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"Can you make coffee wrong, anyway?": An Ethnographic Analysis of the Culture of Coffee in Lewisburg, PA

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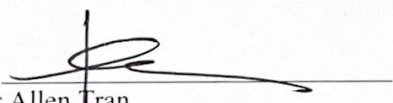
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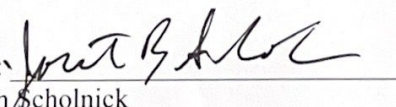
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Abstract

The rapid development of Lewisburg's coffee scene demonstrates the social impacts and meanings of coffee. The "three waves" of coffee describe the growing importance of unique flavors and sourcing in order to best satisfy an increasingly sophisticated palate in coffee consumption. These allude to people's preferences for different kinds of coffee and rely on how an individual's taste guides them in their choices about what coffee to consume. Each wave emerged as a result of the coffee market's increased attention towards quality: the first and earliest wave does not rely on origin or tasting profiles in order to sell, but rather on coffee as a mass product that delivers caffeine to its consumers. The second wave relies on chain coffee houses to create more individualized coffee drinks However, they seldom focus on value orientation of the product. Third wave roasters emphasize the importance of traceability with their coffee beans, which in turn adds a level of education that is often referred to as the "coffee geek subculture". How does Lewisburg's coffee culture fit into this wave "typology"?

In order to best analyze our town's relationship to the three waves, I conducted interviews with consumers who live within a thirty mile radius of Lewisburg. During these conversations, I learned about each individual's own coffee consumption habits and how their taste preferences align with one of the waves. My interlocutors also reflected on various other values that inform their coffee habits, and with this three themes emerged: social, ethical, and economic consumption. In order to best understand the relationship

between these new values and one's taste, I argue that while each interlocutor can be situated within a particular wave due to their taste preferences, the individual is further driven by either their social, ethical, or economic values when deciding which coffee to consume. This analysis challenges current understandings of coffee culture in the United States and explores coffee consumption habits as something more than just a desire for taste.

<u>Introduction</u>

My Own Relationship With Coffee

I grew up in a household where only my father drank coffee. The smell of his dark roast was a regular aroma while my brothers and I hustled around the kitchen before school in the mornings. Oftentimes, he would offer us a sip, to which we each would barely lift the mug to our lips before wrinkling our faces in disgust. No matter how sweet the coffee smelled, the taste always remained bitter and disappointing. This constant cycle of trying and disliking coffee in my childhood home shaped the adamant "distaste for coffee" that I boasted throughout my middle and early high school years. My refusal of the beverage was at an all time high during the summer after my sixteenth birthday, when two of my friends and I were in Boston for a dance conference. These two friends each craved coffee due to lack of sleep from travel, and I decided to join them on their adventure for caffeine. As we walked into the coffee shop, they approached the counter to order their iced lattes before turning to ask what I would be having. I shook my head at them and politely declined before grabbing a water bottle from the refrigerator. After recovering from the shock of my refusal, they turned to the barista together and ordered me an iced mocha with extra chocolate… the classic beginner's coffee drink.

They excitedly brought the chocolatey beverage over to me, each sipping their own concoctions as they waited to see my opinion on the beverage that they were *certain*

would turn me into a coffee drinker. But, I had played this game before - I had been with friends who had insisted that they would be the one to change my mind. As I brought the paper straw to my lips and tried the drink, I was shocked at the lack of recoil that usually follows my miniscule coffee tastings. Maybe it was the excitement from my friends, or maybe it was the loads of extra chocolate, but the drink was… good? I tried the mocha again just to make sure my mind wasn't playing tricks on me, but to my surprise, my positive response was real.

After Boston, I ordered mochas here and there as my friends requested trips to the local coffee shop after long days at school or dance practices. As my coffee palette "sophisticated", I started to order less and less chocolate in the mocha and even switched up the flavors to try new menu items. The taste of coffee started to become more prevalent in my orders, as I even began to ask for less of the sugary syrup in order to better taste the espresso in my lattes. Once I arrived at Bucknell, my coffee intake increased drastically… I leaned into the caffeine-driven college student stereotype without even realizing it. I spent the majority of my freshman year in the booths of the Seventh Street cafe as a way to escape my dorm room during the weeks riddled with social restrictions. The majority of these visits were spent doing work and sipping on some sort of flavored concoction that the owner recommended to me, but one day when I walked in the door, I noticed a "hiring" sign hanging on the counter. My normal interaction with the worker that day included a new question about being a barista. This conversation led to an interview, a handshake, and a new job creating and serving the

beverage that had become a part of my daily routine. At the end of the spring semester, I drove home and walked straight into my town's local coffee shop on the corner of Main Street, a place that had served me my biweekly mochas until the end of my high school career. Now, caffeinated with experience, I approached the barista behind the pastry case and enthusiastically inquired about whether or not they were hiring. He looked at me behind his glasses and thought for a second before asking me two questions…

Do you have barista experience? And do you like coffee?

I nodded and waited as he retrieved a form from underneath the counter.

Well, that's what we're looking for. Here you go.

The next week, I was aproned up and stationed behind the marbled countertop, ready to take on the world that I was so confident in. However, my excitement quickly turned into anxiety as the boss showed me eight different ways that I had been making coffee wrong; she was throwing out terms I had never heard of and racing through the techniques that I needed to unlearn if I was going to properly serve their coffee. She made it clear to me that the cafe's authentic, locally sourced coffee beans were ground with a precision to create the best blend of flavors for our customers. Any error made on my part, then, would affect the experience had by the customer when I handed their drink across the counter. I was shocked and embarrassed to learn that the world of coffee in this cafe was

much more precise than in Seventh Street. However, after a couple weeks of training, I regained my confidence in the crafting of coffee. I grew more and more interested in the artistry of the beverage and how the customer's experience was affected by the creation of the drink itself. I engaged in conversations with the owner about the different origins of coffee in order to best recommend blends to consumers who inquired about the different beans we had to offer. As I returned to school following my summer in this cafe, I was eager to learn more about the product at Seventh Street and other surrounding coffee shops in Lewisburg. This was when I first encountered the coffee culture in our town with a curiosity that extended beyond taste.

