not participate in the ceremony properly by doing so. This participant was one of four women who work together in a local café. Her hired position in the café is a waitress and her relationship to the other women was created through employment. She was the only participant in this group that was not related to the others and the only one who did not live in the capital of Addis Ababa while living in Ethiopia. In each of my meetings with her, I found her to be less expressive than the other women and she didn't speak up as often as the other women. This may be an indication of her personality. She expressed her thoughts about drinking coffee alone as follows:

JB: Will you drink coffee alone?

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W2.3: Is she drinking alone? It's okay. When I work I make it in the morning and then I go/

JB: You prepare it like this?

W2.3: Yeah. But I don't need all of this. Only one cup.

JB: She has many cups.

W2.3: Maybe she wait for others. I don't do it properly. I just pour it. For me, I don't care about the ceremony I just drink coffee.

For this woman drinking coffee appears to be about the coffee itself and not so much about the social aspect of the ceremony. The consumption of coffee has been recognized as an important social event in various cultures and contexts. It's no different for Ethiopian women. Gathering for buna is a time of socialization, a time to be together and to talk. This is a context in which a woman can speak openly about her life, her children, her relationships, and the lives of other women in her community. It is a time where she may seek to solve her problems or the problems of others. Four of the focus groups talked about this time as a time to be "free." Using rich texts from the focus group transcripts, I explore what "free" might mean to these women.

In approaching how women participate in the Ethiopian coffee ceremony, I first explored the findings relative to the purpose of gathering for buna. I considered the social aspects of the gathering, as well as religious or other special occasions, and what women named inappropriate participation in the ceremony. For the purposes of the study of identity formation, it's also important to discuss the changes in participation over time for individual women as they progress

through their lifespan. I focused this study on central questions with the intention

of exploring the way women responded to these questions. As was indicated in

the previous chapter, I did not ask the women these questions in a particular order.

In fact, some questions were not covered in every exchange because (a) I chose to

follow the women's lead as their focus revealed what was important to them or

(b) the response to the question had been revealed without a prompt. Instead, the

questions acted as an important guide to the discussions and were useful in

organizing the coding schemes for the data. The questions were as followed:

> Who can participate in the coffee ceremony?

> When does the ceremony take place?

> What is the purpose of gathering?

> What sorts of things are talked about? Are traditional or family stories
> told? Songs sung?

> How does this contribute to who you want to be as a woman?

> Can you drink coffee by yourself?

Who Can (or Cannot) Participate in Buna?

As mentioned previously, males and females alike participate in the

ceremony at various times in the day. Buna is often prepared three times a day.

The first and second preparations include the whole family, including males. The

focus of this study has been centered upon the coffee ceremony as a time and

space for women. This time was typically the second coffee ceremony of the day

when men were at work or performing tasks. Ultimately, anyone can participate in

the coffee ceremony, as it is an important cultural practice and is often used in

tourist type contexts throughout Ethiopia. However many participants indicated that they enjoyed the time when it was just for women.

Inappropriate Behaviors for Buna

In addition to gender influencing participants, engaging in certain behaviors may prohibit a woman from future participation in the ceremony. When I piloted the questions with a small group in a café, one of the women began to talk about a zar spirit. As she spoke, she became more and more upset and continued to confirm how much she did not like this practice. The zar spirit is associated with an ancient religious practice based upon the belief that God had punished the most beautiful children of Adam and Eve by making them invisible and causing them to remain upon the earth. On occasion, the coffee ceremony is used to conjure and worship these spirits (Edelstein, 2002). The participants in this study were all Christian. Several participants indicated that the practice of zar spirits is not consistent with their Christian practices.

Although all participants are Christian, one participant was from the Oromo tribe, and she claimed that the practice of zar spirit is more typical amongst Amhara people. The Oromo tribe in Ethiopia has two conflicting stories of their origins. One is that they have existed in the country as natives of Ethiopia for centuries. The other claims that the Oromo tribe is a pastoral group that migrated to Ethiopia from southeast Africa some 400 years ago. The religious practices of this group are not aligned with the traditional Coptic Ethiopian Orthodox Church (Hussein, 2002). Therefore, the Oromo tribe faces ethnic clashes that are a source of social distress and conflict. The conflict has created

social tensions pertaining to which tribe is native to Ethiopia and has claim to the country (see, Gashaw, 1993; Abbink, 1995; Hussein, 2002).

There are rich oral traditions and rituals amongst the Oromo tribe, including belief in the Kalu spirit. The Kalu spirit will be explained later. It is argued that these traditions are becoming diluted as Oromos mingle with other tribes in Ethiopia.

This particular participant is a refugee whose father was killed by the government. She has advanced through educational achievements (obtaining a Master's in Business Administration) while here in the United States and has expressed great passion for the retention of her Oromo practices. She has also exhibited a strong political stance for her people. Many times in our interview she expressed her feelings that the Amhara people dominate and influence culture in Ethiopia. Amhara is one of the largest tribes in Ethiopia.

Drawing upon my field notes from my interview with this woman, I next describe the practice that she talked about when I asked her about the zar spirit. She would not consent to a digital voice recording of our conversation but obliged my request for an interview and shared great insights, including the following:

Amongst the Oromo people there is a practice called "Kalu" which is not related to religion nor is it a Christian practice. Accordingly, an individual that is born with the Kalu spirit is honored with great respect and believed to be highly favored and talented. A possessor of the Kalu spirit has God as their guide in all that they do. There is typically only one person in a village that possesses this spirit and it is expected that they are worshipped for their special powers. To

maintain their powers and not diminish them, they abstain from goat meat, and may behave as an orthodox Christian but may not live consistent with the practices of the religion in their private lives. Oromo may believe in Kalu and worship them through a coffee ceremony (From interview field notes, member checked by the participant, 2011).

The Kalu spirit is explored in religious studies literature, which argues that the spirit is a representative of God on earth. The follow excerpt from Hussein (2002) explains some of the practices associated with the Kalu spirit. The purpose of including it is to illustrate possible parallels in ritualized practices such as the use of incense in the ceremony, belief in spirits, and the significance of specific places.

> He (Kalu) is a religious and ritual expert who has a special relationship with the "Ayyana," which possesses him/her at regular intervals. The office of the "Kalu" had been playing an effective role in the Gada System. For instance, during the fifth year of the Gada period, the Gada class in power honors the "Kalu" by taking gifts and making their pledges of reverence. There is an anointment ceremony made when one Gada grade passes to the next carried out by the "Kalu." During the public meeting of the communities, several "Kalus" will be there to open and close meetings through blessings. "Kalus" also receive and embrace new born children give them blessings, butter their heads and give them names [Knustsson, 67]

The place of worship of "Kalu" ritual house is called "Galma." Each

Galma is usually located on hill top, hill side, or in a groove of large trees.

(The Ethiopian Orthodox Church buildings or Mosques took up many of

these sites in place). Places of worship include besides large bodies of

water, by the side of big mountains, or stones.

The believers visit for worship twice a week, usually on Thursday and

Saturday nights. At this time, the followers dance, sing and beat drums to

perform a ritual called "dalaga" in order to achieve a state of ecstasy,

which often culminates in possession. It is at the height of this that the

possessing Ayyana speaks through the Kalu's mouth and can answer

prayers and predict the future [Ambachew, 23] Religious Oromos often

make pilgrimages to some of the great "Kalu" and religious centers such

as Arsi Abba Mudda (father of anointment). Among the Borona (an

Oromo group in the Southern tip of Ethiopia) pilgrimages are still

common. Pilgrimage is very holy and the pilgrims walk to the place (about

500 miles) of Abba Mudda (the father of anointment) with a stick in one

hand and carrying myrrh (incense).

All Oromos through whose village the pilgrims pass are obliged to give

them hospitality. As the Mecca Muslims are called "Haj" among the

Muslims, these Mudda pilgrims are called "Jiia"[Hassen, 9] (Hussein,

2002, p. 10).

This excerpt explores the practice and the details of the ritual associated

with the Kalu. Though the women were not able to give me details of the zar

spirit, understanding what one woman recognized as a similar practice helps to provide an historical view on the meaning a ritual of Ethiopia. The coffee ceremony is not addressed in this explanation of Kalu, other than assuming that it may be included in offering hospitality, as the coffee ceremony is a key expression of hospitable behavior.

Incense is also talked about in this worship of the Kalu spirit. All of the women who participated in this study insisted that incense, or smoke, as they called it, was a necessary element of the ceremony. Though none of the women in this study were able to identify the purpose of the incense in the ceremony, they all agreed that it was a necessary component. As is often the case in rituals, the incense may have a connection to the ancient ritual of worshipping Kalu and reflect an underpinning of other rituals native to Ethiopia. Hussein (2002) does not specifically address the coffee ceremony in the worshipful ritual of the Kalu but does identify important aspects of the ritual that represent religious practices that I have observed in Ethiopia. I argue that the tradition of buna represents elements of other traditions in Ethiopia, including the coffee ceremony, and makes room for further research on the breadth of rituals in Ethiopia.

Though there was only one participant that talked about Kalu, others responded to the superstitious practice of fortune telling. All participants agreed that a photo I had mistaken for a woman acknowledging that she had finished her coffee was actually a depiction of a fortune telling ritual. (See photo number 18 in Appendix A). They indicated that it is done at the end of the coffee ceremony,

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primarily in villages or the countryside thus implying a hierarchical structure by *othering* the practice.

The women explained that after the completion of the third cup of coffee, a woman who claims to possess the gift of seeing the future will pour the residue of her coffee onto a saucer and examine it. She carefully studies the pattern left by the residue to make predictions of the future lives of the other women present. An example of a reading might be that if there is a big hole in the residue of the coffee, death will affect that woman soon. "I don't believe it" was the most common response to this practice.

The woman from the Oromo tribe spoke of a woman in her village when she was growing up who acted as the community fortune teller. She remembers watching the woman quietly observe the happenings of the town and then makes predictions according to her perceptions of the desires of the women in the coffee ceremonies. Through this woman's eyes, this became a financial venture for the fortune telling woman, as others gave her money for her predictions.

All participants agreed that this is a practice that they do not engage in and that if a woman did this at a coffee ceremony, she would not be invited back. I argue that this creates a space for examining caste systems in Ethiopia. Viewing this practice through a lens of "cultural capital" (Arzubiaga, et al., 2008, p. 313) provides a framework for examining a cultural practice that some of the women accept while others reject it. Because power is not evenly distributed among a cultural community, some members of the community (such as the women in this study who are primarily from urban areas) have opportunity to mediation

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practices that others do not. As the women explained that the practice of fortune telling was only done in the countryside or even among non-Christian women, they create a binary that empowers them with an acceptable social norm that they expect will not be understood in a rural area. The insistence that the practice is unacceptable places the fortune telling woman in a predicament that would cause her to have to adapt or be considered as a woman with less agency. It seems the practice may be viewed as acceptable to the woman who took her photograph in Ethiopia. The question arises as to whether fortune telling was actually taking place or if it was posed.

When I conducted the preliminary photo study and collected photographs, I was not focused on the coffee ceremony and the participants who took photos in Ethiopia could not have known that buna would become the activity within the research project. Therefore, I contend that the woman in the photograph was actually reading a fortune in the residue. Just as the woman who climbed up the wall (Holland, et. al, 1998) had to adapt to the social expectation within her environment, it would be interesting to see how this woman would adapt to a coffee ceremony with the women who participated in this study. Yet the woman from the Oromo tribe admitted that she believes the practice is harmless, and she suspects that everybody has tried it at some point in time, though they may not admit it.

A Time to be Free

One of the earliest responses to the coffee ceremony by women in Ethiopia was that it was their time to be free. "Free" has many implications and it

is important to examine what the participants said when they used this expression. All participants agreed that this is an important time for women to gather and socialize. The ceremony may happen as many as three times in a day and traditionally with the same group of women. These groups consist of neighbors and family that live in close proximity.

Oftentimes, the women organize a rotation for hosting buna so that they can take turns preparing it. With the absence of men and the ability to be in control of the setting, the women are able to speak openly about the happenings of their lives. Many women in Ethiopia have great demands in their lives and few opportunities to express personal choices or empowerment. Therefore, I argue that "free" is an implication of a shared *thirdspace* (Soja, 1996) in which a woman can exercise her agency as she chooses, where she can enter her own thoughts and negotiate history, space, and time, with the intersection of history, social world, and self. The coffee ceremony is a space of possibilities, a time and place to explore what it means to the women to be free.

The principle of *thirdspace* pushes this discussion to an examination of a deeper concept. Soja explains the principles of *thirdspace* in the following way:

> *Thirdspace* itself . . . is rooted in just such a recominatorial and radically open perspective. In what I will call a critical strategy of "thirding-as-Othering", I try to open up our spatial imaginaries to ways of thinking and acting politically that responds to all binarisms, to any attempt to confine thought and political action to only two alternatives, by interjecting an-Other set of choices. In this critical thirding, the original binary choice is

not dismissed entirely but is subjected to a creative process of restructuring that draws selectively and strategically from the two opposing categories to open new alternatives . . . *Thirdspace* too can be described as a creative recombination and extension, one that builds on a Firstspace perspective that is focused on the "real" material world and a Secondspace perspective that interprets this reality through "imagined" representations of spatiality (p. 5).

Within this framework then, I argue that a woman's ability to intersect her physical world, the social norms and values of the ceremony, and her own imagination creates a space, a *thirdspace* that is ripe with possibilities. For the purpose of this study, this pushing and extending to a new *thirdspace* will be referenced as "being free."

For example, a group of four women who recently arrived in Arizona described the coffee ceremony as a space for talking about whatever they want to. The intersection of gathering with the constructs of the specific tools necessary for the ritual and the freedom to speak openly create a *thirdspace*.

W9.1: They just talk the whole time/

W9.2: Most coffee ceremony the goal is not about a set of people to talk some issues. It's not organization. Whatever you want. Men say too much talk.

W9.1: Not too much talk!

W9.2: I love it!

W9.1: We talk about everything! Any topic.

A space to talk, though they may be told by men that they talk too much, opens up a context for free expression. They work against the binary of being told by men that they talk too much versus women feeling they can speak openly. They push against pressures of being judged or oppressed by the how much they talk, as a discourse of being silenced, versus feeling free to talk as they wish. The coffee ceremony allows them to push beyond these binaries and speak as they wish. They create a new space for open expression. As they are able to escape oppression of expression, freedom is explored and enjoyed.

Often the women (both in Ethiopia and Arizona) said they gossip in the coffee ceremony. Gossip conjured a negative connotation for me, necessitating that I probe to explore the meaning the women in this study attribute to gossip. They all agreed that gossip is not malicious but rather a time to talk about what's happening in the lives of others. For some it is a time to sort through problems and to be heard.

Two of the women in this focus group are lifelong friends, having attended high school together in Ethiopia. Each came separately to the United States, and initially lived in North Carolina and Arizona. They have worked to be able to live in the same neighborhood in Arizona. When I asked them the purpose of the coffee ceremony, they expressed the following beautiful sentiments which illustrate the bond and sisterhood that is often formed in buna circles as women seek to solve one another's problems and communicate freely. As the women draw upon tradition to re-create meaningful experiences, they express a sense of

well-being that contribute to the use of the word "free" in describing this experience.

The remembered pasts of the two women creates a space for nurturing, openness, and support. In this excerpt the women discuss the meaning they make of the coffee ceremony. They also explore their values and in important ways express their core identities (Gee, 2000).

> W7.3: It's a day-to-day thing. Yeah. Sometimes if you ask like a guest, they have special treatment, I have to make you coffee. If you come in my door and I make you coffee, that means you are special to us, you are dear to us. So coffee shows, firstly, how close you are. Like if you say that so and so is a member of my coffee ceremony there is a place like, the culture makes the people more close. But if you say that it makes people more closer to one another. So if you say that it makes you closer, it's a way to communicate means like death, sickness, every communication that like you communicate to each other. All the same things come through that. It's also a way to air with each other. Like if I have a problem we don't have those psychiatry or something to tell us so that is the way to treat each other you know. If I have a problem, we just talk about it and the other ladies tell you a solution. You know?
>
> JB: Oh/
>
> W7.3: There is really good things behind it. Some people say that is there gossip with the coffee. To me it might have because when people get together they might talk or gossip about somebody or one of their

members or something. But to me, I give much more value to those things. Like what would happen to us if we did not have that thing together? There's all those kind of hardships in life, you know. Especially on the women. The life is so much stressful. So the women there really trust in that. They need that in that time. So you need the mourning, the death. In the small neighborhood you have to keep the coffee ceremony.

Being able to really "trust in" the coffee ceremony as a time to rest from their labors and feel support from other women is an important social feature of the ceremony. The Ethiopian coffee ceremony is an important time for women to talk, to socialize with other women. I sense that this is what the expression "being free" means to the women; they appear to be free from the burdens of their lives. In this context they are free to explore the inner dimensions of their lives and perhaps even exert power where they may feel powerless elsewhere.

This argument for freedom within context aligns with the argument bell hooks (1991) makes on the inner narrative of a woman. When experiencing voices of oppression, the women are able to go to a space in their imagined and figured world that enables freedom from the shackles of their environment. In a dialogic way, the women of Ethiopia in the coffee ceremony are able to escape oppression or the demands of their lives with an openness that may not be afforded in other contexts. Through the coffee ceremony they are able to give open expression to the inner workings of their thoughts while escaping discourses of oppression or demands of time. In this time just for women they can relate to those that share their burdens and to those that care for them. The context

becomes an important agentic experience of a figured world in which the roles and values of women are pressed to a new dimension (Holland, et. al., 1998).

As a result of my interaction with these women throughout the study, I have been invited to participate in their coffee ceremonies as a friend. In one of these settings, I quietly observed the women watch their male children interact together. The boys were playing hide-and-go-seek in the backyard. While watching them through the window, the women began to talk about what it meant to them to raise sons that would be good men, and they explored the challenges of raising their sons in Arizona. One of the women turned to me and said that what she does not like about America is how she feels when she tries to express her problems to people. She told me that an Ethiopian woman understands that part of her social responsibility is to share the burdens of other women. She concluded that she believes the problems of America rest upon the lack of interest in others and a focus on the self.

For this woman, her identity is very much associated with her social world and the interactions she has with other women. A sense of community and belonging to a social group with shared practices contributes significantly to her sense of self as a good Ethiopian woman. In many ways, the dialogical self emerges in her dynamic cultural community as she expresses the contradictions she faces as she lives in a new country while seeking to retain her historical self. The agency she exerts in her social world encompasses and intersects her shared practices of caring for and nurturing the women in her life as she navigates a new social world.

In exploring the women's remembered past (Garro, 2001), this same group of women shared a specific situation in which the women rallied to assist a woman with a troubled son. This narrative captures the essence of the Sisterhood (hooks, 1986) and camaraderie enjoyed among neighbors and families that gather consistently in coffee circles.

JB: So will you tell me what they talked about? As a little girl, you heard it/

W7.2: I don't really, you know what. Because when I sit in that couch I was in a hurry to finish and leave them in there.