My own personal relationship with coffee developed from an appreciation for caffeine to a curiosity about the artistry of the project as I honed in on my skills as a barista. With my limited knowledge on the world of coffee, I did not know much about coffee as a consumer driven product, and was fascinated once I began to develop an understanding of the different styles in which coffee could be served. Then, once I started to learn more about the complexity within the product, my interest in coffee took an academic turn. From an anthropological perspective, how is "experience" created in a locally owned coffee shop in a small town? What are the social impacts of coffee? How has coffee been used to create its own unique subculture? These questions took on a life of their own during the course of this project's data collection and analysis when three new coffee shops opened in Lewisburg and illustrated and challenged common understandings of the "three waves" of coffee.

The Project

The "three wave" concept first emerged in the early twenty-first century as a commentary on the coffee industry's rapid expansion into specialty production and consumption[1]. Nowadays, this typology is used to describe the growing importance of unique flavors and sourcing in order to best satisfy an increasingly sophisticated palate[2]. They also allude to people's preferences for different kinds of coffee: those who prioritize quality coffee exist in the third wave.

Each wave emerged as a result of the coffee market's increased attention towards quality: the first and earliest wave does not rely on origin or tasting profiles in order to sell, but rather on coffee as a mass product that delivers caffeine to its consumers. The second wave relies on chain coffee houses to create more individualized coffee drinks[3]. However, they seldom focus on the value orientation of the product. Starbucks spearheaded this wave with the introduction of lattes and made-to-order coffee drinks, which greatly contrasted the lack of choice one had when drinking coffee from a first wave mechanism. Third wave roasters emphasize the importance of traceability with their coffee beans, which in turn adds a level of education that is often referred to as the "coffee geek subculture". After reading about this system, I was curious to see how the culture of

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[1] "The Flamekeeper, Summer 2002 - Coffee & Wine The Industries and Their Common Denominators." 2003. October 11, 2003.
[2] Fischer, Edward F. *Making Better Coffee : How Maya Farmers and Third Wave Tastemakers Create Value*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2022.
[3] Manzo, John. 2010. "Coffee, Connoisseurship, and an Ethnomethodologically-Informed Sociology of Taste." *Human Studies* 33 (2/3): 142.

consumption in our town exists in response to this wave typology. More specifically, I was anxious to learn if the third wave, which anthropologists hypothesize is the wave of the modern day, is present in Lewisburg.[4] .

Throughout the past year, the central question of this research has evolved in response to the data that I have been collecting. While my initial curiosities centered around Lewisburg's overall "wave" identity, I have learned that each consumer's own personal coffee culture consist of a variety of different factors that impact their consumption: these could range anywhere from a memory of coffee that caused them to develop a preference for a certain type of brew, or how they don't buy coffee from certain roasters due to their own political affiliations. As I learned more about each of my interlocutors, three different themes aside from taste emerged: social, ethical, and economic consumption. These three values[5] were present in each person regardless of their wave identity and worked in collaboration with their taste preferences to inform their consumption habits. I have created this new classification system in order to best portray which value is most informative of their choices, and define them as follows:

First, social consumption: I use this term to represent an individual whose coffee consumption choices are influenced primarily by others around them. This manifests itself in many different ways depending on the wave identity of the individual: a first

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[4] Manzo, 141.

[5] Throughout this thesis, I will be using the word "value" both in reference to the three categorizations of social, ethical, and economic consumption and to describe one's consideration of something to be important (i.e., the more general definition of the word).

wave social consumer capitalizes on their desire for caffeine and thus uses coffee to motivate themselves prior to social interaction, while a second wave consumer instead chooses their coffee based on what the people around them are drinking. Secondly, ethical consumption: in my research, this phrase describes a consumer who makes conscious choices within their coffee consumption practices based on their desire to support at least one ethical issue within the world of coffee[6]. Individuals in each of the waves talk about their efforts towards supporting environmental initiatives within coffee production, though the level of their commitment varies based on how heavily they weigh ethics in their overall opinion of what makes a coffee higher quality. Lastly, economic consumption: this categorization refers to consumers who make decisions based on a variety of economic factors. These, like the other two values, vary based on a person's wave identity in combination with other influences, such as their age or their dedication to "voting with their dollar". Any reference to an informant's economic status within this category is made in response to that person's self identification of belonging to a certain class.

I believe that all three of these values work in collaboration with a person's taste preferences to motivate their coffee consumption. In this thesis, I will argue that while coffee drinkers in Lewisburg may exhibit traits that classify them as belonging to one of the waves, the true foundation of their coffee culture lies in how they promote their social, ethical, or economic selves through their consumption habits. I assign

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[6] Bray, Jeffery, Nick Johns, and David Kilburn. 2011. "An Exploratory Study into the Factors Impeding Ethical Consumption." *Journal of Business Ethics* 98 (4): 599.

interlocutors one of these three categorizations based on their own recognition of how it plays a sizable role in their coffee habits. I also, then, associate these individuals with one of the three waves based on their taste and quality preferences. My classification of each individual is based on what I have learned about both anthropological value theory and the evolution of coffee culture in preparation for my interviews.

Literature Review

Anthropologists study value as a way to analyze a person's commitment to achieving or pursuing a certain goal. Cyril Belshaw categorizes value in one's life into three domains: type A is based on some kind of moral judgment from an individual; type B is based on a consistent idea of what society deems valuable; and type C looks at an individual's preferences as expressed through their behavior.[7] All three of these classifications recognize different ways in which a person chooses to deem something as "valuable", whether this is through verbal, physical, or intellectual recognition from themselves or others. This separated analysis calls into question the many different ways in which an individual can value something: does physical action hold more importance than verbal confirmation? Is something more valuable when it is deemed so by society over the individual? Is something that's valuable mobile or does it need to be a fixed idea? Things that are multifaceted, like coffee, have the capability to reflect value in different ways depending on the individual. In my own research, I consider something as valuable to my

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[7] Belshaw, Cyril S. 1959. "The Identification of Values in Anthropology." *American Journal of Sociology* 64 (6): 556-57.

interlocutor if they have deemed it as important to their individual coffee consumption. Rarely did I find that a person referenced societal pressure in what they considered valuable, especially if they did not have specific origin or taste preferences in their own consumption. However, if a person's taste for coffee is more quality oriented, they will most likely have a more complex value system around their consumption of the product.