W7.3: Sometimes I had a reason, like this lady she was close to us. An old lady. She had one boy and he died and she had to raise her sick son and he was a trouble maker like an alcoholic. She had to raise him. Whenever she comes over she has to tell them what happened last night. He came to the house late/

W7.2: He drunk/

W7.3: And she would . . . everyone would always try to encourage her. The way she talks about it she wasn't mad at the situation she just let it out. The other ladies were so supportive to tell her that he will be changed. He will be changed. Now that lady, she lived for a very long time. She passed away just recently. So sometimes you just feel like the way that they support each other, like the thing that he was doing was a lot, you know. He come home like two in the morning. He doesn't go to sleep right away, he just bang on the door. And screams at her and do all these things.

But the ladies were helping her. Some of them if they were like if their husbands were trouble, those neighbors around them in the coffee ceremony they would help each other. They help the kids, send them food, you know. To you the coffee members are free to do anything. Sometimes you cry. And I'm so touched with their life you know. Mostly they talk about themselves. What happened in the community. Sometimes they talk about political issues. The government kind of thing/

W7.2: About the church. A lot of things they talk about. Did you hear someone's sick? Someone had a baby? Something like that. Somebody has a really hard time, they need help. They talk about light things too.

In many ways, the expression of being free within the coffee ceremony is a shared practice of speaking openly. The shared values of the ceremony revolve around a sense of being in a safe place. *Thirdspace* affords the women the ability to choose to communicate deep feelings and needs, while presenting them with the potential of a life absent of social constraints, such as work or oppression, that stifles openness. Being free is an important tool of culture that returns the women to this setting, both physically and mentally, through reminiscing, even as they participate in Arizona. Women are able to be active agents engaged in the active production of their social world (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998).

In this excerpt, the women rally to listen and help another woman with a struggle. They are interested in solving her problem. The context also encourages openness for any other dialogues. It is a space that may serve for open expression, for unwinding, unwavering support, and encouragement.

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Additionally, the way the women participate in the coffee ceremony is something that they have been socialized and taught to do from the time they were small girls. The spatialized lens of the buna ceremony creates a perspective for examining changes in participation over time throughout a female's lifespan. This dynamic view of identity formation intersects three planes and brings the history to the present.

Changes in Participation Over Time: A Rite of Passage?

As I asked participants what was talked about in the coffee ceremony, many remembered their childhood participation in the ceremony. Though some had been adult women while living in Ethiopia, they were interested in remembering what their mothers or grandmothers talked about rather than what they had talked about. The coffee ceremony is rich with experiences in which a woman's participation changes throughout her lifespan. It is a time when women teach their daughters and other young women what it means to be an Ethiopian woman.

Adults often think that children do not hear grown up conversations. Yet women remember the conversations that were not intended for young ears. For example, Rogoff (2011) discusses the way in which young children learn their role as midwives. Rogoff describes a young girl who was nurtured and raised to become a midwife. As a seven-year-old child, the woman remembers being in the room where a woman was giving birth. She was expected to be asleep, yet she heard and watched the process. This experience contributed powerfully to her learning to be a midwife.

Children listen to and observe adults to learn many things. Although children in western societies may not participate in intent learning in their classrooms, this is the way they acquire their first language. Intent learning refers to a learning process that is informal in nature and involves a novice listening to an expert while the novice pitches in to help with day-to-day activities. This method of learning is also an important means for the socialization of children in family traditions and community cultures (Rogoff, 2011). I argue that intent learning plays a key role in the socialization of Ethiopian women's becoming experts in the preparation and participation of buna.

Telling stories to children. It was within this context in Ethiopia that the two college age participants learned the dreams their grandmother had for them. As a powerful woman (in the eyes of her granddaughters), she transferred a sense of empowerment and gratitude to her granddaughters through stories of their foremother traveling on the back of a crocodile to escape oppression. Their ancestor was the only family member of seven siblings that survived the crocodile.

W1.1: Our family is fifth generation village people and lived there for so long. Grandmother would say "Your grandmother came from the village, she like swam the river and all seven children got eaten by crocodiles." She legitimately like "All seven children were eaten by crocodiles but not her. You are so lucky".

Laughs

JB: Were they really eaten by crocodiles?

W1.1: I really believe it.

W1.2: Honestly. Everyone says the same story. All seven kids got eaten by crocodiles!

JB: Will you tell that story?

W1.1: Probably/

W1.2: Probably. Seriously!

Examining the theme of this story (McAdams, 2001, 2004) provides a natural context for the examination of values. Telling stories and narratives of one's past is an important process of identity formation. For example, Dien's telling of her own life story helped her to recognize cultural identities and make sense of her own life trajectory (Dien, 2000). Her sense of self-identity emerged in her examination of values and beliefs embodied in a story or narrative. The following excerpt from Dien illustrates the use of stories in examining values and beliefs:

Various psychologists have defined self-identity as a life story. For example, McAdams

defines a life story as "an internalized narrative integration of past, present, and anticipated future which provides lives with a sense of unity and purpose" . . . Hermans, Kempen, and van Loon in discussing the dialogical self also state that "people have told each other stories and listened to stories in all cultures at all times. In doing so, people arrive at an understanding and ordering of the world and the self". As one tells and

retells one's life story, one's personal identity gets revised. This is part of our ongoing meaning-making process. (Dien, 2000, p. 4)

For the two participants in my study, the grandmother's retelling of the crocodile tale may represent an important aspect of the family and group identity while contributing significantly to the individual identities of those that hear the tale. Not only was the grandmother who travelled on the back of a crocodile impacted by her own lived experience but her posterity also now embraces the story as their own. It appears that the grandmother wanted to instill within her granddaughters an identity based on empowerment through overcoming a ferocious creature in a tricky way. The granddaughters are the two participants whom I found to be the most outspoken and confident in their expressions. In many ways, the telling of the story of the crocodiles reflects "Wisdom Sits In Places," in which a mother and her sisters tell the stories of the locations, the physical places, to perpetrate the important values of the community. The women want their daughters to sustain the traditions and values embodied in the telling of the tale. For these two women, the crocodiles became a source of empowerment.

The two Ethiopian sisters' grandmother also utilized this setting to teach her granddaughters to always look nice because "You never know who you will meet." The value of looking nice or appropriate infers an expectation of a social encounter that requires a demonstration of proper appearance. These women indicated that their grandmother wouldn't let them leave the house without looking nice, that there may be a possibility of them meeting someone (like a man) that would improve their lives. Ochs and Shohet (2006) suggest that what is

talked about in such contexts provides an important framework for the

socialization of children. Emphasis on appearing nice at all times germinates an

identity for the females. Exploring conversations is an important reflection of

values passed down generationally.

In addition to the story of the crocodiles and the emphasis on how they

present themselves, this empowered and strong grandmother taught her

granddaughters to plan for marriage and emphasized that their marriage should be

to a proper Ethiopian man. Any other man would be secondary. Because of this

co-constructed social identity, the two young women have chosen to retain these

values. However, as can be seen in the following excerpt, they do feel conflicted

in trying to live what they believe is a feminist perspective in their new, modern,

university lifestyles.

> W1.2: Everyone's like be you, be you! Do your own thing. You know? So
>
> you're like . . . it's harder. It's harder. But you think, oh. I'm supposed to
>
> be unique. Figure it out. Sometimes I think what's wrong being like that. I
>
> want to have children. I want to be secure with a husband. And like here
>
> they're like "Why do you need a man to be secure?" and you're like
>
> "ahhhh." It makes me super confused. But you know that's what makes
>
> you happier. But you have to question that yourself and you don't have an
>
> answer. I wish I never knew. You know this feminist thing. You just go
>
> along with it but I want a husband.
>
> JB: You wish you'd never heard of feminism?
>
> W1.2: Sometimes no/

JB: Do you feel like you need to be a feminist to be a good Ethiopian American?

W1.2: Um. (long pause)

JB: Hard question?

W1.2: Nobody says it outright but I think a lot about it/

JB: Do you talk to each other about it?

W1.1: About the confusion?

W1.2: Yeah we talk about it. We have our school/

W1.1: We've made our choice and stuff about what we're going to do/

W1.2: You still want kids/

W1.1: You still want kids/

W1.2: Especially a husband to take care of you/

W1.1: I know I'm going to pharmacy school and I know it's a far way and it's like, oh my gosh. When is this going to be over? I can't have that for a long time?

W1.2: Do you ever feel that way? Like you're being rushed/

Though the developmental tugs of negotiating expectations discovered in a new social world may be expressed by any university student, this is especially poignant as these immigrant women wrestle not only with natural developmental issues in a changing world but in a new world, far from the traditions of their homeland and mothers. Has the neo-feminism they are learning placed them on the back of a crocodile?

This excerpt focuses on the expectations instilled in the young Ethiopian girls by their grandmother, expectations of marriage and motherhood, living a life focused on others rather than on themselves. These expectations embody what many of the women identified as the qualities of a good Ethiopian woman. Yet for these two university students, the tug and conflict of feminism poses a challenge that they've yet to reconcile.

The literature on the dialogical self (Hermans, 2001), addresses the difficulty of navigating the expectations of the historical world of Ethiopia with the adaptations of a new world. This theoretical framework enables the women to negotiate the multiplicity of positions created by day-to-day situations. Agency is activated as they make decisions to adapt to new settings according to their social practices and norms. Drawing upon the tools of culture used in socialization, they will eventually negotiate the challenge of completing an education and building a career. This particular excerpt illustrates the struggle within dialogism in maintaining a group's identity in a circumstance that requires adaptation.

Change in participation over time As this study progressed, it became apparent that the coffee ceremony is an important context for the development of female identity. Reviewing the process and change in participation over time revealed what appears to be a rite of passage for Ethiopian females as their identity forms. As the female re-forms herself by participating in the historical context of the coffee ceremony, she develops dynamically with her involvement and roles.

Ultimately, the dynamic cultural worlds experience a collision in "glocalization" (Kraidy, 1999, p. 471) . As different cultural logics collide, the women learn to navigate the different circumstances. Rogoff (2011) uses this example in her study of the Mayan community. When adolescents were faced with choices, some said they were facing an "identity crisis." A native midwife argued that this wasn't the case when she was their age and that this was the result of changes in the cultural community. The same seems to be the case for the two Ethiopian sisters.

This shared cultural community is an important space for identity formation. Expectations for the practices and activities relative to the community are instilled and impressed on developing females. From the time a girl is born, she is nurtured in this context and in the extension of the shared practices that reach into the social world. For example, as the women express in the following excerpt, it is not uncommon for a woman to leave her children with another woman, with no concern to leave diapers or food. She knows that her neighbor will care for the child as she would. The possibility of abuse or harm to the child is not an issue. There is a tender tradition of trust among Ethiopian women.

W7.3: In Ethiopia if I am going somewhere. I don't care who. I don't care, me. If you are in my neighborhood, I will leave my child with you. I don't give you food, I don't give you diaper, I don't give you anything. You know. You will take care of my baby/

W7.2: She just take care of her kids/

W7.3: Like they are her own. And when I get back, she ask me the next time, I will do the same thing for her. You know. So you feel like you are related from being a little kid and being around the social people, that's why Ethiopians, they are not afraid of strangers/

W7.3: And we don't really . . . you hear here those abuse things those especially children and things. We hear on the news and we think. I just say we are blessed. Blessed with God, you know.

W7.3: Um hum/

W7.2:.You think my mom she leaves us with the neighborhood and we are playing outside while the lady watches us nothing happen in my life. I never hear other kids stolen. Or little kids stolen or little kids raped. I never hear it. I never hear it in all my life. All kids are playing outside. Nothing happen the whole 12 hours. Mommy gone the time and come back safe. And we're okay. We are blessed all the time. We are blessed, God is blessing us. That's what I believe.

These feelings of safety, belonging, and unity seem to be a production of a community with shared values and beliefs that promote the nurturing and care for all children. In my field work, it was not uncommon to see Ethiopian travel companions take the hand of a small child they did not know and talk to them, give them a treat, or show them affection. Often I would ask how they knew the child, only to discover they had just seen them for the first time. This is in sharp contrast to the experiences these women have had as they have come to Arizona.

Rogoff (2003) describes how together, community members participate in everyday long-term and shared knowledge development. Learning and development happens for a young child throughout her lifespan as she observes what is happening around her and as she contributes to the process. Rogoff (2003, 2011) observed this practice among Mayan midwives, in weaving, and in other Western learning environments. The framework she developed for studying intent community participation includes examining the motives of the learners and teachers, the process by which people learn, social organization, communication, goals of education (or learning), and assessment.

The identity development of an Ethiopian woman while participating in the community practice of the coffee ceremony draws upon each of these features. Though intentional teaching may not be the goal, it appears to be the outcome. For instance, a young girl is present at the coffee ceremony from the time she is a baby. Most of the women in this study said that they were never directly taught how to make the coffee but learned by participating and observing. This is similar to Rogoff's description of Mayan children learning to weave. The young girls are eager to belong to the community and seek agentic ways in which they can contribute. Often, mothers and women allow the children to participate by experimenting with their own weavings.

In a comparable way, the women in the coffee ceremony learned to participate and prepare buna. For the Ethiopian women, the process of learning in a group, rather than in isolation enhanced the meaning of the coffee ceremony. The social aspect of the ceremony has taken on greater dimensions as it now has

become an environment for learning to perpetrate generational traditions. Of course, adaptations have come as the women in this study have experienced changes, at times, due to their migration to the United States.

For example, one woman described the rejection she felt as her Arizona neighbors refused to look at her or allow their children to communicate with her. However, through her persistent efforts to be friendly, she created a close bond with the family and continues to stay in touch with them, though they have moved to a neighboring state. This emphasizes the sociocultural complexity experienced by the woman as she drew upon her historical past in navigating a new present, a present that is not inclusive of shared meaning making. Yet through her persistent efforts, she was able to gain acceptance in her new social world.

In addition, the developmental process of an Ethiopian woman seems to include learning to be an active participate in the lives of others. Though the learning is informal, it surfaces as an important purpose in the coffee ceremony. The coffee ceremony is an important, dynamic context for socializing. It is also a context that allows women to participate in different ways over time.

I begin the next section by exploring the earliest ages of reported participation in the coffee ceremony, followed by the trajectory of a woman's lived experience as participation changes throughout her lifespan. I argue that this important developmental aspect demonstrates a rite of passage for a female Ethiopian as she advances in years and maturity. The ritual of the coffee ceremony is reported to flourish when she hosts her own coffee ceremony either when she has married or lives in a home of her own. She is now in a position to

mentor and teach other women the ways of participation in the coffee ceremony, as she has her own home.

The coffee ceremony and the level to which one participates in it is an important feature of female development. Values, cultural tools, and meaning making of the ritual emerge in a significant way by observing changes in participation over time. The way a woman participates in her community over time demonstrates her maturation process within her cultural community. Barbara Rogoff explains this in the following way:

> Rather than individual development being influenced by (and influencing) culture, from my perspective, people develop as they participate in and contribute to cultural activities that themselves develop with the involvement of people in successive generations. People of each generation, as they engage in sociocultural endeavors with other people, make use of and extend cultural tools and practices inherited from previous generations. As people develop through their shared use of cultural tools and practices, they simultaneously contribute to the transformation of cultural tools, practices, and institutions (2003, p. 52).

Through exploring the women's engagement in the sociocultural endeavors of the coffee ceremony, a rite of passage emerges. Exploring the transformation of cultural tools illuminates this ritual as a rite of passage for these women. The following is an examination of the ways in which the Ethiopian women in this study described the changes they experienced in participation over time.

The call to buna. "Buna! Buna! Buna!" I've heard this call many times as the anticipated hour of the day arrives when women are summoned by small children to join their mother for coffee. Many participants indicated that their first participation in the traditional ceremony was at age four when they call other women to join in the ceremony. A child (female or male) will go from door to door to beckon participating women and invite them to their mother's ceremony: "Buna! Buna! Buna! It's time for buna!" The gender of the child is irrelevant. Male or female, an Ethiopian child is interested in helping his or her mother. The mother gathers the elements of the ceremony while the women congregate.

The first time to prepare. As can be seen in this excerpt below, some participants agreed that a young girl first prepares coffee for the family and then is asked to prepare for her mother's guests once her coffee was prepared to appropriate expectations. Other participants remembered that a girl first prepares the coffee when she is able to balance the cups on the tray and carry the weight of the jebena and other utensils used in preparing buna. Only then will she prepare her first pot of buna. The typical age for the women in this study was ten years old.

> W8.1: As a small girl you're taught to prepare it at about age ten. I love
> doing it on the barbeque thing! Guest comes and it pleases them to do
> coffee for them. In the rural area you will go to a separate kitchen to put
> the jebena on the fire. This was not fun because you would miss all of the
> fun talking of the coffee when you go to the kitchen. People sit around you
> while you prepare the buna.

In addition to learning to make the coffee, the young girl is able to listen to the conversations of the older women. The "fun talking" is a time to learn about the older women. It's a time for storytelling, it's an important aspect of indirect education of the younger generation on the important aspects of the shared community culture (Rogoff, 2011). Rogoff explains that Mayan women used "hearing explanations and observations" to teach their daughters many household and gendered roles, including embroidery and handcrafts. It was through listening to other women talk that the younger women learned to engage in the act. Eventually, direct instruction was given, yet the primary teaching was through observation and listening to the women talk while engaging in the activity.

The two Ethiopian sisters in my study expressed that their earliest memories of the ceremony in Ethiopia included maids that lived in their home. Although they did not learn to prepare buna until they were in the United States, they have fond memories of watching the ceremony as young girls:

> W1.1: You know like when your grandparents leave. They leave you with the servants. You hear it a lot. I remember when they would talk about my grandma. She's very specific about things. They say "when is she going to leave me alone? I've done this so many times" you know, things like that. You know? I was little. I thought it was funny. Sometimes when I get mad I tell them I'm going to tell her. It was fun. To have this game going on, but I never tell/
>
> JB: Would they have cared if you had told her?

W1.1: Oh yeah. Yeah. My grandmother would tell them "get in here."
Confront them. "Do you want your job?"

JB: So you had power as the little girl?

W1.2: Yeah/

W1.1: Yeah/

W1.2: But I was nice. I feel bad for them. I know if she gets angry that
they go back to where they came from and I don't want that/

JB: You understood that as a little girl? You could see that?

W1.1: Oh yeah. I understood the hierarchy. Oh yeah/

JB: Interesting.

In this excerpt, the women talk about the power that they were able to exert as young children. They claim to have understood a "hierarchy" that placed them in an elevated social position that enabled them to manipulate the servants with threats of reporting them to their grandmother. Once again, an exploration of caste systems and the exertion of power and dominance over those that are oppressed shed a poignant light on this discussion. In this excerpt, the girls admit that they would never expose the servants to their grandmother because they understood that the women needed the money. They did not want to jeopardize their employment. Yet they knew that they had the power to do so if they chose to. In member checking this excerpt, the women contended that they had no issue with their exertion of power. It embodies an important discourse on the levels of social power and structure that exist within their community.

This example of informal learning places the girls in a position to enter the world of the women in their lives. By engaging in conversation with older women of a lesser social status, they were able to exert power over older women. This empowered them, much in the same way as the story of the grandmother on the crocodile's back. They were now able to determine the destiny (or at least the future employment) of their grandmother's maids by listening to their conversations.

As young children participate in cultural communities they join the coffee ceremony in an implied way. They are now privy to the conversations and interactions of the women in this context they receive their first lessons in what it means to be an Ethiopian woman, or a woman of Ethiopian heritage. The way the women communicate teaches the children what is expected of them (Rogoff, 2003, 2011). Though instruction may not be direct, they learn to prepare buna.

Showing love and respect for older participants. In addition to the coffee ceremony serving as a context for the young girls to learn to prepare and participate in the future setting, it is also a space for reflecting love and respect for one's mother. Much like a young boy will do the hard work of grinding coffee to ease the burden of his mother, a young Ethiopian girl will prepare the coffee to give her mother an opportunity to rest. Valuing parents and honoring older people is a tradition of respect amongst Ethiopians.

There are many shared cultural practices regarding associating with one's elders. Younger children are taught to never look an adult in the eyes, but rather to look away or down. Young men are taught to provide for their mother in the

case of their father dying prematurely. Respect and reverence for the elderly is an imperative shared value.

For a young Ethiopian girl, the process of preparing coffee becomes a time to allow her mother to rest from her labors and enjoy time with her buna sisters. These adult women refer to their mother as "mommy," a term of affection and endearment. As they describe their earliest memories of coffee, they shed greater light on the dynamics of their family relationships. Sisters with different dispositions and desires approach the making of coffee for their mother in different ways. In the following excerpt, the woman speaking expresses how she cares deeply about her contribution and her capacity to please her mother:

W7.2: Mommy she's going to say coffee, coffee, coffee. She has three girls. I have three sisters and the little one's little and mommy she don't want her making coffee. The next one (W7.2's sister) she make the coffee hurry up. Hurry. Hurry. They (the guest's) don't want it that way/

W7.3: They don't want it that way/

W7.2: They want it slowly. Like really in the mood. So the third one she like boom, boom, boom. She's like that.

W7.3: Wow!

W7.2: She just make the coal, the fire higher, so the third one, so she make a really easy coffee. She like it the way my next sister. So I am really ready to run away when she calls for coffee. Hide, hide! Because if she go outside and she's too tired. I love it to make it for her. If she asks me to make good coffee. But she prefer my second one because she makes it

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really slow. I make it really slow but she prefer her. Sometimes she get

tired of it. And I take it from her and make it for her. But otherwise that's

it. That's the only thing they have. That's the only thing they have. I don't

beg you girls. Sometimes she makes it by herself.

W7.3: Wow!

JB: Would you make it when the other women would come or only for

her? If she was having guests, could you make the coffee?

W7.2: Yes, she sit down with her friends, and make the coffee and we

serve for everywhere.

JB: You'd sit down and make the coffee and everyone would watch you?

W7.2: Yeah, yeah, that's the way/

W7.3: You have to do everything and see everything.

JB: Ah! So you want to hear what they're talking about!

Laughter

W7.3: That's funny! And if you make it like, if you're on the last one, like

if someone comes the guest comes you are supposed to make another one.

For this woman, not only was she happy to help her mother, but in a sense,

the process became self-serving as she enjoyed listening in on the adult talk. In

this process of preparing the coffee, the young girl enjoys listening to the talk that

the women engage in. Just as Ochs (1991) suggests, this is an important context in

which novices gain skills to perform in appropriate ways within their social

world. The child learns about the community expectations by interacting with

older, more experienced women. This process of learning through observation is

very much reflective of the scaffolding provided in Vygotsky's (Edwards, 2006) zones of proximal development.

Express goals for individual children or the outcome of the coffee may not be directly communicated, but seem to be implied. In the excerpt above, one sister likes to make it fast so she can be done with it. The other likes to make it slow so she can stay and listen. Women may not formally acknowledge using the coffee ceremony to teach their daughters the roles that they hope they will engage in. Yet, as they collaborate with other women, the children are transformed as active participants with specific responsibilities that contribute in a meaningful way (Rogoff, Matusov, & White, 1996; Rogoff, 2003).

As a young child, a girl may not have stayed for the entire preparation process, but now she is the center of attention, the performer of the ritual. Many participants described hearing the conversations of the women as an interesting time. For some girls this would be a wonderful contribution to her sense of identity as she has now become an important player in the practice that brings great joy and pleasure to the women. As a girl pitches in, she becomes the focal point and is now cognizant of all that takes place in this figured world.

The participants stated that even when the older women sent the children away so they could speak more openly, as children, they tried to listen from a far. The women remember being intrigued by what was happening in the coffee ceremony and trying to listen and hear, though restricted.

Sometimes restrictions in listening occurred due to physical situations. In some of the more rural homes, buna was not prepared entirely in a common living

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place. Rather, they had a separate kitchen beyond the living area to put the jebena on the fire. One woman talked about how this was not enjoyable because she missed all of the fun talking while she was in the kitchen alone, waiting for the coffee to boil.

For two women who grew up primarily in Arizona, preparing buna for their grandmother became a means for easing their grandmother's loneliness. Like other women in this study, these two were interested in pleasing their elders, even when they did not enjoy the process.

W1.2: When my grandparents were here, I used to do it every day/

W1.1: I did!

W1.2: Both of us did. Everyday. It's not like, it has three parts in it as I'm sure you know.

JB: Go ahead and tell me about them/

W1.1: The first part is, you put the coffee, you know, you make it, boil the water, put the coffee in it. But after the first cup they want another one but not as strong, so you just put water in the pot and you boil that and you serve it. The third one is basically just water. You just keep on putting coffee but you have to do it three times. And each time takes at least twenty minutes to do.

W1.2: And you have to do it right when you come back from school and there's no time to do anything/

W1.1: And if you look sad doing it they say "Look what you did to the coffee! It's sour!"

Laughs

W1.2: "Do it again"/

W1.1: Oh my God.

W1.2: But I understand. You know, like my grandma and grandpa, they're alone all day long and we're at school and they're just sitting there all day long and so when we get home they're like "Oh my gosh, we've got to get the family together" and that's the way of doing it. Oh you know, come over for coffee. So when you hear that, you're like "Oh my God, people will be coming," you know?

In this excerpt these women express their desire to relieve loneliness for their grandparents by performing the ritual of the ceremony. The coffee ceremony as a tradition, represents life in Ethiopia. Perhaps it eases loneliness in their new lives in Arizona, particularly because the ritual represents their cultural community.

These women also discussed the importance of preparing good coffee and being happy while doing it. It is not enough to make coffee that tastes good, but they must be happy doing it. Assessment in this learning environment is received through ongoing, direct feedback regarding the way in which the girls prepared the coffee. For instance, the request to do it again or that the coffee doesn't taste good, or that the girl looks unhappy doing it, are all significant examples of the feedback regarding the learning and developmental process.

According to participants in my study, instruction in preparing the buna was most often indirect (Rogoff, 2003) and discovered through observation. In the

following excerpt, a woman describes learning to make coffee by watching it all of her life. She was most familiar with the buna and it became first-nature and automatic for her. The more difficult gendered role for her was to learn to successfully navigate other aspects of cooking.

JB: How did you learn to make it?

Laugher

W2.3: I was watching it all my life!

JB: From watching? No one taught you?

W2.3: No, no/

JB: So just watching. Did you get it right the first time?

W2.3: Yes! It was a good coffee.

Laughter

W2.2: Sometimes our mother also will teach us (Amharic)/

W2.3: Cooking chicken/

W2.3: Is the harder one.

JB: Chicken is harder? You start with the chicken first?

W2.3: Yeah. I was 14 or 13/

JB: When you started cooking for the family?

W2.3: Chicken/

JB: Did you have to clean it?

W2.3: I was not sure at that time (laughter) yeah I guess (Amharic)/

Laughter

JB: What did you say?

W2.3: You have to take the parts from the chicken. You don't cut every where you want. So I cut the legs. Then when I came here I didn't know where to cut so I took it to neighbor.

JB: And they cut the chicken?

W2.3: They show me. You have to hold it here, and I start here/

JB: Wow/

W2.2: I know how to do it at home but when I came here, I forget/

For this woman, cutting and preparing a chicken was more work for her than making coffee. Perhaps forgetting how to do such tasks is a result of a reduced frequency in participation. Regardless, this excerpt focuses on learning to prepare buna by observation. Being present in the ceremony and watching it all her life qualified her to prepare and participate in her own. The quality of the coffee may be an important factor in a girl's readiness to prepare buna for her mother's friends and neighbors.

Many women acknowledged that their first preparation was for their family. During field work in Ethiopia (July, 2010), I asked participants through a translator about their earliest memory of the coffee ceremony. As the researcher, I focused on non-verbal cues and responses because I anticipated a translation. One participant bowed her head in what I perceived to be shame, and then spoke of being beaten because the buna she had prepared was not good. She continued to prepare the coffee for the family until it was good enough for the women that gathered in the coffee ceremony. Now, as a married woman, she prepares coffee in the ceremony as her young daughter watches. This reemphasizes the

assessment and feedback that young females receive regarding learning the process of preparing coffee. Further, it captures what it means to belong to a cultural community and the value of not wanting to fail or disappoint those in the community that are important.

The taste of the coffee becomes an assessment or measurement of a woman's advancement through the rite of passage of the coffee ceremony. The following is an excerpt from the focus groups in which the women spoke about the taste of the coffee. Just as the woman in Ethiopia talked about being beaten for preparing poor-tasting coffee, these women talked about the verbal mocking or treatment a woman receives if her coffee didn't taste good. Taste matters. And learning to make a pot of coffee that tastes good is a reflection of becoming an expert in the ritual.

W1.1: Oh no. If your coffee tastes bad they'll go hard on you.

JB: Right in front of you?

W1.1: Oh yeah. People will cry because they'll say, "your coffee is bad"/ Laugh

W1.2: It's really important/

W1.1: Like our cousin, they made her cry once and she refuses to do it ever again/

W1.2: If it's family, they're really open about it "you think this is coffee? What is this?" Oh now I have to do it again. It's not harsh. Everyone will laugh.

As can be seen in this excerpt, coffee becomes an important tool of the tradition of socialization in that it is a measurement of the female's capacity to perform competently within the social group. Failure to prepare quality coffee results in rejection and in severe cases, abuse. Assessing a woman's contribution in the ceremony seems to contribute to her ability to participate at different levels. Moreover, successfully creating a jebena of buna is a source of pride, as expressed by the woman in the second focus group who claimed her first brew was good.

Hosting buna. Although the women in this study did not talk much about their first experience hosting a coffee ceremony, they did indicate that this was done when they had a place of their own or had married. Moving out or living on one's own is not a typical practice of Ethiopians. Rather, they live together as families and support one another until they marry. In addition, some married women live in the home of their family or husband's family after they have married. Marriage is an important and valued institution for these women. Viewing marriage as a culmination of the rite of passage is typical among many cultural communities. After marriage, a woman is now in a position to perform the gendered roles she has been socialized to engage in within her own home.

It isn't enough just to marry, however. When asked, most participants talked about marrying Ethiopian men. Marrying other African men might be viewed as shameful, as is marrying a white man. In the following conversation with two sisters, they talk about the experiences two of their aunts have had in marrying non-Ethiopian men. When expressing the feelings of their grandparents

regarding the marriage decisions of their aunts, these two sisters seem to be expressing their own views of marriage decisions:

W1.1: Okay there's this picture of my grandma's sisters, and we were there, and she has like, how many kids? Fourteen kids/

W1.2: Fourteen children/

W1.1: And they all left in the seventies and they live in D.C./

W1.2: Educated/

W1.1: So a lot of the girls they married white guys. And there's this picture, she took this picture with her grandson/

W1.2: Her grandson/

W1.1: And she's holding him like that and she's like she married a white guy.

It is important to note that as the woman describes her grandmother holding the child, the woman doesn't express that there is any bitterness expressed toward the child. Rather, the woman is distinct in describing that her grandmother is bitter that her daughter has married a white man, though she has not rejected her grandchild.

W1.1: She's always bitter. And old women they always talk about their feelings/

W1.2: Thank God she talks in Amharic with that guy there/

W1.1: And so were there and she's looking at the pictures of the children and she saw one of the baby and the baby is like so white, and she's like,

he makes me look like I'm a servant, because she's holding it. So she got

the picture and she tore it apart. I'm never going to do it.

JB: What if you married a man from Kenya?

W1.1: Ohhhhh/

W1.2: Just like my aunt did/

W1.1: My aunt married a man from Nigeria/

W1.2: You know how Nigerians are thieves?

W1.1: I mean, even like, around that time when my aunts got married.

They were the first generation to do that. Like my grandpa, when he asked

permission to get his daughter. My grandpa said no. It's not his choice.

But she did it anyway/

W1.2: I wonder why he'd prefer a white guy over another African?

W1.1: I think my grandma does for sure/

JB: You're saying a white man is better to marry than another African?

What about an African American?

W1.2: My aunt did that too. My other aunt. I don't think they mind as

much as they do anyone else/

W1.1: They don't like it/

W1.2: They don't look like other Africans at all. Have you seen that lady

you were with, have you seen her granddaughter? She's half white. You

can't even tell she's half black/

W1.1: Yeah, our race is not dominant I guess. So if I have children with another race, that's what's going to dominant. So Ethiopians, they feel bad about that.

JB: So what do you want to do?

W1.2: I don't mind anything but it would be easier just marrying an Ethiopian/

W1.1: But we tell each other we are going to marry an African. So like bring each other to our senses.

W1.2: I think our parents instill that in our head: please keep the race going and stuff/

JB: Do you have opportunity to meet Ethiopian men?

W1.2: In our community, yeah, but no one interesting so.

W1.1: It's hard. I think we are more into the culture than the men are. We're more into the culture. There are girls that are born here and they love the culture so much that they've taught themselves the language and they get online, ask their parents to only talk to them in Amharic and teach them the language. I've never seen a guy do that. Right?

W1.2: They're so lazy/

B: They're so lazy. A lot of the guys are not into their culture/

W1.1: They don't care/

W1.2: They might look at this (meaning the photographs) and go hum . . . and not really care/

JB: You seem interested/

W1.1: Yeah, we were born there. A lot of children that were born here, the guys, they will probably be like what is this. It's kind of sad.

As these women explained, retention of culture and race are expressed by marrying an Ethiopian man. Yet as they discuss how they feel the Ethiopian men that they associate with are lazy, they express a deeper cultural value of working to retain their Ethiopian heritage and traditions. Though Wortham's (2001) examination of the classroom discussion of Spartans seems far-removed from the discussion these women were having, his illustration of how the children express their values while talking about Spartans illuminates the way these women position themselves in relation to the Ethiopian men they know. As the children described Spartans negatively by judging their work ethic, they were ultimately expressing their social and welfare stigmas. Similarly, these women communicate a discourse that draws upon their cultural values by calling the men in their social circle lazy and uncommitted to learning and loving their cultural heritage. This seems to reflect a sense of dismay for their potential life partners as well as a deeper value for retention of Ethiopian traditions and practices. Further, it alludes to a discourse on what the women value regarding their own social position and relation to males. A possible discourse of oppression may be emerging as the women give voice to their sense of empowerment and independence.

The structure of dominance that the women appear to be seeking to break through is an example of "patriarchal hegemony" that bell hooks (1989, p. 36) explores. hooks argues that one of the most significant ways to empower women is to eliminate constructs of authority based on male dominance or racism. In this

example, the women agentically draw upon their own deep values in talking about the ways in which the men in their lives fall short of fulfilling cultural values. Additionally, the generational socialization they received from their grandmother emerges, as these are the same two women who were taught to ride on the backs of crocodiles!

These two women were the only women who spoke this candidly about their feelings regarding men. Six of the women in this study were single with one engaged to be married. The married women were all married to Ethiopian men. One had returned to Ethiopia for her marriage ceremony. One engaged woman's fiancée is also an Ethiopian. This reinforces the shared cultural meaning of marriage, the value of marrying a man of Ethiopian heritage. The practice seems to reinforce a commitment to maintaining cultural practices and carrying on traditional rituals.

Hopes for Daughters and Future Generations

I asked many of the women about their hopes for their children. Of the participants in this study, 14 of the 23 women have children. One was expecting her first child. I asked about their dreams and goals for their daughters in order to elicit discussion about their hopes for the destinies of their posterity and insights into the ways the traditions of their mothers would be carried forth in the hope of the next generation.

For example, one mother, who had been educated in Europe and then in the United States, spoke of her teenage daughters' futures. She responded in the following way about the eventual marriage of her daughters:

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JB: Will they marry Ethiopian men?

W6.2: I do not know/

JB: What is your wish?

W6.2: I wish they marry Ethiopian men but it doesn't bother me that much because it is up to her. But you know, I wish that if she marry an Ethiopian because sometimes really it helps. She is born in the America and sometimes when you are in the same place you understand each other more. Because sometimes there is a culture conflict. To avoid that, it is good. If not, also, it's okay for me. It's not just a must, you know. No must.

Though cognitively this woman is flexible in honoring her daughters' marriage choices, experientially, she ultimately expressed that marrying a man with a similar cultural background is good and would resolve potential conflict in marriage. In contrast with the two college students' grandmother, this mother claimed she would accept a marriage to a non-Ethiopian. It's hard to say what her reaction would be if her daughter were to marry a non-Ethiopian man, having not been placed in the position to know for certain.

When discussing expectations and hopes for daughters and their participation in the coffee ceremony, a woman from the third member of the focus group pointed to her pregnant belly and said, "Maybe she will be born to know it. Also how you teach your children . . . whenever we get the chance we teach them this."

Another woman felt similarly about her future, unborn daughter learning to prepare buna.

JB: Will you teach your daughters this?

W5.2: Oh yeah! She has to!

JB: What if she doesn't want to?

W5.2: I won't force her. But I guarantee you she will like this. You see these kids? They watch this as they are small and know this is what we do.

Although she said she will not force her child to learn to prepare buna, she felt that she needed to guarantee that her child will like it, that she will want to participate in it. Just as other women learned to participate in the coffee ceremony by watching, she believes that her children, here in Arizona, will want to carry on the tradition. The children in the room that she was referencing were very young, probably three or four years old.

When I asked a woman who has lived in the United States for 20 years what her hopes for her daughter are, she focused on education. She was the only woman in this study that indicated education directly. The two women in the following excerpt are mother and daughter. The children who the second woman talks about are teenagers, two daughters in high school, one son in junior high school.

JB: What are your hopes for your daughter?

W6.1: Education?

W6.2: For my daughters. Education is very important. My priority is education. And just at this time I would like according to my income to try

and give as a mother, I am suppose to give. Besides education. Education, reading, family, love. Help each other and grow together. And learn. Open their mind to learn different things. Expose themselves. It is up to them the decision. But I will give idea of what it means because when I pass through a hard time, I will tell them what was my life how I corrected. Even if they listen, one day it'll come back again what I believe. I pass everything. And more I want my kids involved in religion besides education. Because that is very important. The girls are choir members they sing. My boy is an altar boy/

JB: What about keeping the culture? The daughters to maintain/

W6.2: Not just culture but belief. Part of my religion to believe. That is according to the religion, I have to teach the Bible. And even if I don't have time, I have to send children to attend Bible school so I encourage them more/

JB: When you were raising her, what kinds of things did you hope for her?