Consumers with more sophisticated taste palates consider quality a lot differently than those who do not. Scholars use the three wave typology in order to differentiate consumers from one another based on their quality preferences. David Sutton's review of *Making Better Coffee* by Edward Fischer describes the three waves as follows: coffee "in the home" (first), coffee in "in the coffeeshops" (second), and coffee "in the cup" (third)[8]. Each of these phrases reflect the value of each wave and demonstrates the ways in which this structure increases its dedication to quality as the waves progress.

In *Making Better Coffee*, Fischer primarily focuses on the third wave coffee phenomenon in Guatemala and how increased demand of quality in the market impacts the culture amongst the farmers. He details all of the intricacies that are necessary while extracting, processing, washing, and roasting coffee beans from a third wave farm[9]. Each of these steps require individual attention, and thus increase the quality level of the final product due to the mindfulness paid throughout the entire production process. Fischer examines

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[8] Sutton, David. "Review: Making Better Coffee*", Making Better Coffee Food Anthropology: Wisdom from the Society for the Anthropology of Food and Nutrition*,
https://foodanthro.com/2023/02/13/review-making-better-coffee/#_edn1.
[9] Fischer, 35-63.

the history of Guatemalan coffee culture in order to explain how globalization and political phenomena have impacted the creation of the present "third wave". This analysis directly connects consumer value to the conditions of production by illustrating the ways in which an individual's own moral decisions manifest in their consumption habits. In Lewisburg, this same correlation is true: those who promote second and third wave consumption pay more attention to how their coffee is produced.

According to Fischer, the global shift towards quality coffee has created more opportunity for small-lot farmers in Guatemala. This is due to the government's recognition of the consumer's desire for higher value: they have reallocated resources to benefit small farms, and thus have aided in the success of quality coffee production [10]. If this evolution of taste had not occurred, then it is highly unlikely that the conditions would have improved for these smaller farms. With the increased attention towards smaller farms, more and more local coffee roasters have opened up across the United States: these businesses promote small lot production due to their ability to connect with the farmers through their business interactions. In Lewisburg, small roasters connect with consumers through their knowledge of the coffee they are selling, which in turn appeals to those who are looking for quality assurance in the third wave. Fischer's research is the first third wave analysis that emphasizes the consumer's impact on the changing conditions within coffee production.

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[10] Sutton, 142.

Despite the newness of his findings, Fischer was predated by many other anthropologists who studied the evolution of quality within the coffee field. "The Rise of Yuppie Coffees and the Reimagination of Class in the United States" by William Roseberry is one of the most pivotal pieces of literature in the coffee consumption literature. In this article, Roseberry identifies the class differences of individuals who drink different styles of coffee. He separates gourmet consumers from those who enjoy mass-produced coffee, paralleling the growth of quality coffee in the United States to commercial developments in the market. As gourmet cafes connected with large-scale producers throughout the 1990's, Americans across the country were able to bring specialty coffee into their own homes for a lower price than ever before[11]. In the present day, these blends are now commonplace in most grocery stores, and thus are not thought of as highly as they once were. If you were to walk into one of the various grocery stores around Bucknell, you would find a wide range of high quality coffee at a relatively low price. However, at the time, this new opportunity increased consumers' attention to quality within the product, and thus paved the way for the second wave. Roseberry analyzes how the coffee culture across the United States illustrates social change amongst individuals who previously could not access higher quality coffee due to economic barriers[12].

Stephen Topik analyzes the general history of coffee production in relation to social tendencies amongst consumers. Like the three wave model, he explains how coffee's role

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[11] Roseberry, William. 1996. "The Rise of Yuppie Coffees and the Reimagination of Class in the United States." *American Anthropologist* 98 (4): 766.
[12] Roseberry, 770.

in society started as one of necessity due to its addictive "drug like" qualities[13]. At the surface level, this is apparent in coffee consumption practices today: at Bucknell, the majority of students who consume so do it for the caffeine boost, which is an addictive habit. In Lewisburg, second wave coffee shops like Starbucks and Dunkin promote this addition through their fast paced production environment, which serves individualized coffee products to appeal to the consumer. Additionally, Topik argues that the intersection of personalized and mass production helps consumers who feel the social pressures of consuming specialty coffee alongside their caffeine addiction satisfy both needs due to the assumed quality within each beverage. As shops like Starbucks and Dunkin began to dominate the market, their drinks became more affordable for consumers of all class associations. Prior to the boom of the second wave, however, class associations began to form as those with more money could afford higher quality beans; lower class individuals were forced to chew the plants raw if they wanted to obtain the same feeling of "belonging"[14]. Topik's definition of "social drug" shifts from a physical representation of addictive tendencies to the societal need for one to "fit in"; this evolution represents the changing values that individuals associate with coffee.

As a person enters the world of quality coffee, they often acquire an interest in the particulars that come with the making of the product. This was true with many of the interlocutors that I talked to throughout my research. For example, one consumer took interest in the roasting process of the beans, and then took it upon themselves to inquire

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[13] Topik, Steven. 2009. "Coffee as a Social Drug." *Cultural Critique*, no. 71: 85.
[14] Topik, 93.

how a roaster decides the amount of time to heat the product. Another was curious about the growing condition of the plants, and thus learned more about the location of the farms at which their favorite coffee is grown. These curiosities separate those consumers with certain knowledge from the rest, and consequently further the division between quality oriented and non-quality oriented consumers. As the waves evolved, these divisions became less and less about socioeconomic status and more about taste. However, as Topik explained, there is still an assumed disparity between socioeconomic classes, as those with more money still maintain easier access to higher quality, despite the decrease in prices with the rise of the second wave[15].