W6.1: I give her education. To learn good English. Good everything that she needs. Then after that she marry and get life better.

JB: Does that make her a good Ethiopian woman?

W6.1: YES! YES! Very good. Why not!

A consistent response in talking about the hopes of their daughters was the anticipation that cultural communities will be retained. The practices and participation within figured worlds that represent values and beliefs is an important generational tradition.

It was fascinating that at some point in the study, nearly all of the participants asked about my own marital status. Many seemed anxious to help me find a marriage partner, assuring me that they would find a good one for me. In the context of this discussion of Ethiopian women marrying a man of another country, these women's suggestions follow:

W7.2: Are you married, Jennifer?

JB: No/

W7.3: Ohhhh. I'm going to find you a good Ethiopian husband!

W7.2: A really good one!

In this brief interaction, it appears that either they have accepted me as an Ethiopian woman or they do not have strong feelings about an Ethiopian man marrying someone who is not Ethiopian. This seems to be in stark contrast to their strong feelings that an Ethiopian woman should marry an Ethiopian man. Is there a dual standard and distinct binary for who an Ethiopian man might marry?

Changes in Coming to the United States

Sharing cultural tools, understanding, and heritage are important to the women in this study. In Palmer's (2010a) work with Ethiopian women in exile in the United Kingdom, he found that the ceremony serves as a time to foster well-being and stable mental health. The women were able to retain a strongly communal bond by participating in a context that represents their home and culture.

The women in this study similarly expressed that they value the coffee ceremony. They utilize this cultural community to participate in shared

experiences associated with their identities as women, as Ethiopians, and as good Ethiopian women. As much as it may appear that coffee and the drinking of coffee is an important part of the process, addiction to coffee does not drive the maintenance of the details and time invested in participating in a coffee ceremony. I argue that this ceremony is an important context for socialization and empowerment of women. As they participate in the ceremony, Ethiopian women are able to share in a tradition that spans generations.

Most of these women hosted their first ceremony when they moved to the United States. Previously, they had participated with the circles their mothers and neighbors had created. With their migration, they were now living on their own and, in many cases, away from family. As a result, the ceremony took on a richer and deeper meaning as it was a reminder of home and a way to feel what they had experienced throughout their lives.

The coffee ceremony has also changed as they participate here in Arizona. The circumstances and frequency of the ceremony vary as Ethiopian women now live further apart and the call for buna isn't to neighbors. Instead, the frequency has shifted to once a week, often Sunday after church. Women from church become an important social group. The coffee ceremony rarely takes place at the cafeteria at the church; instead, the women reconvene at another's home.

One participant, a woman who left Ethiopia to receive an education in Europe and then moved to the United States 20 years ago, participated in this study with her mother. Her mother came to the United States after her daughter immigrated. Together, they told the story of a friend in Washington, D.C. whose

mother visited from Ethiopia. The mother was left in the home alone during the day while her daughter worked.

W6.2: She came. She live with her daughter's apartment and she make coffee. She knocked everybody door and say, "Come and join me!" because she didn't know what's going on in United States.

(Laughter)

W6.2: You know. We laugh because she didn't know. She thought like Ethiopia! She didn't know. She didn't want to drink by herself so she had to invite someone with her to drink. So she started knocking the door.

JB: Even though she didn't know them? She's knocking the doors? Did they go?

W6.1: The people call the police. They thought she's crazy!

W6.2: Because she is a stranger! Or something.

W6.1: The police come and say "Why do you knock everybody's doors?" they say. For coffee. Because my country I don't want to drink myself. That's why it's oh no, no. Don't do that next time.

Moving to a new country has also required that the women adapt their participation in the ceremony. Previously, women called their neighbors who lived within shouting distance. Now they have had to learn to adjust to gathering with different groups of women. Just as these women have transitioned to accommodate a broader geographic circle of Ethiopian neighbors to join them in coffee, they have also adapted who participates in the coffee ceremony. For many of these women, men have joined the coffee ceremonies that gather after church.

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In this study, three focus groups had men sitting in the room with us. Although the men did not participate in the study, they were present for the discussions. I appreciated the opportunity to observe interactions. My general assumption is that the men honor this space and for the most part, by withdrawing to other rooms in the house to enable the women to enjoy their freedom. For example, one of the focus groups was in the home of a participant. Her husband was in the home but stayed in another room until she called him to join us for a meal. When I asked about this, the women responded that the men honor their time. Other women stated that they do not mind that men join the ceremony and that they feel that they are able to speak openly and enjoy the ceremony as they would if they were in Ethiopia. This has caused me to question the constructs of male and female relationships and interactions, leading me to possible questions for a future study.

Ultimately, although the women have adjusted the frequency of meeting, who participates, and the process of preparation in minor ways (such as using an automatic coffee grinder) the ceremony has retained its value as a primarily female context. It is used in conjunction with baby showers, social gatherings, and Sunday afternoon visits. For some of the women, it is still their daily down time to socialize and visit with other women. Within this study, then women's reminiscings regarding their remembered past and their reflecting on the richness of their heritage and figured world have reaffirmed the Ethiopian coffee ceremony is an important context for females of Ethiopian heritage. The next chapter will

explore salient features of being a good Ethiopian woman as the women recollect

the ritual.

Chapter 8

Reminiscing . . . Being a Good Ethiopian Woman

This study approached identity formation through participation in an ancient ritual. The study was imbued with the concept of being a good Ethiopian woman. Being good and doing good emerged throughout the study and became an important focal point. I argue that this principle of being a good Ethiopian woman not only operationalizes shared values, beliefs, and rules, but also establishes a position of power in which the women purport to have achieved best practices for interacting with others.

As the women reminisced about their participation in the ritual, they spoke of the important shared values among the women in the coffee ceremony. These are values that they seek to retain in their lives. Moreover, these values are values they hope to instill in future generations. As the women described specific circumstances that are acceptable for participation in the ceremony, they also talked about how they have adapted these circumstances in their new living environments. These remembered pasts illuminate female relationships, positions of power, and agentic activity.

In this chapter, I examine the women's responses relative to reminiscing in order to explore what the women believe it means to be a good Ethiopian woman. Bringing the past forward creates a rich narrative that alludes to possible social structures that mandate certain behaviors as acceptable. For instance, how one responds to tragedies or accidents is very telling of adherence to communal values. Also, a woman's rejection of the coffee ceremony elicits accusations of

being too Americanized. Thus I merge the data in this chapter with a discourse on national belonging and a community and social plane that has intersected the individual plane. Lastly, I explore discussions of beauty, caring for one's home, and transitioning the remembered past to the women's present circumstances.

Before approaching excerpts from the focus groups that pertain to the women's reminiscing of the coffee ceremony, it is appropriate to secure this discourse in the theoretical underpinnings of heuristic development. The principle of heuristic development revolves around the ways in which individuals solve problems by reflecting on their past. Bakhtin is the fundamental anchoring theorist of this paradigm, drawing the theory into the examination of the way that individuals reform themselves through co-development in their imagined worlds (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998).

The excerpts used in this chapter illustrate the ways in which the women talked about who they are, and then how they acted as though that is who they are! As they navigate in agentic ways, they seem to have hope in what they believe a good Ethiopian woman is and then improvise their identity according to circumstance. These identities in practice are always dynamically forming. Therefore, remembering the past, especially when talking about life in Ethiopia, places the women in a position to draw the past to the present and re-form what it means to be a good Ethiopian woman while living in a figured world (Holland et. al., 1998).

This chapter begins with the women's memories of their first taste of coffee, then to a discussion on beauty, and on things pertaining to the individual

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woman and her intimate life. An exploration of her life and the circles that she belongs to will branch out, ending in an examination of the way national identity contributes to her remembered past in the present.

The First Drink of Buna

Memories of her first taste of coffee varied for each woman. Some remembered being ten years old, others were in their teens. The age of the first drink is not necessarily fixed but rather determined by the family. Yet all agreed that the first taste of coffee is often diluted in milk or is from the third round of coffee. In the traditional ritual, the light-colored beans are first cleaned then roasted. Coffee participants are present for this early stage, it extends the amount of time that they are able to be together. Women bring their small children and handcrafts or other work so they can maintain productivity with the work they hope to accomplish during the day. The roasted beans are taken to each woman to enjoy the fragrance. Next, the dark, fragrant, roasted beans are ground by pounding them. This may be done by a male child to relieve the mother's burden or it may be taken into another room so as not to disrupt the flow of the conversation. Leaving is not something that anyone is interested in doing.

At last, the ground coffee is scooped into the jebena and boiled for the first, strong round of coffee. This is served with sugar, in small cups. Typically, the cups are small so that each participant can drink and enjoy three cups. Each round is boiled from the same coffee grounds with water added. Therefore, the third round is more diluted and is thus a good starting point for first time coffee drinkers.

Therefore, remembering their first drink of coffee had more to do with the delineated process of the ritual and the three parts of the ceremony. This emphasizes the importance of the ritual and the informal learning that took place for the women as they gleaned from the women in the coffee ceremony. Not only were they learning how to prepare the coffee, they were learning the values and practices of being a good Ethiopian woman, including their appearance.

The Appearance of a Good Ethiopian Woman

When I showed the participants the photographs taken by the women in Ethiopia, all participants talked about the women's clothing. Women in dresses were acceptable, whereas a woman wearing jeans was viewed as unacceptable. The participants expressed strong feelings about wearing traditional clothing for the coffee ceremony. With further questioning, I discovered that it is not necessary to wear traditional clothing while preparing coffee. However, it is expected for special occasions or holy days. Photographs are typically taken to commemorate such occasions. Therefore, in a photograph the lack of traditional clothing appeared inappropriate.

The women's comments also create a powerful discourse on the way in which the women hoped to have the ceremony represented in photographs. Many participants expressed dismay at the images that reflected poverty. The remembered past should be portrayed with traditional clothing and beautiful surroundings. In an expression of pride, improving the circumstances by changing into traditional clothing to demonstrate the coffee ceremony reflects a strong value for appearance and the way one is presented.

Other observations in field work also led me to believe that appearance and representing oneself well is a value of Ethiopians. Many times I asked to take a photograph of a friend in Ethiopia only to be asked to wait for them to make an adjustment to what they were wearing or how they appeared, such as removing a head wrap or fixing their hair.

Women in this study similarly expressed a value for appearing nice. For instance, the two college students talked about the importance of always looking nice when you go out into public. Their grandmother presented to them two plans: "Plan A to look really pretty and marry a nice husband. Plan B is to go to school" (Focus Group 1.2).

As can be seen in the following excerpt, Ethiopian women's traditional clothing and hair coverings also include other expectations for appropriate appearances.

> W5.2: Women they need to wear long dresses and Muslim people need to cover their hair and wear certain things. Us, when you go to church, you have to cover your hair. You wear a long dress. But people are different. That's typical. At holiday we all wear traditional clothes.

As I attended Ethiopian Orthodox church services in Phoenix, I observed that many women wear traditional clothing, which typically consists of a long dress made of white muslin fabric and embroidered with a pattern. The pattern may represent the region from which the woman originated. Small girls are often dressed in this fashion. Older women typically wear shawls, and they always cover their head in the Orthodox and Muslim churches while in the church or

mosque. Traditional and modest clothing are important artifacts that represent

values of the culture. Just as the jebena became an important material artifact for

the way in which the women participate in the coffee ceremony, the women in

Arizona insisted upon appropriate appearance for participation. Traditional

clothing and proper appearance are important tools of culture for these Ethiopian

women (Cole, 2005).

Typical conversations regarding appearance address beauty as important

feature of a female's identity. When I asked the women to describe beauty in this

study, their responses were fascinating and differed from typical Western ideals.

My experience living in Arizona and the United States features details important

to beauty that include makeup, hair styles, fashion, and so forth. I was pleased

with the responses of the women in this study discussing what beauty is for a

good Ethiopian woman.

W8.1: What is beauty? A good face, smile, straight nose. Not like here.

You need to have a nice nose (not like me, she says) that is not flat. Hair

should be straight (like her own, she says) nice and long. A good profile.

A full body is a symbol of wealth. If you are fat, you are rich. Our beauty

here isn't here beauty there.

In a culture steeped with an obsession to be thin and fit, it is fascinating to

hear that a full body is a symbol of wealth. One image used in this study shows

four women sitting together in a coffee ceremony (photo number 14 in Appendix

A). One of the women is clearly larger than the others. When I asked about the

women in the photograph, all of the participants knew immediately that the larger

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woman is the boss of the group. Another indicator of this woman's status is that she is seated in the most elevated chair. Although not all participants mentioned the significance of seating arrangements, the two sisters talked about seating being assigned according to rank and status. Social class and hierarchy emerged in subtle ways such as these throughout this study.

These simple nuances, namely the size of a woman and her seating position, indicate a social structure that revolves around respecting social positioning. In a dialogical way, it becomes an expectation defined by society that places the woman in a position of power based upon her appearance. The institutional or community plane may impose this power while the internal dialogue might play out differently. As Hermans (2001) states,

> The notion of social power or dominance is an intrinsic feature of dialogical processes and, moreover, closely associated with the position a person occupies in a particular institution. As such, dominance is an indispensable concept for the analysis of cultural processes. Dominance relations organize and constrain not only the interactions *within* societies or groups, but also the interactions *between* different cultural groups (p. 265).

By identifying the woman as one in authority, this social or institutional group authorizes her position of power. The women in Ethiopia seem to honor this cultural distinction as the elevated woman in the photograph is the owner of the hotel: the women surrounding her are her employees. The definition imposed

and created by the society can be accepted or rejected by the individual according to how she organizes her life.

Therefore, the way in which the women in this study spoke about their own beauty and appearances demonstrates a lovely personal and dialogical approach to their portrayal and empowerment. Their openness and confidence in speaking about their beauty contradict my own cultural experiences. The following, is perhaps, one of my favorite statements from a woman when I asked about beauty.

JB: What is a beautiful Ethiopian woman?

W9.1: For example, me!

JB: You all agree?

W9.2: Oh, yes/

W9.3: It's true. All of us/

JB: I love it! You're all beautiful women!

W9.2: In general the concept of beauty in Ethiopia it's not just facial appearance. That's part but in the 21st century, beauty is changing in Ethiopia. But beauty is how to solve the problem, communicate others, and your view of helping/

JB: What about hair?

(She takes her hair out of its ponytail and starts to stroke it. They all touch their hair.)

W9.2: My hair. This is beautiful.

Laughter

JB: The nose?

W9.3: My nose/

W9.2: The central concept is beauty is not universal but some of them is long hair. It's considered beautiful. They don't have the income to keep hair different. It's a lot of money to keep it. They can't afford. And this is not part of their culture.

W9.2: Shampoo, conditioner/

W9.1: Too much money. In Addis Ababa, maybe. They keep doing different if they can afford it and keep it up/

As I consider this woman's expression "For example, me!", I can't help but think of the absence of such confidence among the adult women with whom I associate. Perhaps her greatest and most beautiful feature is her ability to know it, not in a boastful or proud way, but rather, in an assured and certain way. Moreover, as the women talked about the contribution a woman makes, they create a space for examining beauty in a different way. Through a sociocultural lens, beauty, as a contributor to identity, becomes operationalized by the way in which the women do things. This aligns with early definitions of culture. This "interactional positioning" allows the women to narrate and create themselves in their construction of self (Wortham, 2000, p. 3).

The Good Ethiopian Woman at Home and in the Community

In addition to physical appearance and a focus on the individual, the appearance of a woman's living space, the interactions a woman has with others, and her contribution in the community are all important reflections of living as a

good Ethiopian woman. These factors expand the examination of reminiscing and the impact on the present to the social world. Most focus groups mentioned these specific actions as belonging to a good Ethiopian woman: "good care of her house, not talking too much, respecting others and proper care for her children and husband."

For example, the following is a continuation of the responses given by a focus group when I asked about what it means to be an Ethiopian woman.

W2.3: She takes care of her house. Don't talk too much. Respect people. Take care of your kids and your husband. The house mostly. Mmmm . . . (Amharic)

JB: Do you agree with that?

W2.4: Talking too much is not a big deal/

W2.3: It is! (Amharic)

W2.4: Yeah, even now. What is the definition for a godly women?

JB: God-fearing?

W2.4: That too.

JB: What does it mean to be a good Ethiopian woman in Arizona?

W2.4: Respecting your husband, taking care of the house. But still. Here. Men and women, husband, and wife, if I cook, he'll wash the dishes. Respecting each other. Helping each other.

JB: Is it different?

W2.4: Here? Yeah it's different because there mostly the women does everything. But here, we do it equally.

In this excerpt, this woman talks about the importance of taking care of her house including caring for her children and husband. This is something that she feels is a necessary quality of a good Ethiopian woman regardless of where she lives. Respect for others and love of God are also important values. Just as the woman in focus group five loves the autonomy of her life in Arizona, these women talked about having greater support from their husbands in sharing household responsibilities.

For example, discussions of men never entering the kitchen while living in Ethiopia permeated this study. However, in adapting to a new home and social practices in Arizona, it's warmly accepted. How these values are acquired and learned was not within the scope of this study, despite the following excerpt's implication of magical transformation in a man's contribution upon arriving in Arizona.

W9.1: In my country women cook. They do everything! Everything! Because man stay/

W9.2: Everything in the home is woman/

W9.1: Baby take care, woman. Coffee, woman. Cook, woman. This, husband, work. Come home and go to sleep. She complains all the time! America I like. Men will cook, coffee, everything is the same!

JB: Is it easier in America? Ethiopia?

W9.1: No! America is easier/

W9.2: In America men will help cook. Bathroom clean. Africa. No. Not clean house. He'll clean here. Not in Ethiopia. No! No!

JB: How come?

W9.2: I love it. It's good. Ethiopia, hand wash, pour water over his hands. (laughter)

JB: He comes here and suddenly helps?

W9.2: I say, "Honey! Come here!" Hand wash okay. Okay! It's good. It's fine here!

W9.1: In Ethiopia in the house the woman cannot do what she wants. The man does job and provides for her. When he sits, the woman should provide water for the hand wash. The woman will cook. She make the food. Everything. Care for the child.

JB: What does it mean to be an Ethiopian woman?

W9.1: Work hard. She's tired.

W9.2: The culture!

W9.1: Traditional culture! She is part of the culture and has the same ideas and is contributing to the society. She is not equal to man in Ethiopia. Women are getting some equality in Ethiopia now. Even before.

W9.2: They get home they have no compensation for their time. Only men can claim it. There is nothing for women when she is done working. Even if she works 40 years for the government they don't care. They are fixing that though. Before no. Women are subordinate. Men are the important one. The social class keeps them apart. Men are the bosses. Even some culture you know until the man eat and finish, she must wait to eat.

W9.1: For the woman?

W9.2: In some places in Ethiopia. Not in Addis Ababa/

W9.1: In the small village/

W9.2: In the countryside/

W9.1: Some will eat together. That's normal. But some places it's not so. Some cultures.

As has been indicated through other excerpts, the changes in roles in the United States are valued and important to the women. In this excerpt, the women express feelings of being viewed as subordinates in Ethiopia. They discuss societal expectations to wait upon their husbands and do whatever is expected to keep him happy. They also emphasize differences based on where one lives in Ethiopia: for instance, living in the capital or in a village might impact the value placed upon women.

Rogoff (2003) explores these kinds of changes in male and female participation over time. Changes such as these are significant because gendered roles are important contributors to identity formation. As Rogoff states, societal value placed on an individual's "roles in the home and in the community accompany differences in the kind of power that women and men have" (pp. 190-191). The societal expectations of gendered roles in Ethiopia versus Arizona appear to undergo a significant transition in immigration. Of all the cultural adaptations that the women in this study were afforded through leaving Ethiopia, changes in male participation in household responsibilities appears to be the one that they have most readily embraced.

Regardless, women in Ethiopia appear to be oppressed based upon societal expectations. Perhaps there is the implication that a good Ethiopian woman *living* in Ethiopia waits upon her husband and acts as a second-class citizen rather than as an equal to her husband. I argue that this reinforces the context of the coffee ceremony as an important space in which the women are able to speak openly to one another, to enjoy feelings of camaraderie and empowerment as they are in a position to take charge of the circumstances (Mjaaland, 2004). This deepens a discourse on the coffee ceremony from a space to be free to a possibility for escape from oppression.

The argument made by Gwendolyn Sorell and Marilyn Montgomery (2001) sustains the comments made by these women about the inequality experienced in the home by Ethiopian women. Sorrell explored the gain in equality through employment as women escaped the expectations of being the "angel of the home" while men fought the dragons of outside employment (p. 114). This perpetrates the feminist argument of women being oppressed by division in labor. Ethiopia, as an underdeveloped nation, is significantly behind the United States in work equality. Perhaps a contribution to the women's sense of greater equality and gendered roles in their homes in Arizona has to do with the financial contribution they are now able to make. I make this assumption based upon the employment status of the women in this study.

A Good Ethiopian Woman is Expected to be Shy

The woman in the following excerpt agreed that women of Ethiopia are treated as oppressed, second-class citizens:

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W5.2: It is different. For an Ethiopian women in America and in Ethiopia. It's totally different. An Ethiopian woman in Ethiopia, she depends on her husband and they do everything. The husband works. The mom takes care of the kids and house. She doesn't work, she doesn't do anything.

Her description of the woman not doing anything may be an indication of the value of this woman's work. Does caring for her children and home equate to not doing anything? Or is she saying that the woman does not have the capacity to express herself and be an active and equal partner in her relationship and home? As we were talking, this particular woman told me about her efforts to learn to prepare certain foods in order to please her husband. This indicates her desire to be a good companion and contributor in the home, yet she also seems to function as a strong and empowered woman.

Other focus groups talked about the expectation that Ethiopian women be shy in public. Cultural expectations and practices include looking down or not making eye contact with others. In the following excerpt, a woman who has achieved a bachelor's degree and works as a registered nurse describes this expectation and the challenge she faced in fulfilling a class assignment of making a presentation to her class.

JB: What about the way they act? Ethiopian or American women?

W5.2: They're more shy. Now I learn here, when I talk to you, I look right on the eye. A typical Ethiopian woman will not look at your eye. It's just culture. I feel like I disrespect you looking at you right on the eye/

JB: Can women talk to each other looking eye-to-eye either in Ethiopia or

here?

W5.2: If they are friends. But if it is older than you. Like for example if I

am talking to you, if I'm taking a class and I have to present something I

cannot look at people. I prepared a lot. But when I got up to talk I could

not look at people on the eye. But my teacher she understand me and I told

her I can't look people on the eye. Even after three years or four years. It's

hard for me. Number one, it's shy. Number two it's disrespecting. After I

moved from back home. I like to say it's a cultural thing. It takes time.

Now it's okay. My teacher understand me and says you just look at me

and so I just look at her and none of the people. That's what happened.

Like here it is different. Back home they don't. Like if they are friends,

it's okay to talk. But someone older than you, it's disrespectful. You have

to look down.

As the women in my study expressed, adapting in a new culture can be

both exciting and challenging. As the women appreciate and enjoy greater

equality and support in the home, they also face the challenges of adapting at

school and in the workplace to shared social practices that are contrary to their

own. And they must make an effort to maintain the values and expectations

shared in practices among women of Ethiopian heritage,

Looking down, avoiding contact, and being shy are all examples of

different social languages (Hermans, 2001) that social groups in Ethiopia use to

communicate. This reflects a "multivoicedness" that draws upon the language of

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individuals and social groups (p. 5). The use of these cultural tools creates an attachment of the self to her community. Acting as a collective voice, this dialogical relationship can become a constraint that disables equality as the individual self may be limited in acting in her social world. The expectation of a larger group that exerts dominance and diminishes agency (such as expecting a good Ethiopian woman to act in a subservient way) limits her power and places males in a position of dominance. The increase in agency and social positioning in Arizona afford the women a greater sense of expression.

Everyone is Family to an Ethiopian Woman

Yet, as these women discuss their new-found freedoms in coming to Arizona, they also experience worry and lack of trust in their new social worlds. Having lived in circumstances in which their neighbors and community are viewed as family, they must learn to navigate new social worlds and practices in Arizona. One example is that of enjoying security in knowing that their friends and neighbors would care for their children as if they were their own. This security is not easily acquired when adapting to a new community. A sense of an identity of affinity (Gee, 2000) sustains the women in caring for their children collectively. In the excerpt below, a woman describes her adaptation and navigation of this social practice as she creates new relationships in North Carolina.

> W7. 2: It's too much here Jennifer, I know you today. I don't want my
> kids to go to your house right away but after a while we get in touch, I
> know you well I will let them come to your house. I use to live in North

Carolina. One of my son's friends, he was eight years old, he was sleeping with me, can you believe that? Yeah. He was the only child for his mama

JB: An American boy.

W7.2: Yeah. He was originally from South Carolina. And he is the only son for his mama. And she let him come, he sleeps with me. When we moved he was hurt so bad. We still get in touch with him. He was only 8 when we left. So once people like that, the way we were raised that helped me a lot. Since we were exposed to everyone, we know how to take care of others. So we do care. Now he wasn't my boy, my child's friend was now my friend. His name is (child's name). Now he emails me. Even others. They want to come stay with me like a week. Can you believe that? He is just my kid's friend. So the impact is so huge. I mean, since you are exposed to everything, the family, the sense of family is huge. We believe in extended family. [name of woman] is my friend. I tell you that she is my sister/

W7.3: Well yeah!

W7.3: I make her like that. So for a way I say she is my friend but I tell you she is my sister. So [name of woman] I take care of her and her boys. If something happens to one of us, I believe that she is going to take care of my boys. I don't even worry about that. You go that far.

W7.2: And it's not in my area. We don't have this you have money give me and I give you back. Once you love, it's really true love and keeps going and going. And if there is a wrong, we try and solve it. A little bit, if

it's not friend. When it's really serious, we care. With a real friend we fight 'til the end. We don't give up and say I don't care. No, no. We go until the end. You really don't want to be friends we don't cut it right away. I saw a lot. When you live here, you see culture difference. You see people with their friends and then the next day they don't really care they tell you. Oh this and that. I put myself in that spot, and I wonder how do people think like this? You think like that . . . people together friends today. And then tomorrow? That's not the way. We are close, close, close. The bond is very strong and we don't detach easily. So that's how. Maybe the way we grow up really has a big influence the way right now we are. Big influence. Big, big, big. Like we say the neighborhood gathering for holiday, coffee, that makes sense. That's why my mom and other people come together to help each other. Something happens to one. Maybe my mom making a little party or something. Everyone come together and help her. Even here. You've seen how we work together in the church. If [name of woman] has a big day, or making baby shower or doing something. We go to her house and work. Everyone go to her house and work hard. So that's how what community means to us. That's how we explain community. Working hard together, helping each other back home somebody sick. We help each other/

This woman's reminiscing reminded her of a community in which she had no concerns for the well-being of her family and children. Working together, caring for each other, and showing respect for others are important values these

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women have. As they adapt in their new context, they must improvise based upon their past experiences. In this heuristic development, they learn to draw upon their past ways of doing things in a new setting.

As can be seen in the above excerpt, the first woman has learned to accept and nurture other women's children here in the United States. She goes so far as to describe the pain the child experienced when she moved from North Carolina to Arizona. For her, it is not as easy to create relationships of trust with her neighbors in the United States, perhaps because she does not expect that they will share the practice of caring for another's children. However, in time, she may be able to develop a relationship like those she has experienced in Ethiopia.

The woman talked about the respect given to other women in her community by offering help and support for special functions and events. Pitching in and offering assistance makes her a good Ethiopian woman. She values working hard together and helping others when they are in need. This is consistent for this woman in particular as she made similar comments throughout the focus group and in our follow-up meetings.

Analysis of definitions of the family (e.g., Rapp, 1992; Foner, 1997; Hirschman, 1997) help to identify the feelings this woman is experiencing in her new social world. It seems that she has defined family to include those to whom she feels she is close and who have earned her trust. In theorizing the family, it is argued that the family has been operationalized in various ways. For instance, considerations of love, economy, and household become important indicators of family and family life in America (Rapp, 1992).

Understanding that for many immigrants the family is defined in different ways is important. This woman's cultural understandings and symbols of the family differ from what she has experienced in the United States. As a result, she is learning to improvise new relationships as she learns to participate in different social worlds. Her "memory of things past" (Foner, 1992, p. 175) creates a filter for communal relationships and definitions of family and kin.

For instance, having met with this particular group on three different occasions, I once observed her come into another woman's home and take over the preparation of buna as if it were her own home. She planned and prepared a surprise baby shower for her friend and presented her with beautiful gifts both for the mother and the unborn child. In my observation, this woman's identity is strongly connected to the way in which she interacts with others through the practices of hard work, offering support, and showing respect. Her sense of family and kin exceeds blood relationships.

The participants of the focus groups also valued and supported the transfer of this knowledge and these practices to their children. In fact, the women expect children to maintain traditional practices, including the coffee ceremony, and to develop traditional Ethiopian values in this context. Alhough the ceremony happens less frequently while living in Arizona, mothers find ways to teach their children how to be good Ethiopians. This excerpt is a continuation of the previous one, picking up where we had left off in the discussion of the child in North Carolina.

JB: How do you teach your children these things when you don't know who your neighbors are? You shared the example of the boy in North Carolina/

W7.3: You know/

W7.2: Whenever we get the chance, I'm sorry to interrupt you. Whenever we get the chance, we just tell them. To my kids, I always tell them to be good no matter how the people treat them. That's how. Everyone loves them at school. No matter. I'm asked to show the culture. I use to take food to the school and show what we're doing. In North Carolina, I do it here at the school. So, what matters most is the way you transfer, you pass it down. I tell them how many cousins they have. Whenever we send money back home, I tell them why we are doing that. Sometimes you say mommy and daddy to those people who were around you back home when you grow up. I tell them so and so they have that problem, can you help her. So we have to take care of that mini society right there. So that's how they learn. You always tell them they have this person. Do you remember so and so asked you to buy that shoe or this? So the Ethiopian culture might ask you to see them, they like to help. You will see that/

W7.3: You will see that/

W7.3: They like to help. That is their special quality.

The special quality of taking care of their "mini society" and transferring values of respect, love, and service to others is an important role of an Ethiopian mother. As she develops her own sense of communal pride and contribution, she

feels an obligation to develop such qualities in the identity of her children. Extending financial help to those at home and offering help and support to those near are valued practices and behaviors.

Rogoff's (2003) work explores the process of passing on generational traditions and themes. She argues that communities will change their practices over time and concludes that "generational aspects of communities" can be maintained through adapting "enduring traditions across generations" (p. 92). As individuals develop in a dynamic way, their practices transform. Yet fidelity can be maintained through mutually constituting processes across generations. The coffee ceremony is a beautiful illustration of one such ritual. As the woman in this excerpt above described the special qualities of her mini society, she emphasized her hopes for the continuation of specific practices that capture the essence of Ethiopian cultural practices.

Revisiting: What is a Good Ethiopian Woman?

In order to learn about the nature and identity of a good Ethiopian woman, I asked some of the participants directly what it means to be a good Ethiopian woman. Others addressed the principle in the way they described the hopes that their mothers or grandmothers had for them. Being a good Ethiopian woman has much to do with a cultural expression of what women do (Rogoff, 2003). Cultural processes can be thought of as practices and traditions from the past that dynamically relate through acts in a multilayered network in the present.

The following excerpt is rich with layers of meaning, each expressing the significance of being a good Ethiopian woman and doing the things a good

Ethiopian woman does. When I asked specifically what the expression means, the women responded as follows.

> JB: What does it mean to be an Ethiopian woman? My friend said once that I am a good Ethiopian woman. Only I am white. What does that mean?
>
> W7.3: You go ahead/
>
> W7.2: You go ahead/

This initial polite exchange reveals the expectation that Ethiopian women put others ahead of themselves. The women's turn-taking in response to the question is an indirect example of what it means to be a good Ethiopian woman. Upon further analysis, I discovered that putting others first and showing respect begins to address the meaning of the phrase "good Ethiopian woman." These two women have a long shared history. They showed respect for one another by giving each other a turn to respond. "You go ahead" opens the way for the other to take her turn. Clearly, the women view the other as an equal. As the conversation continued, the women described what it means to them to be a good Ethiopian woman. Being shy was a common theme among the women in this study.

> W7.3: She's saying, usually she's shy. She likes to listen. If there is something that makes you sad or feel bad or the day is terrible, I will listen to you. I will tell you. Not only listen to you but while I listen to you . . .
>
> W7.2: Solution/

W7.3: I'm looking for a solution. How am I going to help her? How I'm

gonna find a way for her, you know. This is not only like here, you don't

even listen that way. Sometimes you even show your expression. Your

sadness. You might cry with her. You don't say it's okay then pass away.

You really try to solve her. And be kind.

Though the good Ethiopian woman may be expected to be shy, this

woman indicated the importance of being interested in seeking for a solution

through intentional listening. She made a clear distinction between here (in

Arizona) versus being home in Ethiopia. By reinforcing that American women

don't listen the way an Ethiopian woman would, a sense of Ethiopian superiority

begins to emerge. Clear distinctions between those that are good (because of their

response in a given situation) and those that are not, create a sense of othering.

The Ethiopian women desire a context that excludes any who would not aspire to

maintain their same cultural values.

A shared cultural community with tight social norms seems to reject those

that have different ideas or norms. Such a community presents strong rules for the

society, beliefs, and values that dictate behavior and impose a structure that can

be repeated and maintained when properly understood (Rogoff, 2003). In a sense,

this woman seems to imply that the behaviors of those that are not good Ethiopian

women are inferior. My assumption is that this creates a hierarchical structure and

places individuals in position of power based on behavior.

I also attempted to discover caste systems and hierarchical structures

among the women and their communities in Ethiopia in this study. For instance,

the two young sisters discussed their exertion of power over their grandmother's servants. They insisted that they would never do anything to compromise the servants' employment, yet seemed to feel pride in their ability to exercise such authority over the older women. After member checking their responses, I carefully navigated readdressing their comments. In essence, I sought to discover whether they felt their behavior was appropriate. Ultimately, they felt their behavior was appropriate and even felt they would act in a similar way given a similar situation.

Bringing the past way of doing things to the forefront creates a social structure that empowers the women to be selective regarding whom they will associate with. Dorothy Holland et. al (1998) describe this phenomenon in the following way:

> People use culturally meaningful behavior to bring about contested social ends, they have stepped outside their own position. Disagreements over (and even recognitions of) a person's social position, relative status, and relationship belie the possibility that the social uses of culture can be totally dictated by cultural logics. Instead differences are resolved by other means (pp. 13-14).

One of the ways the women resolve differences in behaviors is by associating and aligning themselves with other Ethiopian women in Arizona. Strong communal ties are created by gathering in like-minded settings. This principle of social uses of culture is embodied in the following details of a how a good Ethiopian woman responds to a car accident. This woman's dialogue

addresses the differences between Arizona and Ethiopia, perhaps meaning that Ethiopian women are superior to others, at least in regards to the way they nurture or provide support to others.

W7.2: When you go back home, a car accident is a big deal in my country. If someone says "So and so got in a car accident," that's a big deal/

W7.3: Yeah!

W7.2: You get a car accident, everyone comes home, and say "Are you ok?" If you are in the hospital. Here in the hospital, someone get sick, the hospital gets crazy because everyone go to visit that Ethiopian guy. They say one time, four hours, two weeks ago, one of our brothers, he was sick in the hospital. He get sick in the hospital and everyone will say, there everyone was Ethiopian. The doctors and everyone don't have time to treat him because there are so many. They say, "Is he your ambassador?" that much. He just one of our individual brothers. We love him. We visit. What shocked me, I tell you. After we got here I hear someone got a car accident from my work place. I was shocked. "Oh! You get in a car accident?" Imagine the culture difference? You get in a car accident? He okay? Is he coming to work? When he coming to work? I was like everyone looking at me crazy. What's wrong with her? What's wrong with me?

JB: Because you care?

W7.2: That's what I feel. Everyone's looking at me and saying he got in a car accident. He will be okay. He's going to come tomorrow. Or maybe he

take five days off and then he come back. So this is how you deal, this is how Americans deal about car accident? We don't get that much car accident. But back home when someone get in car accident it's a big deal to us. We're going to treat that guy, help him by any chance until he get well and go back to wherever he was. When that girl came back from the car accident she started work and back to her routine, I sit down next to her and say "How are you? Are you alright? Do you have insurance? Are you okay?" I was like . . .

W7.3: More concerned/

W7.2: I was the only person who asked her even. I am the only person I ask her. How she's doing? How was her car accident? Everything. How was your hospital stay? I was the only one. This is how Ethiopian women express. We are concerned for every little thing. I see this with my little boy. He is only five year old. He worry about everything! Every little thing. I am worried about him now. I worry does he need to grow up as an American? He is American. He was born in an America. Anyway, an Ethiopian American. Ethiopia comes first. Ethiopian American. I am emphasizing Ethiopian here. He get it from his gene. From Ethiopian blood. He concerned about every little thing. He comes home, "Mommy, today my friend he don't eat his lunch." He worry about that. You say "that's none of his business" I don't like that word by the way. When they told me "That's not your business" maybe that's the problem!? One day I was watching TV and it was like really an issue about globalization about

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the green thing whatever. I was concerned and listening, listening. There

was a guy who was working with me and I turn to him and say "You see

what people are doing? That's why there are a lot of heat in the world."

I'm talking about just general things. He says, "[name], that's none of

your business. That's the business of others they have people over there to

worry about it." This kind of mind is here. That's not the way we grow up.

When we think about Ethiopia, our blood is there. It's our heart, here on

the inside. We are concerned about every little thing! We are helpful. We

are there to help by any chance. As much as we can.

Together: Um hum.

In this example, not only did this woman express the need to offer support

and concern, but she also distinguished what she sees as cultural differences.