In Lewisburg, many consumers who actively seek out higher quality coffee are in contact with locally owned roasters, both in our town and outside of the boundaries of this study. Roseberry emphasizes the importance of the roasters and how they function as the "middleman" between the consumer and the farmer; these "middlemen" are the ones responsible for pricing their blends.[16] Gourmet blends tend to be more expensive due to the attention to quality and freshness of the beans, yet consumers recognize this detail and in turn are willing to pay for the better coffee. Throughout a lifetime, a person's taste can reflect many different cultures through the origins of the coffee that they consume; it can illustrate one's socioeconomic status in the amount that they choose to spend on beans at the store; it can even project a person's level of education, both in and outside

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[15] Topik, 101.
[16] Roseberry, 766.

the classroom, if one changes their coffee taste as they learn about different gourmet styles that they prefer.

As the coffee industry has grown, Roseberry's identification of coffee as a reflection of one's social and economic experience laid the foundation for further studies on how quality coffee impacts consumers at both the social and the individual level. Writing almost fifteen years after Roseberry, the sociologist John Manzo analyzes the third wave through observing members of what he calls the "coffee geek subculture".[17] In order for a person to be involved in this community, they must possess some knowledge of third wave coffee; Manzo even goes as far as to call third wave a "*members'* term", thus further emphasizing the level of education that is essential for those who consider themselves connoisseurs.[18] I found this to be true of the many consumers that I interviewed throughout the course of this project: oftentimes, those with higher quality preferences referenced the third wave in their own description of their coffee habits. Other consumers that I later deemed to be first or second wave, conversely, did not mention any knowledge of the wave typology.

To catch the rest of us "non-members" up to speed, Manzo dives into a brief history of the first and second wave prior to his third wave analysis. His description of the two, lower-quality oriented eras of coffee are as follows:

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[17] Manzo, 142.
[18] Manzo, 143.

The "first wave," according to the coffee geeks' timeline, refers to how coffee was prepared and consumed in, say, the 1950s until, say, the early 1990s, when coffee was a "caffeine delivery system" prepared in percolators or massive urns in offices or banquet halls. The "second wave" refers to that period, starting in the early 1990s, when coffeehouse chains were founded and became common features in urban storefronts and suburban malls. [19]

Scholars apart from Manzo use similar definitions when describing the quality differences between the first and second coffee waves. Patricia Boaventura addresses the first wave as purely commodity focused, emphasizing the demand of coffee in a commercial setting for large groups of people.[20] She, like Manzo, credits the rise of the second wave to an increased demand for gourmet coffee. The third wave, naturally, followed the second, and honed in on the quality and individuality of both the drinks and the product.

"Coffee geeks" prefer small-batch coffee roasts instead of more commercialized brands and often pay attention to the origin of the bean; commonly, third wave drinkers take care to purchase ethically sourced beans and partake in direct trade initiatives in order to ensure that the farmers benefit from their purchase. As consumers started to lean into

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[19] Manzo, 144.

[20] Boaventura, Patricia Silva Monteiro, Carla Caires Abdalla, Cecilia Lobo Araújo, and José Sarkis Arakelian. 2018. "VALUE CO-CREATION IN THE SPECIALTY COFFEE VALUE CHAIN: THE THIRD-WAVE COFFEE MOVEMENT." *Revista de Administração de Empresas* 58 (June): 261.

these third wave purchasing habits, the value of the product itself increased, both intellectually and economically. The "value chain" of coffee focuses on quality assurance at each level of the production process, which in the end ensures differentiation for the consumers.[21] These artisanal products are becoming more popular in coffee shops across the country and separate themselves from the big chains due to their attention to value; they adopt more sustainable roasting practices that in turn help build their relationships with their bean producers. Due to the intellectual interests of consumers, third wave "coffee geeks" are getting closer to the producers than those in the two waves before. Boaventura explains the importance of traceability to the individual farm and sometimes even the farmer themselves, which allows the eventual consumer to learn more about where their coffee originated. This intellectual interest in coffee throughout the entirety of the production process is necessary if a consumer is to be considered third wave.

Despite their explanation of the difference in acquired knowledge between third wave drinkers and those whose consumption practices are more aligned with first or the second, both Boaventura and Manzo argue that a person cannot achieve third wave taste without having first participated in the waves prior. Many coffee drinkers in Lewisburg demonstrate this as they explain how their own coffee consumption has varied throughout their lifetime. Oftentimes, this upward mobility through the waves is a result of an increase in socioeconomic status. Manzo illustrates this through demographic analysis of each of his "coffee geek" interlocutors, explaining that the majority of which are white

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[21] Boaventura, 266.

men who belong to (at least) the middle class.[22] This is due to the necessary economic investment that third wave consumers make in purchasing higher quality coffee beans.[23]

The taste value within the different waves allows people of similar interests to find community with one another. Third wave enthusiasts often connect due to their "shared values around craft, authenticity, and quality, and with their own language and customs that distinguish insiders from outsiders".[24] However, this individual connection to taste can also be isolating for "coffee geeks" due to other people's assumptions about their coffee preferences. So, while aficionados connect with one another through third wave subculture, it also separates them from others who do not indulge in quality coffee with the same kind of dedication. Such aficionados also describe interactions with friends in which they are associated with the "judginess" that can come with higher value in taste.[25] As I was reading about the culture of the third wave, I was weary of its presence in Lewisburg due to the apparent absence of third wave spaces. My research recognizes the presence of the third wave within our town due to the individual tendencies towards the quality coffee, though I do believe that the lack of third wave coffee houses denies opportunity for judginess to occur from one consumer to another in relation to their more sophisticated coffee preferences. While some of my interlocutors did describe how their

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[22] It is, however, important to note that while many third wave coffee drinkers belong to a higher economic class, it can *not* be assumed that those who belong to a higher economic class belong to the third wave. This is due to the necessary interest a "coffee geek" must take in the production of coffee as well as their preference for the quality of the beverage once it is physically made. While many upper class individuals may have the means to solely consume gourmet coffee, if they do not possess an intellectual interest in the product, they are not considered third wave.
[23] Manzo, 154.
[24] Fischer, 36.
[25] Manzo, 151.

own consumption practices differ from those around them, none hinted at any feelings of isolation due to their coffee habits.

Methodology and Methods

I gathered data for this project using qualitative research that relies on the interpretation of individual perspectives in order to analyze cultural patterns within a group[26]. This methodology pulls away from the narrative of a "collective norm" and rather focuses on the individual's interpretation of the same object or idea within a community. In my research, I acquired information on Lewisburg residents' interpretations of coffee as a valued object through interviews and participant observation.

After studying the literature on the three waves of coffee, I crafted a series of interview questions to ask both coffee consumers and coffee producers in the Lewisburg area. I designed these interviews to learn more about all aspects of the individual's coffee routine: people's taste preferences, brewing habits, purchasing guidelines, and social interactions that surround their consumption[27]. While these inquiries did not directly mention any of the three waves, each of the questions were written to learn more about the different values that differentiate the waves from one another in order to best learn about the wave culture in Lewisburg.

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[26] Glesne, Corrine. 2016. "Becoming Qualitative Researchers : An Introduction." Fifthed. Boston: Pearson.
[27] See appendix

Prior to conducting interviews, I completed the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) course on ethical research with human subjects. I also obtained approval from Bucknell University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) in June of 2023.[28] Over the span of six months, I conducted thirty seven interviews with thirty five different interlocutors. These conversations resulted in almost twenty hours of recorded audio, all of which were then transcribed and analyzed via written field notes. I then coded all of my written data thematically in order to best understand the responses of each individual in reference to the greater literature.

One of my main struggles with conducting these interviews was deciphering how to best obtain interlocutors for my conversations. Because I wanted to focus this project in the Lewisburg area, I began with sending out an interest indicator through the Bucknell Message Center[29]. I received a variety of responses from all different kinds of consumers within the Bucknell community, including one staff member who offered to extend my invitation to the biweekly newsletter sent out through the Bucknell Institute for Later Learning (BILL). This connection opened up my research to members of the Lewisburg community who are not professionally connected to Bucknell. Following the posting of these two messages at the beginning of June, I began my interview process. These conversations took place both in person and via Zoom, depending on the preference of the individual.

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[28] See appendix
[29] See appendix

During the summer, I also conversed with local coffee roasters in an effort to learn more about the production of coffee in Lewisburg. These conversations were framed a bit differently due to the producers' more intimate relationship with coffee prior to consumption, though each question was still related to the values that are necessary for wave distinction. By the end of the summer, I had conversed with four different coffee producers within a thirty-mile radius of Lewisburg. Despite the importance of their contribution to the coffee culture as a producer, I decided not to separate the data from producers and consumers into two separate data pools, but rather analyzed it alongside other consumers in our town. After my conversations with various producers around Lewisburg, I learned of their own personal coffee habits and how these affect their business practices. Because their consumption habits influence all aspects of their coffee identity, I made this decision not to separate producers and consumers from one another in an effort to paint a more holistic picture of our town's coffee culture. I do not feel as though their contributions to Lewisburg's coffee sector are much different from one another.

After completing interviews throughout the summer, I reconnected with my interlocutors in September via email to inquire about a possible second conversation. I received many enthusiastic responses and conducted follow up interviews with thirteen consumers. These discussions consisted of a different set of interview questions that were written to conduct a deeper analysis of how each individual's personal values drive their coffee consumption habits. I began each conversation with a summary of my last interview with

the interlocutor in order to remind them of what we last discussed, as well as confirm the accuracy of this data. Following this, I learned more about each interlocutor's personal reflection of how their morals exist within their coffee consumption habits and extracted the three primary values that I will use to analyze their responses in the framework of the three waves.

While I was conducting these interviews throughout the fall semester, I completed Bucknell's University 340 class, which was designed to help aid social science students in the beginning steps of their thesis. I worked alongside a cohort of seven other students and made significant strides in my thesis proposal as well as my literature review. Additionally, I have met regularly with Professor Allen Tran during both the fall and the spring semesters in order to both track my progress and discuss my findings in a constructive and educational manner.

Coffee Spaces and Their Relation to Culture

Ever since my first year on campus, I have felt that the lack of local coffee shops around Bucknell is seemingly uncharacteristic for a college town. While Amami could be considered a cafe, I have always viewed it as more of a restaurant due to the extensive breakfast and lunch offerings on the menu. Prior to this past summer, there had been a few coffee shops that had occupied Amami's old location, but none of them lasted for more than a few months. Because of this, Starbucks, Dunkin', and Wagging Tail

dominate Lewisburg's commercial coffee scene. Each of these shops are considered second wave due to their individually produced drinks, but they do not provide the same value or charm as smaller, locally owned coffee shops, which are often deemed third wave. When I started this project almost a year ago, I was curious to learn if this lack of opportunity to buy coffee in town would affect the culture of consumers around Bucknell. While the literature that I was studying described individual coffee habits, it also emphasized the importance of how coffee spaces impact an individual's own position within both their surrounding coffee community and their own personal coffee culture, especially in relation to the three waves[30].

Much to my delight, however, three new coffee shops have opened up along Market Street during the months in which I was conducting my research. In spite of the lack of places to acquire higher quality coffee until fairly recently, the culture of consumption amongst individuals in Lewisburg is still strong[31]. As I will argue in this paper, I believe that Lewisburg's coffee culture exists primarily outside of these physical spaces due to each consumer's individualized coffee consumption habits. While many interlocutors comment on their likelihood to visit one of these newer coffee shops, this is due to the fact that the shop produces coffee that is similar to the preferences they have established outside of the shop itself.

Conclusion

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[30] "The Differences Between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Wave Coffee."
[31] With this, I am referring to quality that is individually made in locally owned shops - i.e. coffee from places aside from Starbucks, Dunkin, and Wagging Tail.