Namely, people who live in Arizona do not show concern or worry, whereas by

their cultural nature, Ethiopians are concerned and show it. The mutually

constituted practices of offering words of encouragement, compassion, and

concern capture the essence of being a good Ethiopian woman. The absence of

these values and behaviors among Americans indicates a lower social structure

and may imply a general devaluing of Americans because they do not express the

same concern or care.

As the women talked about how they believe they should behave in a

given circumstance, they also communicated who they believe they are. Actors of

more influence and greater power or worth emerge as a result of a willingness and

desire to offer support and help. Though I do not believe that the women are

saying that they are superior to all Americans, I do believe that they prefer the Ethiopian way of doing things. This preference is acquired by their day-to-day lived experience which has contributed to their own identity formation.

As Holland and her colleagues (1998) argue, "Imagined acts, courses and places of action, actors, and even the whole of a figured world take on an element of rank and status according to this relational hierarchy" (p. 57). This heuristic development illustrates the way the women draw upon their past to determine appropriate behaviors in given situations.

The findings of this study are easily embedded within the rare and limited research available on the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. In a study of communication patterns and everyday interactional talk among Oromo women (a tribe in Ethiopia) who have migrated to America, Yedes, Clamans, and Osman (2004) focus on how the women participate with one another in their daily routine, including the coffee ceremony. Consistent with the findings of this study, the researchers examining communication patterns determined the importance of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony for offering support:

> We explore the informal interpersonal and ritual ways that the women communicate support for one another and promote harmony in their families and community through this ancient tradition . . . .In common with other Oromo groups, the buna in these gatherings involve sharing their lives, sharing sustenance, prayers, supplications, blessings, and also respect and peacekeeping practices for the women and their communities (p. 679).

Although the women in the Yedes et al. (2004) study were all Muslim and the women in this study were all Christian, it appears that the shared practices among the Ethiopian women beautifully transcend religious practices to reflect a unified cultural practice.

The cultural practices in this figured world also make space for the acceptance of those that are not of Ethiopian heritage yet embody the virtues salient to being a good Ethiopian woman. Defining culture as what people do, allows for a framework that includes those who may not have been socialized in the coffee ceremony or in Ethiopian homes.

In the following excerpt, another woman in the focus group addresses the question as to why I (a white American) would be called a good Ethiopian woman. In her response, she focuses more on the need for interest in others, attentive listening, feeling of another's pain, and important qualities that are essential to embodying what she believes captures the essence and best virtues and values of her culture.

> W7.2: Maybe that's why they express it to you like that. We are there to help in Ethiopia. That's why maybe you are helping for people? Listening, feeling the pain. That's how we feel. I get a car accident after a while and everything happen and I go to work. Nobody ask me [name] what happen. Nobody! Not even one person mentioned I was in a car accident/
>
> W7.3: Wow/
>
> W7.2: When we go to work. We use to both work together in the office, in the office everyone comes. "[her name]! You are in a car accident" you

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get mad if someone doesn't even come to your home! You get mad, that's an enemy for you.

W7.3: Um hum, um hum/

W7.3: Some cultures are not really good because we really spend a lot of time on it. The good part is more. Maybe 85 to 15.

This woman was referencing the percentage of Ethiopian people (85 percent) she felt would contribute to someone who was in a car accident. This is in contrast to what she believed would be represented by 15 percent of Americans that would offer support to someone in a car accident. She continues by describing the importance of listening to others.

W7.3: Everybody cares. That's why they know, the way you take time and are listening, this is making you an Ethiopian too. You know the other culture, here you know. The life is so quick. We try to do so many things in such a short time. You don't have time to give to people. But the way you listen, Jennifer, I can tell you that, it makes you Ethiopian.

W7.2: Pretty soon we're going to change your name

JB: What name will you give me?

W7.2: Ganette!

When asked why this particular name, it was indicated that the name sounded closest to the name "Jennifer". What's fascinating about this explanation is that it most clearly aligns with Rogoff's (2003) definition of culture as examining what people do. Further, even though the women had previously talked about genetics and blood being important determinants of knowing how to be a

good Ethiopian woman, identifying me, a Caucasian, native Arizonan as an Ethiopian suggests that it has more to do with what you do than who you are or even where you live. Revising their past definitions of a good Ethiopian woman to include one who is not of Ethiopian heritage creates a space for inclusion of others that share their values within their figured world.

Her figured world "takes shape within and grant(s) shape to the coproduction of activities, discourses, performances, and artifacts. A figured world is peopled by the figures, characters, and types who carry out its tasks and who also have styles of interacting within, distinguishable perspectives on, and orientations toward it" (Holland, et. al, 1998, p. 51). Thus carrying out the appropriate tasks in a similar style distinguishes individuals as being appropriate participants in this figured world.

In future meetings with these women, they called me Jeanette and reminded me that this is my new Ethiopian name, perhaps demonstrating acceptance to their figured world. In a follow-up visit to this same group, I met one woman's mother who was visiting from Ethiopia. What was exchanged between the women in their native tongue, I'm not sure of; however, as I was leaving, the visiting mother kissed me in a traditional fashion then held my face in her hands and said something to me in Amharic. The translation? "You are a good Ethiopian woman." Immediately, I asked if they had told her that we had discussed this concept previously. Their report is the only thing they had told her was that I am studying buna. From her observation, she deemed me worthy to be called a good Ethiopian woman based on the things she saw me do.

A Good Ethiopian Woman is Proud of Ethiopia

The theme of being a good Ethiopian woman emanated throughout the focus groups. As indicated, I asked some groups directly what the term means. In other cases, it emerged naturally. As has been discussed, the women all expressed a deep sense of pride and allegiance to Ethiopia and the necessity of maintaining values acquired in their homeland. In many ways, figured worlds and imagined communities extend toward nationalism. "A mass circulation of cultural resources" creates a commonality amongst a social body (1998, p. 247). As Holland et al. argue,

> Such an imagined community is developed and continued through
> common participation in activities that figure for people their
> identification with others who also, elsewhere or nearby, perform similar
> acts. The sense of abstract community is acquired and maintained through
> the use of common cultural artifacts that have acquired indexical value (p.
> 247).

By attending to the social history that is shared among cultural communities, individuals identify specific practices that elicit a sense of meaning that represents home. The Ethiopian coffee ceremony creates a space for reenacting and maintaining these common cultural artifacts. Gathering with others of Ethiopian heritage while living in Arizona affords identification of shared practices.

Women in this study rarely knew one another prior to coming to the United States but rather, had begun associating based on these shared practices. In

one particular group of three women, each had immigrated to Arizona within the last five years, having come from three different areas of Ethiopia, ranging from a rural countryside village to the capital. Two of the women had united at church and the third joined the group because she lived nearby. They became acquainted based on a shared national identity.

As they described the meaning of being a good Ethiopian woman, they spoke of shared values and what they believed were appropriate behaviors. Within this discussion, a sense of national pride flags a deep, core belief that surpasses geographic boundaries. Of the literature pertaining to the Ethiopian coffee ceremony that I reviewed for this study, all researchers agree that buna represents a sense of national pride (e.g., Abbink, 1995; Yedes, 2004; Palmer, 2010a & b). Embedded within the broader literature on immigration, researchers indicate that retention of a sense of national identity and belonging impacts adjustment to one's new home (e.g., Portes, 1997; Gibson, 2001; Suàrez-Orozco, 2001; and others).

Still, being a good Ethiopian woman, even while living in the United States, appears to be a very real possibility for these women because of the way culture can transcend borders. The following excerpt is from the group of women in this study who have lived in Arizona for the shortest amount of time. They have lived outside Ethiopia from two-and-half years to four years. In response to what it means to be a good Ethiopian woman, they said the following:

W9.1: She is the same as the country.

W9.2: In general to be a good woman in Ethiopia, the woman should have good behavior and good respect for other people. For her husband. How to

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take care of her home and her family, her childs. How to communicate with others and show respect for others. She should make a good social contribution.

JB: Is it the same being a good Ethiopian woman in Ethiopia as America?

W9.3: I'm a good Ethiopian woman still!

"She is the same as the country" is a fascinating statement that encourages reflection on the value the women place in representing their country. The consistency of the practice of being a good Ethiopian woman is measured in the production of the respect for familial relationships and for a proper social contribution. Therefore, being a good Ethiopian woman has less to do with where you live then who you are and how you live (Malkki, 1992). This also perpetrates the argument for living in figured worlds that are based upon shared practices and values.

Despite possible feelings of being uprooted through a change in where they live, the women seem to retain a sense of home. The women's sense of their homeland reflects Malkki's (1992) exploration of the metaphysical meaning of belonging to a motherland and of feeling a literal sense of belonging to one's homeland. This sense of nationality allows for the creation of an imagined community that utilizes the artifacts available to the women in representing the shared meaning making that occurs through the practices that represent Ethiopia. As Malkki (1992) states,

Motherland and fatherland, aside from their other historical connotations, suggest that each nation is a grand genealogical tree, rooted in the soil that

nourishes it. By implication, it is impossible to be a part of more than one

tree. Such a tree evokes both temporal continuity of essence and territorial

rootedness (p. 28).

Therefore, these Ethiopian women may live in Arizona or other areas of

the United States (or anywhere in the world for that matter) and still feel deep and

enduring roots to their motherland, Ethiopia. Operating within this theoretical

perspective of figured worlds and imagined communities provides rich insight

into how it is possible to retain Ethiopian heritage while living on the other side of

the globe.

Retaining their cultural roots in combination with globalization,

immigration, and moving to a new world afford the women new possibilities and

opportunities. Living in a new location appears to have changed the women, as

they make observations regarding the social expectations for them here in

Arizona. In a heuristic way, women improvise in these new contexts while

drawing upon their past ways of doing things. Just as the young Ethiopian college

students wrestle with maintaining their social and community identities alongside

feminist practices, all of the women in this study explore their social identity

within new found independence gained in migration.

For example, the following excerpt from the focus group of the most

recent immigrants, the women describe some of the pleasures they have found as

they have come to a new country.

W9.1: This place you change. You live for yourself. My country, you live

for others. Over there most of life is mostly is to live for others. Not for

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yourself. Here everyone lives for herself. There you take care of everyone. You share for everyone. For your mom, for your uncle. Even if you have plenty, you share even with your neighbors. To be a good woman over there, you have to have those behaviors and traits only. If you are making an argument and quarreling with each other, you are helping them to solve their problems and discuss the social environment. A good woman will take that responsibility and discuss it. Even within coffee, wherever. You play a social role. Respect your family and live together in order.

Much like the focus group that explored the expectations of support offered in an accident, this woman expressed the way she values providing physical help and support to others. The common thread between the two is the golden virtue of seeking for a social solution. Within this context, women live in a community. They also dynamically develop as they improvise their identities by spontaneously acting upon new cultural practices such as living for themselves.

This imagined community provides roots that are supported by an important scaffolding for the development of identity as a woman gains a sense of values, consistent with her core self, reflected through participation with others. As she intersects her community plane by interacting in a positive and contributing way, she reinforces her shared practices of offering help and seeking for a solution. This figured world becomes an important tool of her identity development.

The expectation of contributing to the social group in a positive way is illustrated by a refugee Oromo woman. She was born and raised in Ethiopia,

although she is particular about claiming Oromo as her country, regardless of it's not being officially recognized as a country. She believes that few Ethiopian women stand up for their rights, either socially or politically. Giving voice to oppression was unique to this woman in particular. Though I assume that each of the women in this study could speak to bonds of oppression, she is the only one to directly address the realities of her struggle:

> As an Oromo woman, it is important to represent these interests and values by standing up for democracy and freedom. They've (the Oromo and the women) been oppressed for so long. They are even called a slang word called "gala" which means not civilized or modern. Yet I believe that Oromo people are the most educated, intelligent people in Ethiopia. They are resourceful and ultimately nobody in Ethiopia exists without Oromo land. This is where coffee, livestock, and other things come from. Eretria depends on Ethiopia. If there is no Oromo there are no resources yet they call us names. For one hundred years they have been mistreating us when they are seeking for democracy, equality, and freedom. But it's changing (From interview field notes, approved by the participant, 2011).

This woman's need for social contribution is embodied in speaking against political oppression and celebrating the challenges of a new democracy. A sense of pride for one's country and home of origin is a shared value among each of these women as they navigate a hybrid culture (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). This concept of a hybrid culture works within the framework of space, figured worlds, cultural communities, and the changes that transpire as individuals continue to be

uprooted from their homelands and move to new areas around the globe. Because identities are mobile, the dynamic self retains pieces of each of the places, people, and interactions to contribute in a powerful way to the developing individual. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) claim:

> In a world of Diaspora, transnational culture flows, and mass movements of populations, old-fashioned attempts to map the globe as a set of culture regions or homelands are bewildered by a dazzling array of postcolonial simulacra, doublings and redoubling, as India and Pakistan apparently reappear in postcolonial simulation in London, prerevolution Tehran rises from the ashes in Los Angeles, and a thousand similar cultural dreams are played out in urban and rural settings all across the globe. In this culture-play of diaspora, familiar lines between "here" and "there", center and periphery, colony and metropole become blurred (p. 10).

Thus, areas throughout Arizona and around the world become home to good Ethiopian women, all living outside Ethiopia! As this woman continued to talk about her pride for her region, she deliberately distinguished herself as being from Oromo rather than Ethiopia. She expressed disappointment as she talked about women who change their names (or their children's names) from traditional Oromo names to names more common in other areas of Ethiopia. This practice is believed to occur to protect against persecution or mistreatment that may arise as a result of distinguishable Oromo names. For this woman, it is more important to stand strong in the face of persecution than to cower by changing one's name from an Oromo name.

She admitted that maintaining Ethiopian culture is very important though she never calls herself Ethiopian or Habesha. (Habesha is a term used to refer to individuals who live or have lived in either Ethiopia or Eritrea.) If someone else calls her Ethiopian, quickly she corrects them: "I am Oromia! Then if someone asks where I am from, I say Oromo. It's not a country yet and people don't know where it is so I'll say Ethiopia." Distinguishing between country and regional belonging is important to this woman.

Therefore, I contend that nationalism is a significant contributor to identity formation and springs from a framework that draws upon shared cultural practices and human activity. This attachment and connection to "home" may even become romanticized in an "imagined" way, offering the self an opportunity to create identity linked to one's homeland and its culture.

Gupta and Ferguson (1992) explore this sense of nationalism and its creations through politics. They briefly reference Eritrea, which is on the northern border of Ethiopia. Eritrea annexed from Ethiopia as its fourteenth region in 1952 and officially became a state in 1992 after a 30-year battle for independence (Hoyle, 1999). The southern border of Eritrea continues to be a contested boundary with Ethiopia. Though, here in the United States, Eritreans that I have met have categorized themselves as "habesha," a term used to collectively label individuals from Ethiopia or Eritrea.

In considering national identity, the term "habesha" creates a contradiction in that a political force may typically create a separation. Yet many Ethiopian women both in Ethiopia and Arizona identify themselves with this collective

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term. I am therefore operating under the assumption that these women here in the United States either (a) had no sense of the conflict amongst women of other regions or states of Ethiopia when they were in Ethiopia or (b) have abandoned the politics of a border and are building on a common and familiar sense of national identity and culture by adapting and adopting a collective term (habesha) for themselves here in Arizona to create a strong community away from Ethiopia or Eritrea.

A Good Ethiopian Woman is Not Too Americanized

Just as exhibiting strong national pride appears to be a salient feature of the good Ethiopian woman, so does maintaining these values in Arizona. Abandoning shared cultural practices eliminates ties and claims to Ethiopia and earns a label of Americanized. An example can be seen in the excerpt below, in which a mother discusses her daughter's reaction to participating in the coffee ceremony. This woman and her daughter had lived in Sudan as refugees. Although the daughter was born in Ethiopia, her earliest memories were in Sudan. Refugee placement brought them to Arizona while she was a teenager.

While living in Sudan, the girl's father saw another female child playing rather than preparing coffee in the ceremony. As a result, this man insisted that his daughter did not have to learn to prepare buna. In this excerpt, the mother talks about her daughter's feelings for coffee.

W7.1: Oh my god! My daughter hates it.

W7.2: She becomes too American, I guess. Though you don't have time! Another thing we don't teach them. Maybe a girl thing. I don't know. Maybe it won't pass through to girls born here in America/

W7.1: She don't want to. She don't want it.

The women suggested that the daughter has become too Americanized because she hates to participate in the coffee ceremony. The ceremony therefore has become an important context for retention of core identities. The women also affirm that it is a girl thing, that it creates a space for females to gather. Yet the women face the possibility of the ceremony not passing to females of Ethiopian decent that are born in America. Once again, these women struggle with improvising their identities with the coffee ceremony as an important artifact of cultural values.

The daughter who hates buna later participated in the coffee ceremony. She expressed her dislike for the ceremony just as her mother said. Her mother is an important contributor to the church in that she initiated the formation of this congregation in Arizona. Though she is revered by many, her daughter is viewed as being too Americanized. The daughter passionately pronounced throughout the focus group that she hates the coffee ceremony, having associated it with the work that was expected of her. It was in this focus group that another woman told her that she was too Americanized, that perhaps she had lost her Ethiopian identity.

W4.3: You're too Americanized.

W4.2: No, I'm not! NO, I'm NOT! I am not Americanized!

W4.3: You're Americanized/

JB: Why do you say that of her?

W4.3: Because I know her. She is. Americanized.

W4.2: Only because I don't like it (the coffee ceremony). I'm not Americanized. I like other parts of the culture. Because I grew up in Sudan?

W4.1: I took her to Sudan in '93.

W4.2: I had to learn the reading and writing. My mom hired me a tutor. She was embarrassed because I speak Arabic better then Amharic. My daughter knew how to speak (Arabic)/

W4.3: See. She speaks Arabic

W4.2: No, I'm sorry. I don't like it. (Arabic language) I like Ethiopian tradition. But I don't like making the coffee. I love our culture.

As can be seen, the woman uses the coffee ceremony to represent being a good Ethiopian woman, suggesting that vocalizing a dislike for it negates the possibility of the daughter valuing the culture and the traditions. Interestingly, the woman accusing the daughter of being too Americanized later acknowledged that she does not participate in the coffee ceremony because she read that Jesus does not approve of coffee. I asked the woman where she had learned that or read it. She said that she attends the coffee ceremonies and even makes it but does not drink it. Her religious observation differs from others in her congregation. Yet she says the woman who outwardly hates the ceremony is too Americanized.

Therefore, it appears that respecting and not openly rejecting the ceremony is an important contribution to cultural belonging. In a similar fashion

to the woman featured in a photograph reading fortunes, this woman is being rejected from a social group because of her failure to comply to the collective community practice.

In this excerpt, Arabic language also becomes a contentious point. Even as a refugee in Sudan, this uneducated mother (she self-reported that she never attended school) hired a tutor for her daughter to retain their mother tongue. While we sat together, the daughter spoke in at least three different languages. Yet all of the women spoke in English. Is the use of one language more acceptable than others? Does knowing a language that others do not speak place her in a position to be outcast from the community and labeled as too Americanized?

In addition to experiencing a migration to America, the daughter had been raised in Sudan. Her ties to Ethiopia are not as strong as other women in this study, creating a tension in cultural belonging. Rogoff (2003) argues for building upon cultural communities by becoming "fluent" in more than one way of doing things. It is a reality that people often live in "more than one cultural approach" (p. 329). Such is the case for this daughter. Yet her rejection of what appears to be an important cultural artifact fragments her sense of belonging.

Thus, the shared values of the community here in Arizona thrive within the practice and rules of participating in and honoring the space created by buna. This reflects an important aspect of being a good Ethiopian woman. When the accuser left to tend her child, I asked the daughter how she felt about being called too Americanized. She responded as follows:

JB: What do you think of her saying you are Americanized?

W4.2: That bugs me! I don't want her telling me that "You're Americanized." They think because my child's father is white. It bothers me. I'm not Americanized. They think I don't like the culture. I love my culture. But this buna, it's for socializing/

In addition to the language differences, she referenced the whiteness of her child's father. It is important to note that the two college aged sisters that participated in this study also referred to this woman when talking about their expectations for marriage. They indicated that marrying a white man was less acceptable to them. As discussed in the previous chapter, marriage practices appear to be another important feature of being a good Ethiopian woman. (This woman never married her daughter's father.) This woman's failure to marry and her having a child with a white man may have impacted the other women's perception of her as being a good Ethiopian woman. In this particular excerpt, other contributions may include her having been raised in Sudan, her fluency with different language(s), her lack of enjoyment in the coffee ceremony, or voicing her strong opinions. Her reality may be that she doesn't enjoy buna because she feels these rejections. Being too Americanized changes her ability to reflect the practices of a good Ethiopian woman.

The woman then becomes an outcast from the social community because she has outwardly rejected this social group's agreed upon practices. Social cohesion is an important factor to belonging and acceptance in a social world. As she acts exclusively, she re-forms herself in a dialogic way by rejecting traditional

practices and embracing her own values. Although she is not physically excluded, she appears to be socially excluded. A power struggle is thus created that is based upon adhering to social norms. In her attempts to adapt to her new social world, her adaptation has rejected tradition.

Other women have found that they can balance the changes in cultural practices that results from living in Arizona and still maintain their native practices. For example, I met a woman at the Orthodox church one day. The service that particular day was dedicated to her deceased mother and served to honor and pay tribute to her life. While others were in the church participating in the service, this woman was in the cafeteria preparing a meal. To her, it was more important to organize and prepare a meal than to participate in the religious ceremony that was held for her mother.

When I approached her and talked to her about this study, she asked if I would come to her home later that afternoon and join in the continuation of the celebration. A group of about 25 people had gathered in her home. Many were relatives who lived in the home. Others were her closest friends. We formed a focus group for about an hour, and then she insisted on demonstrating the coffee ceremony for me.

After leaving the room to dress in traditional clothing, she gathered all the familiar items and asked me to sit in front of her so we could continue to talk. It is important to note that she, like others, did not like the appearance of the women and children in the photographs. She deliberately dressed in traditional clothing to demonstrate the buna. As she described her wedding, she paused to have me look

at all of the photographs. During this conversation, and while I was looking at her wedding pictures, I asked her about the changes she has experienced as she has lived in the United States.

JB: You've lived here ten years? What differences do you see in American versus Ethiopian women?

W5.2: Ohhhhhh. It's completely different. Because when you are in the U.S. you have to work, you have to do everything. But there they depend on their husbands or their father whoever the man in the family. Okay. But in America. I'll give you an example. When I was back home, even if I have work or a job, I still depend on my family, but since I came here, I can do things on my own for myself. I depend on myself. That's what I love.

JB: You love that?

W5.3: Oh yeah. I love that. Because I stand on my own. I do it for myself. That's what I like. I love it. Back home, someone is always going to depend on you or need you/ (interrupted by a child playing with the fire).

This woman, who appeared to be traditional in her observation of the practices of an Ethiopian woman, also clearly expressed her love of being able to stand on her own. The question then is what is it about the environment or society in Arizona that has enabled her to feel such freedoms? As a registered nurse, she is able to make a good living. Her husband works in California in a corporate setting and travels to Arizona on the weekends so they can be together.

In contrast, as she sat and prepared buna, while wearing a traditional dress, she was surrounded by her family. She lives with extended family in one home: two siblings, their families, and her father all live together. Yet she describes being able to stand on her own. Perhaps the greatest independence comes from a sense of being able to choose how her time is spent?

In the re-forming of identity that takes place in migration, the women demonstrate the importance of maintaining certain practices to indicate retention of their first culture. Margaret Gibson (2001) describes the process of acculturation in migration and some of the important factors that determine the ways that individuals adapt to new living environments. She uses the phrase "accommodation and acculturation without assimilation" to describe the deliberate preservation of cultural practices associated with one's homeland (p. 20). The examples in this chapter illustrate various acculturation patterns of the women in this study. Most of the women agreed that retaining the coffee ceremony is an important symbol of home. Yet the daughter raised in Sudan has boldly and bravely rejected the practice, thus seeming to be in a situation that mandates the creation of a new sense of self and a space of belonging in her own dynamic identity formation.

This chapter focuses on the ways in which the women remembered the coffee ceremony in Ethiopia. When analyzing what they said I focused on heuristic developments as their past was brought into their present circumstances. The individual plane that focused on what the women said about beauty began to

intersect her social and community planes, resulting in a discussion about the

impact of a sense of national identity.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

In many ways, this study has contributed significantly to my own identity development. Though I am not of Ethiopian heritage, I sense that participating in this study has led me to understand myself better, to more fully wrap myself around the kind of woman I want to be, and to examine my own participation and contribution to the cultural communities to which I belong. I want to be a good Ethiopian woman.

My interest in Ethiopia began in the early 1980s and has become ignited by this project. It is my desire and intention to continue a detailed study of Ethiopian women throughout my career. Initially, the desired outcome of this study was to contribute to humanitarian efforts. I did not anticipate the impact it would have on me, personally, nor the way it would affirm the women that participated in the study.

Due to language barriers, I cannot represent the feelings of the women in Ethiopia that are captured in the photographs in text. However, I do have thousands of photographs that appear to portray what they value and how they spend their daily routine. In contrast, I can represent in words the expressions of the women who participated in the focus groups. As they responded to the photographs portraying the lived experiences of the women in Ethiopia, they have, in many ways, given voice to the photographs. It was my desire to be as transparent as possible throughout this process. Though that is not entirely possible, I do believe this work began to approach the vocalizing of the silenced,

narrating a rich story of Ethiopian female identity formation through an important shared ritual.

In a study focused on female identity formation, it was rewarding when one participant expressed sincere gratitude for the opportunity to "go deep" about what she values. As this young woman made her final responses in a focus group, she spoke about how she felt she had come to know herself, her grandmother, sister, and other Ethiopian women more intimately. She concluded with "Now I feel like I know myself better as an Ethiopian woman." This seemed to capture the essence of the study.

Through examining the routine ways of doing things, the women of this study were able to talk openly and in great detail about an important tradition of their mothers and mother's mothers. Initially, women were surprised that I was interested in buna, yet as a naive outsider, I could see that it served as an important contribution to female identity. All women concluded that this is indeed a special time for socializing and gathering.

Within the analysis, themes emerged that significantly contribute to sociocultural theoretical perspectives. For example, in Chapter 5, this study explored the women's direct responses to the typical nature of the photos by discussing what was said about three key photographs. As Thomas Weisner (1984, 2002) has shown the importance of talking about everyday practices to discover what groups value. These photographs enabled the women to talk about the common occurrences in their lives. Frequently women were delighted to see images of "home," saying things such as, "This is perfect!" or asking to keep the

photographs. The participants agreed on the typical way in which the ritual

occurs. Talking about whether the photographs were typical transformed the

conversation about the routine into discussions of significant social practices that

may not have been explored otherwise.

It was fascinating to watch the women respond to the various photographs.

For the most part, the women were very happy to see photos from "back home."

Others responded negatively to the poor settings in which the photos were taken,

as most of the women that participated in this study are from the larger cities in

Ethiopia whereas many of the photos used were from a rural village. Additionally,

possible contributions to caste systems and the social constraints and hierarchical

structures that appear to exist within this cultural community emerged. Though

the women were hesitant to talk openly or directly about tensions that exist among

women of differing faiths, economic achievements, educational backgrounds,

upbringing, and so forth, they did imply such tensions when they spoke about the

typical nature of the photographs.

Chapter 5 affirmed the choice of the methodological approach of

participant-based photo elicitation and focus groups as one that supports the

theoretical perspective while building upon a rich theoretical foundation. Fiese's

(2006) phases of a ritual created an idyllic structure for organizing responses

pertaining to the enactment of a ritual. In this chapter, I examined the preparation

process of the buna. The women's rich responses added meaning to cultural tools

and artifacts. The jebena was one of the most referenced material artifacts (Cole

1996, 2005) discovered in this study. Other tools of culture explored in Chapter 6

included gendered roles, the ways in which boys and men participate in the ceremony, and how these roles have changed.

Following through the phases of a ritual to the participation stage was the focus of Chapter 7. Within this chapter, the trajectory for changes in participation over time was traced throughout a female's lifespan. I established that a woman begins participating as a small child and celebrates her own buna ceremony when she has a home of her own or is married. Anchored in the work of Rogoff (2003, 2011), I explored significant and delineated participation focusing on learning in informal, communal ways.

The final stage of the ceremony is reminiscing. Chapter 8 focused on the remembered pasts of the women and the meaning they make of the ceremony's contribution to who they are as women. Drawing upon Soja's (1996) work in *thirdspace*, I analyzed what it means to the women to have space to be free. Further, I explored the meaning of being a good Ethiopian woman. Culture as what a woman does was beautifully personified as the women accepted me as a good (fair-skinned!) Ethiopian woman.

Each of these chapters represents a different phase of the ritual of the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. My intention was to take what the women said about the photographs and categorize them, seeking for a face-value response so I could appropriately identify themes. My greatest challenge was determining the meaning they made of the ceremony, especially in a context of what I perceived as escaping oppression.

Biases and Limitations

I acknowledge my own biases here, in that I have developed in a cultural space that seems to differ in many ways from the women in this study. Drawing upon my own naivety as an outsider had its advantages as I was able to ask questions for clarification which allowed the women to speak about the ceremony in simple ways. This also was a benefit because I could easily ask questions as I was not expected to know about the ceremony.

Focus groups were formed according to relationships that already existed among the women. My hope had been to form larger groups of unrelated women. In many ways, this became a weakness of the study. Yet it also served as a strength because the formation of focus groups consisting of women that already related to one another may represent how they would gather for buna. Perhaps the dynamic of the groups would have changed if unrelated women had been brought together? Would they speak more openly or possibly disagree with one another because they would not be concerned with seeing each other again? Or did the groups that were available reflect what a typical coffee ceremony gathering would consist of because they were acquainted and seemed to already socialize together?

All women in this study spoke English although their mother tongue was Amharic or Ofon Oromo. There were times that the women would speak to one another in their native language and then tell me what they had said. Enabling the women to speak primarily in the language in which they are most comfortable would have been ideal. However, I do not feel that language inhibited the authenticity of responses.

In contrast, my position as a white, educated American seemed to place me in an undesirable position of power. There were times when I sensed that women were anticipating what I might want to hear rather than what may have been their reality. For instance, discussions on caste systems or female oppression were minimal, though I suspect both exist within this cultural community.

Further, my own religiosity created a bias in that I felt like I was viewing many of their comments within my own cultural beliefs and practices. My religious, dietary practice of abstaining from coffee created interesting (and always polite) inquiries into my religious practices. Because all of the women in this study were also religious, they appeared to support my own practices. However, this was a major bias for me as I continued to sense similarities to the cultural community that I belong to while learning about the cultural community of the buna circle.

Religion was also an important descriptor of the women in this study. All of the women were Christian. I made efforts to diversify the different Christian congregations in which the women worshipped, but I had no access to non-Christian women. Future research should consider non-religious women, Muslims, and Jews in order to give a broader representation of the meaning of the practice among a wider population.

In considering the expansion of a population, this study was focused on first generation immigrants only. Perspectives of women who have been born outside of Ethiopia and the ways in which they participate in the coffee ceremony were not included. A future study exploring the changes in participation over time

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as women have spent less time in Ethiopia would be a significant contribution to this research.

Lastly, the battle of time is an important consideration in concluding this study. Perhaps all researchers wish for a little more time to probe a bit more and gain greater access to their participants. Ultimately, this research seemed to reach a point of saturation in which participants were saying similar things. Yet the constraints of time were challenging in concluding the study.

Findings and Implications

When discussing the findings of this study, it is important to readdress the meanings the women assigned to becoming a good Ethiopian woman. Emphasizing that within a sociocultural perspective, this study examined culture as what women do, explored the use of mediation with artifacts and tools of culture, and discovered the dynamic nature of change in participation overtime within the coffee ceremony. The use of photo elicitation to conduct focus groups facilitated a context ripe with meaning, allowing the theories to emerge in a comfortable setting rather than initiating questions based on my own assumptions or inquiries. The photographs allowed me to become more transparent and to act more as a facilitator rather than as an authoritative figure. The photos also became a tool of culture as the women celebrated images of their homeland.

By nesting the women's responses within the framework of the three phases of a ritual, I ordered and explored the following six findings:

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1. Material artifacts such as a jebena or incense (smoke) burning during the ceremony represent important cultural tools that reflect shared values which, in turn, contribute to identity formation.

In Chapter 6, the typical nature of the photographs elicited the importance of a jebena being present in order to properly represent a traditional ceremony. Other women recognized the importance of incense burning. These material artifacts represent cultural tools that the women value. This study reinforces the significance of the meaning that women make of the tools they use in shared communal settings. When individuals find collective meaning and value in physical tools, cultural values emerge and figured worlds are reinforced. The women who demonstrated coffee ceremonies for me emphasized their desire to use the same tools that are used in Ethiopia.

Using particular material artifacts extends tradition and practices that have been enacted by Ethiopian women for centuries which then connects generations and creates an historical identity that binds the women together, both generationally and in a type of sisterhood and familial community.

2. Gendered roles emerge within the context of the coffee ceremony. These roles contribute to the way in which females participate in their cultural communities.

Within a sociocultural perspective, examining what people do and who does what reveals gender identifications. The women responded to the role a male plays in participating in the coffee ceremony reinforcing norms, rules, and behaviors. The women's responses to a photograph of a young man grinding coffee created rich narratives of the role a male plays and how that changes as he

matures and ages. A grown man's participation in the ceremony is limited to drinking coffee only. Though he may know how to prepare it based on years of observation, he would be shamed and mocked if he did. For example, two young women found that it was shocking to see any male participate in preparation. Other women agreed that the male child was providing help and support to his mother and other women. However, assigning the male child to do the hard work engenders males with stereotypical masculine roles that may eventually lead to a sense of superiority over females.

Further, I argue that when men's participation in the ceremony is limited, women are able to exert power in agentic ways. Enabling the women to be in complete control of this setting creates a space for empowerment. As she instructs and delegates the roles in the coffee ceremony, she is able to escape outside pressures of oppression. The women in this study did not express any sense of force or obligation in preparing the coffee. It appears to be a setting in which they are able to exercise agency and act as they wish. The paradox is that they are free to act as they wish without men but within the range of repertoires of practices held by good Ethiopian woman definitions. Failing to support these social norms results in failure to be invited back again.

3. Being free is an important thirdspace pushing for possibilities.

Because the coffee ceremony is a near-exclusive setting of empowerment for women, the women in this study described this space as a place to be free. The shared physical world and imagined world intersect to create a space rich with possibilities in this special figured world.

My analysis shows that women value the opportunity to speak freely, to express emotions, deep feelings, and to work toward solutions in the coffee ceremony. Approaching the coffee ceremony as a space of openness postures the women to return to the ritual repeatedly. Though the coffee itself may serve a physical purpose, ultimately, I argue that the greatest draw to the tradition (and the continuation of it for many generations) is the reality of this *thirdspace*.

The women did not specifically identify what they felt they were being freed from. I assume that being free include escape from oppression, work demands, and life pressures. This finding is nested in feminist perspectives and observations during my field work while in Ethiopia.

4. The values of making a meaningful contribution in the lives of others creates cultural citizenship and community building.

The coffee ceremony continues to be an important time for socialization when women are adjusting to migration to the United States, although the frequency of gathering is lessened. The Ethiopian women define family as broader than blood. This context serves as an important space for the perpetration of cultural citizenship and the ritual represents a relationship to the women's homeland.

5. Changes in the way a female participates in the ceremony over her lifespan represent a rite of passage that culminates in marriage.

In Chapter 7, I utilized the work of Barbara Rogoff (2003) to examine the way the women talked about their participation in the coffee ceremony throughout their lifespan. As women remembered their pasts, they spoke about early

memories of listening to their mothers. As children, they were able to make a contribution to what they believed was an important community gathering by inviting the other women to join the buna circle.

As they grew and aged, their responsibilities were enhanced until eventually they prepared the coffee for all of the women. At this point, the young woman became the focal point of the ceremony and they were in many ways honored for making a good round of coffee. Just as many cultures culminate rites of passage with marriage, Ethiopian women host their first coffee ceremonies when they are married or living on their own.

This context is an important setting and makes significant contributions to the formation of identity. Females learn to represent the values of the community as they observe, participate, and eventually host coffee ceremonies. The women's talk of unborn female children learning to love the coffee suggests the importance of transferring the values and socialization of the setting to future generations and extending the tradition throughout time.

6. Being a good Ethiopian woman is determined by what she does.

In Chapter 8, I examined the way the women talked about their sense of and retention of national identity. This examination extended this study to understanding a sense of national identity that fits within a larger social plane, intersects the intimate dynamic identity that forms for each individual woman. As a woman remembers her heritage by retaining language, traditions, and specific behaviors, she magnifies an expected role of being a good Ethiopian woman.

Although the women appreciate and celebrate new opportunities in the United States such as education, shared gendered roles in the home, and careers in their new homes, they all emphasized the necessity of honoring their mothers and their heritage. Identifying these core values as paramount necessitates that they not become too Americanized. Stepping outside of the social norms may earn them the label of being too Americanized. In this othering, the woman raised in Sudan was insulted. The other women used her dislike of the coffee ceremony as the catalyst for the accusation, though I sense that it had as much to do with other choices that she has made in her life such as her personal relationships. Abandoning or showing disinterest in the coffee ceremony stigmatized membership within the social community.

As the women discussed being a good Ethiopian woman, they talked about behaviors like looking down when being spoken to and personality traits like shyness. I was also fascinated by the bold assertion made by one focus group in calling themselves beautiful! It was refreshing and inspiring to ask what beauty is and to have a woman suggest herself! This led me to ask about the confidence that this woman emulated. Conversations that centered on recognizing beauty as more than physical appearance were central to this study. Rather, emphasizing the way one listens to, cares for, and assists others became focal points of beauty. Physical appearance is not neglected: in fact, it is an important priority. My own observations both in Ethiopia and in Arizona are that Ethiopian women take great pride in presenting themselves in a favorable way. However, the shared values of

behaviors and what is done to be beautiful is a refreshing escape from Western pressures of body image.