While the wave model is useful when analyzing the quality within an individual's coffee consumption, it is necessary to look at what motivates the decisions that a person makes in their coffee routine aside from their preference for tastes. I argue that the complexity of value within each person's individual consumption habits creates a town culture that intersects each of the three waves. In order to make sense of this, I have created my own sort of classification to represent the importance of each person's personal values in their consumption patterns: I will demonstrate how an individual's dedication to social, ethical, or economic value shapes their own relationship with coffee in response to the three wave model.

In order to best analyze my data through the lens of pre-existing literature, I have organized the following chapters into first, second, and third wave classification based on my interlocutors' own consumption habits. These classifications were determined by analyzing each person's coffee habits based on their taste and quality preferences. Each of these chapters are further separated into "social", "ethical", and "economic" subchapters to explain how each of these values work alongside their taste preference to guide their decisions regarding coffee consumption. This classification best illustrates the complexity of Lewisburg's coffee culture through the stories of the individuals that I interviewed over the past several months.

In Chapter I: The First "Wave", I introduce Colin and Ana, two interlocutors who encapsulate the presence of the first wave in Lewisburg. You will learn about how their individual desire for caffeine motivates their coffee consumption, but how they each choose what kind of coffee to consume based on social and economic value. Additionally, I will explain why there is an absence of ethical consumption within the first wave. Chapter II: "The Second Wave", evolves into an analysis of how three consumers - Liam, Robert, and Brendan - each place more emphasis on the quality of their coffee for one reason or another. While they do not have taste palates specific enough to warrant third wave classification, each interlocutor describes their appreciation of their own communities around coffee and how their attention to origin has evolved throughout their lifetime. Lastly, Chapter III: "The Third Wave" introduces Alexander, Cynthia, and Denis, three consumers whose knowledge of specialty coffee exceeds each interlocutor you have met before. However, I argue that like the five prior interviewees, each individual in this chapter is driven by their dedication to either social, ethical, or economic value when deciding which coffee to consume.

With each chapter, I discuss the qualities that each interviewee demonstrates to inform their wave categorization as well as how their own personal dedication to either social, ethical, or economic consumption demonstrates the intersection of each value within the three waves. In my conclusion, I reflect on how these consumption values, while labeled the same in each chapter, differ as a result of the individual's wave identity. This research explains that the dynamic relationship between an individual's primary consumption

value and their taste preferences makeup the complicated coffee culture within Lewisburg.

Chapter I: The First "Wave"

Introduction

The first wave encapsulates the commercialization of coffee through mass production. Both producers and consumers capitalized on the quantity of the beans as opposed to the quality: market titans like Folgers and Maxwell House produced massive amounts of product which then was brewed most often into large pots in workplaces or banquet halls. The lack of attention paid from consumers allowed coffee producers to control the value chain with little to no criticism - unlike the later waves, coffee drinkers in the first cared less about specifics such as the origin and taste of the coffee and more about the effects of the caffeine[32].

Anthropologists who study coffee estimate that the first wave began to fade at the birth of the coffee chain industry, roughly seventy years ago[33]. However, I believe that the effects of this wave are still present in most people's coffee consumption habits due to the natural evolution of both the coffee sector and the individual's relationship with coffee. For example, while offices nowadays provide coffee via Keurig or Nespresso makers, these machines operate in the same way that large carafes of Folgers functioned in the mid nineteenth century. As a result of this, I have found that an individual's coffee habits

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[32] Boaventura et. al. 264.
[33] Manzo, 144.

will most likely include whispers of the first wave, even if their dominant value system promotes the second or the third.

In this chapter, I analyze two different conversations through which the individual demonstrated prominent first wave consumption practices. In order for this connection to be made, the interlocutor needed to demonstrate a priority towards convenience and caffeine intake. In this analysis, I explain how each person's first wave coffee practices are driven by their own personal value of either social, ethical, or economic consumption.

Social: Colin

As a father of small children, Colin uses coffee throughout the day to make up for the lack of sleep he received the night before. After a few cups in the morning, he does not require another boost until about three in the afternoon. He will brew a pot at work for this midday pick me up, and then knows not to have any more if he wants to make it to sleep at a certain time. Colin emphasized the importance of this routine in relation to his productivity, both when he is in the office and when he is at home with his family.

Throughout his lifetime, Colin has shaped his coffee habits in relation to those around him: for example, his current blend of choice is the one that his wife favors the most, so it has become a staple in their coffee consumption each morning. His intrinsic reliance on caffeine trickles into his social interactions, as well; he repeatedly expressed his inability

to function throughout the day if he does not maintain his routine caffeine intake. Rather than using coffee as a physical tool to connect with others, Colin relies on the beverage prior to his social interactions in order to "properly" function. He demonstrates how one's value towards productive social interaction can intercept the first wave due to his insistence on caffeine; drinking coffee out of necessity is a key indicator of first wave consumption.

While Colin began to drink coffee in college, he recognized that his consumption habits did not become a part of his daily routine until his first job after graduation. In this, he was working with accelerated high school students at a summer program through Johns Hopkins University and quickly realized that he needed to continuously fuel his energy in order to keep up with their fast-paced desire for learning. Ever since this experience, Colin's busy lifestyle has increased his desire for caffeine, thus implementing coffee as a staple in his everyday routine.

Now that coffee is a necessary start to his morning, Colin has developed a ritual that supplies him with caffeine as soon as he is out of bed. He has fixed his twelve-cup percolator to a time plug, which switches on the heating device at the bottom of the basin each morning and brews a fresh batch of coffee before he and his wife are downstairs. This way, his coffee is fresh and ready to pour, and he does not need to wait the ten minutes that is normally required of brewing a pot in the morning.

My kids know - I can't help them with breakfast or anything until I've had

my cup of coffee.

Colin enjoys brewing out of the percolator both for the convenience and the sheer volume of coffee that is produced: once the pot has been made, he is able to continue pouring and consuming until he is out the door for work. Colin recognizes the value that he finds in the large amount of coffee produced from this machine, and thus reflects the priority of the first wave to provide the product in bulk. Similarly, his lack of commentary on the taste or the quality of the coffee that is made from the percolator separates himself from the latter two waves.

Colin's purchasing habits are reflective of the amount of coffee that he goes through at home; while his consistent brewing is beneficial to his social stamina, he admitted that it can get costly if they choose to purchase higher quality beans. He remembered a time when he would purchase beans from local roasters, but once his wife started to follow his frequent coffee routine, they decided that it would be more economically sustainable to buy cheaper brands from the grocery or convenience store. Colin explained that while he does have taste preferences for lighter roasts, the style and origin of the coffee ultimately do not matter to him. As long as he is able to obtain the caffeine, he will consume whatever is brewing.

Colin's family all share in their love for coffee despite each member having different methods of making the drink. When they visit one another's houses, it is understood that the host has the power to decide how the coffee is prepared. While this can be interpreted as a simple practice of common courtesy, Colin complicates this gratitude through his assertion that his caffeine preference outweighs his preference for taste. Thus, accepting coffee of a different style does not affect him as directly as some of his other family members.

Throughout our conversation, Colin shared that each of his friends have coffee habits that mirror his own, which is mostly a reflection of their lifestyles and shared lack of sleep. He explained that the majority of his social circle consists of his children's parents, which means that they all are consuming in order to stay alert and focused. Colin's use of coffee as a method of socialization differs from others in the way that he often consumes prior to the actual social interaction; in this, social tendencies fuel his first wave consumption tendencies as he leans into his need for caffeine. Socialization in the second and third wave, conversely, are more often due to an actual connection related to the coffee, whether this is to a shared roast preference or latte flavor. Human interaction within the first wave is not mentioned in greater literature due to this lack of choice within the coffee availability; those who were consuming the beverage did not have anything related to the coffee to talk about aside from whether or not they were drinking it. Colin's connection over coffee reflects this same kind of choice: he said that he and his wife will often go for coffee if they are spending the afternoon without their children.

> *[If we're out] for a walk in Lewisburg, we will oftentimes have a conversation that goes, "What do we need? Coffee?", and the answer is always, "Yes".*

Even when the two are choosing to socially connect over coffee, it is out of a *need* for the beverage rather than a want. Colin shared that the aesthetic of the hot beverage does appeal to him, but he rarely chooses to drink coffee for these reasons.

> *If I didn't need caffeine, I would probably still have some type of hot beverage… I just don't think it'd be coffee.*

Colin's use of coffee *for* social interaction, then, illustrates how his first wave consumption practices are often motivated by a desire to connect with other people. This social motivation encapsulates the first wave due to the fact that he is not going anywhere for community around coffee, but rather uses coffee as a tool to motivate his social interactions.

The intersection between social value and the first wave differs from later quality orientations due to the different motivations behind early wave consumption. In the second and third wave, social motivations encompass a desire to learn from others about coffee, or to connect with them in a coffee-focused setting. While first wave coffee habits

are now less common as a result of the constantly evolving the coffee industry, Colin's habits best represent these due to both his desire for caffeine and the methods through which he consumes.

Ethical

If an individual's coffee consumption is ethically driven, it is due to the decisions that they make in regards to many different dimensions within the product: for example, one may take care to learn where the beans are harvested, how the product is handled, how to brew, or whether or not to add flavor before making a decision about how to consume their coffee. The first wave historically provided little opportunity for ethical decision making, insofar as consumers did not have many options for different kinds of coffee based on quality, production, and taste. This is due to the initial emphasis on convenient consumption, which did not provide much variability in what an individual could and could not consume. In today's coffee market with a diverse range of coffee products, interlocutors who primarily drink first wave coffee do not pay much attention to the ethical dimensions of their consumption and therefore have little to say regarding the ethics of their decision making. In this regard, they perhaps demonstrate what could be framed as ethical neutrality, in which their consumption habits are not driven by an ethical motivation.

Despite their seemingly impartial stance on the ethics of coffee consumption, first wave consumers are not completely exempt from these kinds of practices[34]. Each of my informants made some sort of acknowledgement to ethics in our conversation, including the consumers who I identified as first wave: the market's increasing attention towards organic and Fair Trade coffee over the past several decades has made it impossible to ignore. Additionally, coffee drinkers have become more cognizant of the human and environmental costs of their own consumption as capitalist superpowers like Starbucks are exposed for their mistreatment of both their workers and their global surroundings[35]. However, there are many factors that might affect a consumer's ethical considerations and thus prevent them from considering ethics in their purchasing habits. Some of these barriers include lack of knowledge, cost barriers, quality perception, and sentimental attachment[36].

My first wave informants each demonstrated at least one of these reasons for not consuming ethically. Colin, for example, stated that while he would like to pay more attention to where he sources his beans, he can not find the time to do so because of the attention he must pay to his children and his family. Ana, the next consumer in this study, simply acknowledges that she does not think about ethics at all when she is purchasing coffee. While each disregards their own attention to ethical consumption, they also do not necessarily take a positive or negative stance against it. In the next two chapters, I will

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[34]Adams, Matthew, and Jayne Raisborough. 2010. "Making a Difference: Ethical Consumption and the Everyday." *The British Journal of Sociology* 61 (2): 263.
[35] Walton, Andrew. 2010. "What Is Fair Trade?" *Third World Quarterly* 31 (3): 435.
[36] Bray et al, 601-603.

explore how an individual's coffee practices are motivated by ethical consumption instead of absent from it.

Economical - Ana

When I first connected with Ana, she wrote to me via email about her excitement to have a conversation with an enthusiastic "Always excited to talk about coffee!"[37]. Upon our introduction, she greeted me with a smile and a "cheers" of her cup, and I naturally asked her what she was drinking. This is where I first learned of the coveted Nespresso machine in her kitchen, which brews her a new cup every few hours if she is working from home.