Future Research

The findings of this study offer many possibilities for future research projects. Examining male perspectives and participation in the ceremony could add a rich perspective to the changes in participation over time and the impact on female identity formation. A longitudinal study in which male response were added may broaden a discourse on oppression and gendered roles. An exploration of changes through migration of including men in the ceremony, while comparing participation without males present, could contribute to a deeper understanding of the meaning women make of this context. As indicated in earlier chapters, men were present at some of the focus groups but they did not participate in the groups.

In addition, my own religious interests and beliefs lead to my interest in studying religious aspects of the ceremony. The purpose and use of incense during the ceremony was not explained by the women. I wonder about associations to religious symbols and other purposes of the ceremony. This creates a space for exploring the contributions of religious participation to identity formation.

Ultimately, this research has become an all consuming labor of love that encompasses much of my life. It seems that I am always looking for ways to examine the context and come to better understand the developmental trajectories of women of Ethiopia and Ethiopian heritage. An example is one morning in the

spring of 2011, as I was completing the writing of this study, I read an article on CNN.com[3] about the importance of coffee to Ethiopia. The article recounted the story of the energized goat, the importance of socialization through buna, and the revenue generated by selling the beans to other countries. No mention was made of the women and the beautiful, rich, and vibrant meaning they make of the context. As I read the article, a proud smile slipped across my face. I believe that I am one of the first scholars to approach the Ethiopian coffee ceremony from a perspective of its importance to the development of female identity. Perhaps the most significant contribution this study makes, then, is the opening of what seemed to be a sealed door to the voices of the women of Ethiopia and of Ethiopian heritage.

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[3]CNN.com Ethiopia's coffee love affair, April 7, 2011 Retrieved from: http://articles.cnn.com/2011-04-07/world/ethiopia.coffee.culture_1_coffee-ceremony-coffee-shops-arabica?_s=PM:WORLD

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APPENDIX A

PHOTOGRAPHS USED IN THIS STUDY

The following photographs were taken in various locations in Ethiopia. Each photograph is labeled with the location site in which the photo was taken and whether the photograph was taken by the researcher or a participant in Ethiopia. Additionally, the photographs appear in the order in which they were shown to focus groups. Captions reflecting general statements about the photographs are given.

Photo number one was taken by the researcher in the countryside village of Dera,

Ethiopia, July, 2010. This was one of the most well received photographs used in

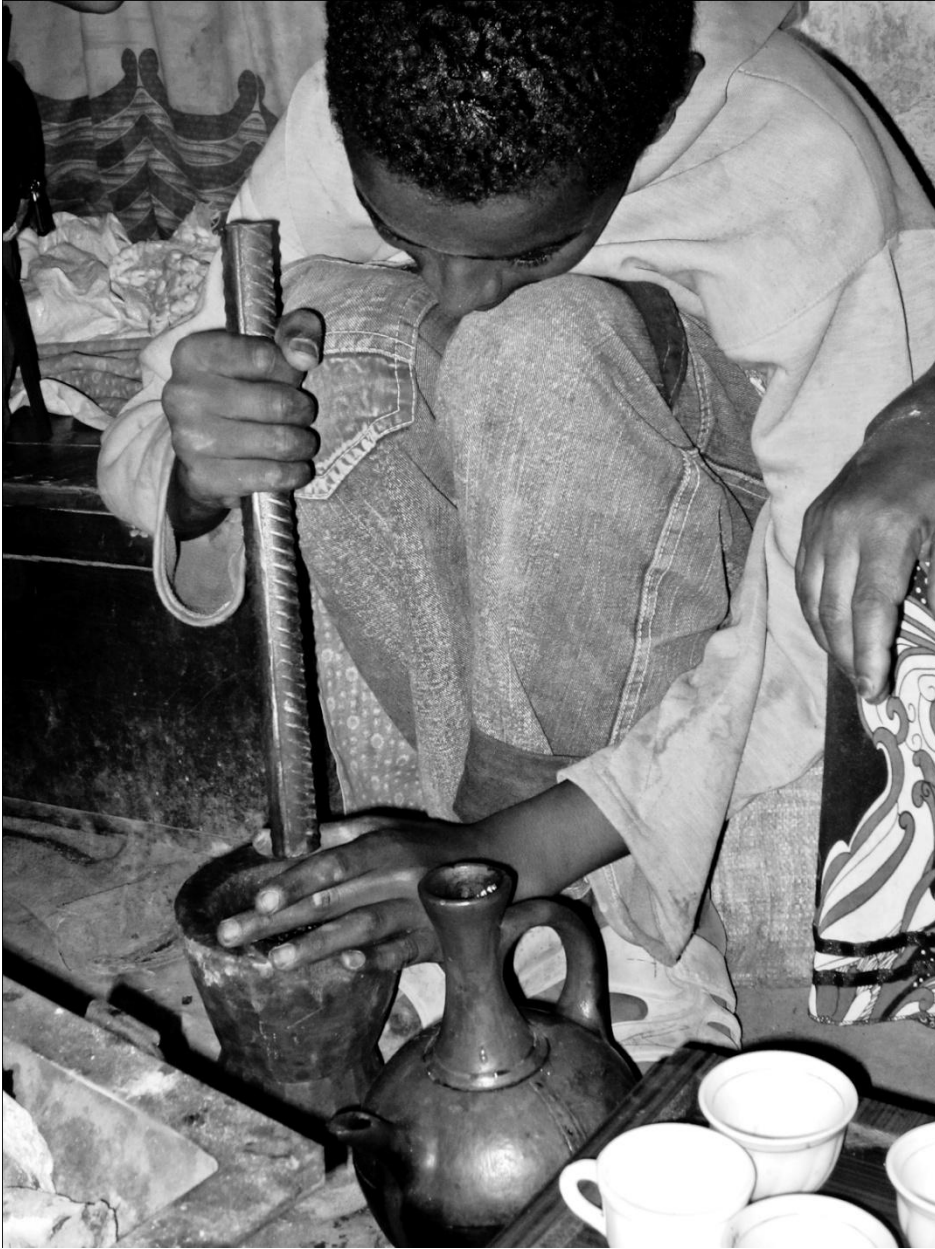this study, capturing a woman sorting the coffee beans prior to roasting them.

Photo number two features a young man grinding roasted coffee beans with a car axel. This was taken by the researcher in Dera, July, 2010. This photograph functioned as an important visual cue for eliciting discussions pertaining to gendered roles.

Photo number three focuses on two women talking while one woman is grinding roasted coffee beans. Participants like the photograph and the way the women are focused on each other, appearing to be engaged in a conversation. The photograph was taken in Dera, Ethiopia by a participant, March 2010.

A young girl prepares coals in the stove for in boiling the coffee ceremony. This photo number four was the first of a series of photographs featuring young females. All participants agreed the ages of the female children in the photographs are typical. The photograph was taken by a participant in Dera, March 2010.

Photo number five was taken by a participant in Dera Ethiopia, Marcy, 2010. The female child is putting ground coffee in the jebena in preparation for the first pot of coffee. She is holding bread in her hand, perhaps eating it as she works.

This sixth photo elicited strong response regarding the proper pot to be used in preparing buna. The absence of a stool for the child to sit on during preparation was not typical. The photograph was taken by a participant in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, March 2010.

Photo number seven shows a woman preparing cups for coffee to be poured into
them. She is spooning unrefined sugar into each cup. This photo was taken by the
researcher in Dera, Ethiopia, July, 2010

 Photo number eight shows the hostess of a coffee ceremony preparing to serve

the first cups of buna. This photograph was taken by the researcher in Dera,

Ethiopia, July 2010.

Photo number nine was taken by a participant in Dera, Ethiopia, March, 2010.

Participants in Arizona said that she was resting while the coffee was boiling.

Other participants in Arizona suggested that the photo was taken when her eyes
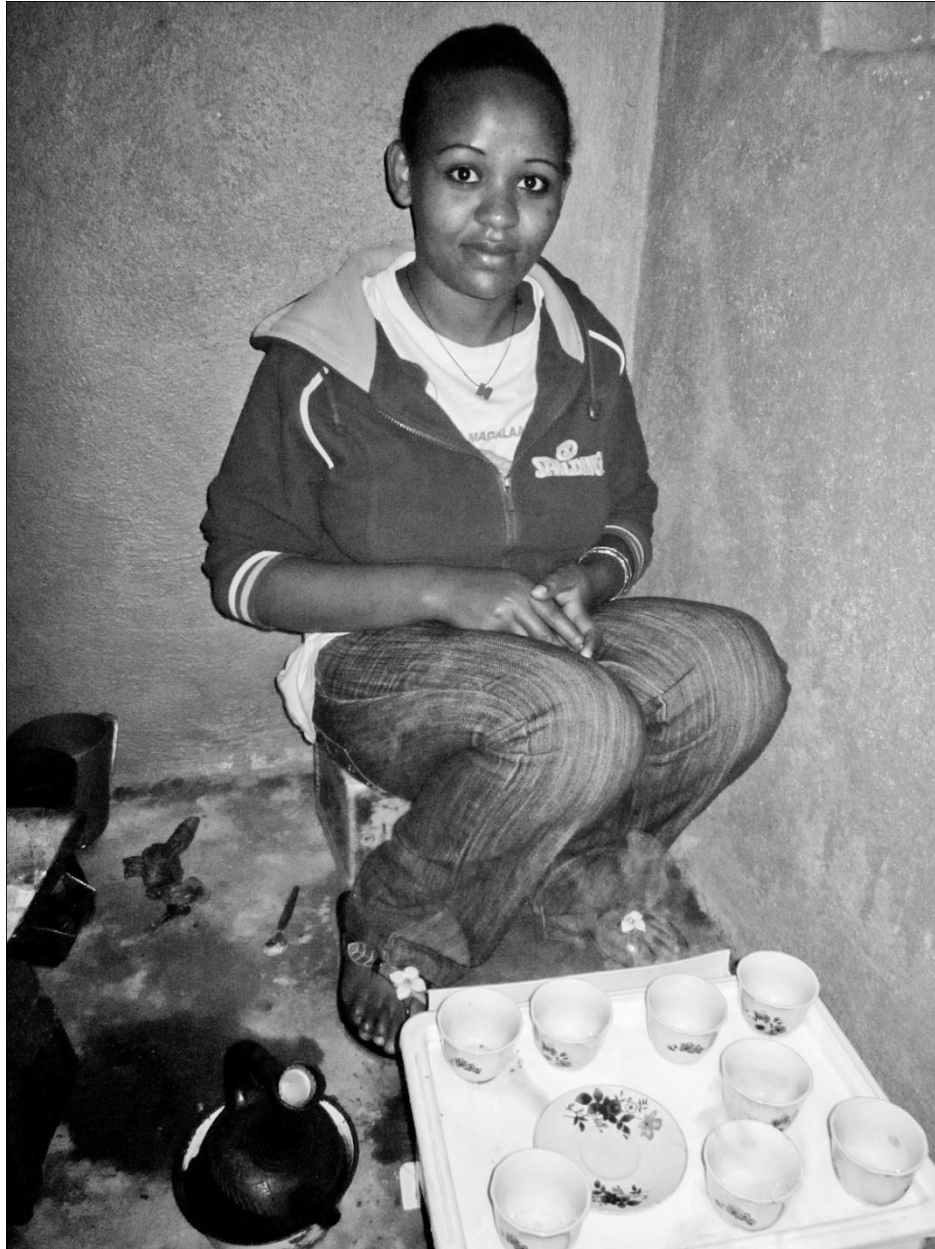
were closed.

Photo number ten was taken by the researcher in Dera, Ethoipia, March, 2010.

Participants agreed that drinking coffee alone was not typical. Many did not like

what the woman is wearing in the photograph.

Photograph 11 was taken by a participant in Dera, Ethiopia, March, 2010. The

photograph seemed to elicit conversations pertaining to generational participation

as the photo features women and children of a variety of ages.

Participants observed the conditions that might represent rural areas in the photographs. This 12th photograph was mistaken for being located in Addis Ababa because the furniture and women seemed to represent a different quality. Rather, it was taken by a participant in Dera, Ethiopia March, 2010.

Photograph 13 includes two women enjoying their coffee. Women in this study talked about the pleasure they have in socializing with women in the coffee ceremony. This was taken by a participant in Dera, Ethiopia, March, 2010.

All women agreed that the most elevated woman in this photograph was a woman

in authority. This 14th photograph was taken by the researcher in Dera, Ethiopia.

The most elevated woman is the owner of the compound where the researcher

was staying.

Photo 15 elicited culutral practices pertaining to gatherings for mourning. The photograph, taken by participants in Dera, Ethiopia, was a gathering of women for a micro-finance business meeting.

Photo 16 was taken by a participant in Dera, Ethiopia in March, 2010. Women

are sitting together during a ceremony. One participant in the focus groups was

fascinated with the use of the cell phone by the most elevated woman.

The two women in this photograph are drinking buna in Dera, Ethiopia. Photo 17 was taken by a participant during prelimiary research March, 2010.
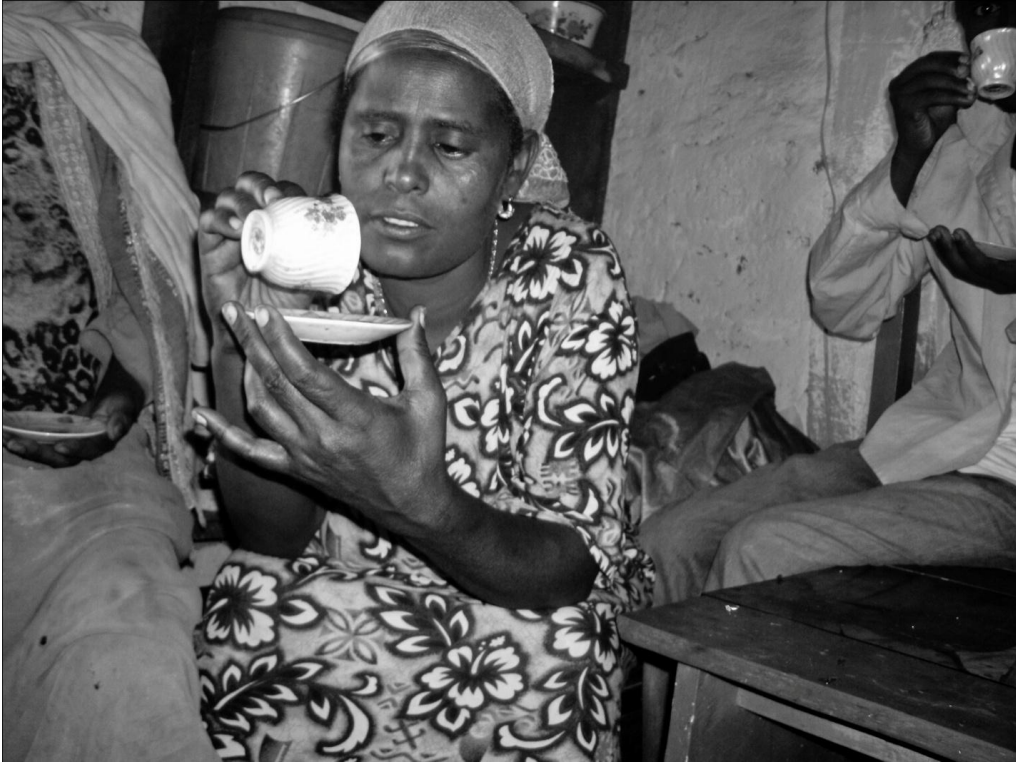
This photo was included in the study as an expression of the assumption by the research that it represents the completion of the coffee ceremony. Rather, participants all agreed that the woman was fortune telling by reading the residue of her third cup of coffee. Photo 18 was taken by a participant in Dera, Ethiopia, March, 2010.

Photo 19 was taken by a woman in Dera, Ethiopia in July , 2010. Initially, I was

not going to include this photo in the study as it does not appear to have any clear

indicators of featuring a coffee ceremony. However, the women in the first focus

group saw the photo and responded to it. Therefore, the photo was included in all

other focus groups. Responses all pertained to the dire circumstances the children

appear to live in.

APPENDIX B

CODING FRAMEWORK

The sociocultural analytic software Dedoose (available at www.dedoose.com)

was used to code transcripts in this study.

Typicality

Codes pertaining to the typical nature of the photographs were applied to responses that directly addressed the typicality of the photo.

The picture is typical	When a participant said directly, this photograph is typical.
The picture is NOT typical	Participants respond that the photo is not typical.

The following codes were created to label what the women said about the three phases of a ritual (Fiese, 2006) preparation, participation, and reminiscing.

Preparation

What is the proper order, how is the coffee ceremony learned, at what age, by whom, and with what expectations?

Order	What is the typical order for preparing the coffee.
Gendered Roles	This code was used to identify the things that women said about roles specifically assigned to males or females.
Learning it	This code was used to identify what the women said about the process they engaged in to learn how to prepare the coffee.
Differences in Arizona	This code was used to extract what differences they experience in preparing coffee in Arizona, e.g. an electric coffee grinder.
Age	What age were the women when they prepared the coffee.
Expectations	This code was applied to the things that the women said about what was expected of them in preparing

	coffee.

Participation

Code that focus on descriptions and details pertaining to the ways in which the women participate and remember participation in the coffee ceremony.

Frequency	Responses pertaining to the number of times the coffee ceremony is participated in. Tree codes of "Ethiopia" and "Arizona" were applied to differentiate the location of participation.
Age	Application to indications of the age in which a child or woman participates.
Gender	This code was used to label specific statements regarding gender participation.
What is talked about?	The code was used to distinguish direct quotes pertaining to what the women said about what was talked about during the participation in the ceremony.

Reminiscing

The remembered past of women as they reminisce the coffee ceremony.

Story telling	This code was used to label the stories that were told and remembered from the women's participation in the coffee ceremony.
Family	This code was used to identify what the women said about their relationships.
Expectations	What expectations are remembered from the ceremony? A distinction was made with a sub-code of expectations in Arizona and expectations in Ethiopia.
Community	This code was for references to relationships to other people. A sub-code of Arizona and a sub-code of Ethiopia was created to distinguish between relationships in different locations.
What does it mean to be an Ethiopian woman?	This code was used to identify direct responses to what the women said about being an Ethiopian woman.

A final coding structure was created to represent what the women said about the purpose of the coffee ceremony. The codes emerged through the analysis by focusing on the way the women described the ceremony.

Purpose

What are the purposes talked about for gathering in the coffee ceremony?

Superstitions	This code was applied when women talked about superstitious practices such as the Zar Spirit, fortune telling, and so forth.
Religion	When women talked about religious purposes or holy days, this code was used.
Get Together	This code was applied when women said that the purpose of the coffee ceremony is to "get together".
Tradition	This code was applied when the women talked about traditional practices that were a part of the ceremony.
Hospitality	This code was applied when women talked about the coffee ceremony as a time to show hospitality.
Gossip	This code was for references to gossip as the purpose for the coffee ceremony.