Almost right away, Ana started to hint towards her preference towards convenience, both in her coffee buying tendencies and her everyday habits. Her Nespresso machine, for example, was purchased after her family had been using a hand-operated espresso machine for years. They switched over to this machine because it was quicker and less work on their end, which she viewed as a positive change that enhanced her consumption. While this adjustment to her coffee routine was not necessarily economically motivated, she explained that the labor saved in the easier production process aligns with her desire towards more convenient consumption. This switch does, however, allow for her and her husband to save money through decisions such as choosing where they purchase their Nespresso pods from or how often they order in bulk. Ana's consistent nonchalant

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[37] One of the most fascinating parts of my conversations throughout this research project has been the ways in which each of the coffee consumers self-identify: some will emphasize that they're "no coffee expert" while others admit to their own "snobbish" tendencies.

attitude about the quality of the product itself heightened my realization of her value of both physical and economic ease; despite her recognition of taste, her drive for convenience places her consumption culture firmly within the first wave.

Ana, like Colin, repeatedly referenced her willingness to drink various types of coffee; however, she also expressed many caveats to this open-mindedness. While she and her husband have tried a variety of different roasters in this area, she assured me that knowing the origin is not as important to her as the ease of her automated machine. Due to this, she does not purchase certain coffees if they are not able to be used in her Nespresso, and furthermore will stick to cheaper, largely-stocked purchases of the coffee pods rather than buying something of higher quality. Similarly, the low price of commercialized coffee brands, like Illy and Maxwell House, entices her much more than buying locally, which would undoubtedly cost much more per cup.

> *Top priority is what's easy and what's cheap… I'm cost and taste. I very*
> *rarely get coffee out… I don't like to pay somebody $7 for something I can*
> *make at home for less than one.*

As Ana mentioned, she rarely goes out to a coffee shop or cafe due to the economic inconvenience, which in turn promotes her first wave habit association. She assured me that her coffee is always either made from her Nespresso at home or from the Keurig in her office. While each of these machines are physical representations of the second wave,

as explained in the literature, Ana's reasons behind using them are driven by first wave values of convenience and quicker production. She commented on how her morning cup takes less than a minute now that she has gotten rid of her handrun espresso machine, and this makes her coffee taste even better than before.

Despite her obvious favoritism towards ease in production, Ana commented on the quality of her coffee more often than I would have predicted for a first wave consumer. For example, she laughed while explaining how she unabashedly makes fun of her husband for any additives he chooses to include in his morning cup of coffee. She then flipped the interview around and asked me how I most often consume coffee, clearly waiting to see whether or not her last comment had insulted my own personal taste. Before I could even finish this thought, she chuckled to herself and admitted to being a "very judgy person", before explaining that she thinks the only right way to drink coffee is black.

Her strong opinions lend to the kind of "coffee snobbery" I had mentioned earlier that is typical to those of a more sophisticated coffee palate. However, I believe that Ana's assertion of what is considered "right or wrong" coffee is a further reflection of her first wave positioning. Instead of commenting on complicated qualities of bettering coffee consumption, such as changing the origin of the beans or grinding the roast in a different way, she solely compared other peoples' taste preferences to her own. This self-motivated

differentiation emphasizes how the first wave lacks the education necessary to assess coffee for more than just the taste.

Despite her distaste for many peoples' coffee preferences, she did recognize the fact that the limited access to coffee in Lewisburg drives people to make decisions about coffee that they might not make normally if they had more outlets to purchase the product from. I asked her to expand on this, prompting her to speak on the coffee culture surrounding Bucknell, and she responded with the following:

> *Can you tell I'm giving you a dumb look… What are you talking about?*
> *It's more of a 'make your coffee and go do your chores'. You do what*
> *needs to be done. It's not 'let's sit and discuss'.*

Ana believes that a cup of coffee should be less of a social tool and more of a motivator throughout the day, much like her quick consumption of her morning espresso. While she does not specifically reference caffeine as a primary factor in her coffee consumption, Ana's assertion of drinking coffee before doing what "needs to be done" resembles Colin's need to consume in order to be productive throughout his day. Each of these responses demonstrates how the first wave capitalizes on the caffeine within the product as opposed to the quality of the coffee itself.

Conclusion

The effect of caffeine is an obvious factor in coffee consumption, regardless of a consumer's wave identity. However, what makes first wave coffee drinkers unique is how their focus on both caffeine and convenience outweighs their preferences for taste and quality. In Lewisburg, there are a handful of consumers who continuously make their decisions based on the ideals described in the first wave, despite having the opportunity to expand their palate. Colin and Ana each explain the importance of caffeine and convenience within their own consumption.

However, as explained throughout this chapter, Colin and Ana differ from one another in the value that promotes each of their decisions. Colin's desire for productivity and socialization fuels his coffee consumption, while Ana's habits are driven by her preference towards economic convenience in all aspects of her life. Each interlocutor explains how their value promotes their willingness to drink coffee almost anywhere, despite having their own personal preferences. I believe that this open-mindedness intersects their first wave identity due to their drive towards caffeine consumption, thus motivating them to find this caffeine in many different styles of coffee. In the later waves, however, this same willingness means something different, as it is often due to a curiosity in a new flavor or a motivation towards social interaction. In the next chapter, "The Second Wave", the consumers demonstrate how this heightened desire for value narrows

down the different kinds of coffee they are willing to consume, and further represent how their own taste is impacted by their social, ethical, or economic consumption.

Chapter II: The Second "Wave"

Introduction

Before the boom of small town coffee shops over the summer, the two main places where one could acquire coffee in Lewisburg were Starbucks and Dunkin' off of Route 15. These drive-through coffee shops exist at the heart of the Second Wave due to their ability to make individualized coffee drinks as opposed to mass-producing the product. Starbucks, specifically, pioneered quality coffee on-the-go, which introduced Americans to a new, taste-based consumption style as opposed to one that is mainly caffeine driven[38]. The majority of second wave values resulted from the culture manifested within these chains: second wave drinkers look for a quick, personalized drink that emphasizes the taste of the product as opposed to the caffeine boost that they receive as a result.

The commercialization and ease of the second wave inspired consumers to create this quick, higher value coffee at home: machines like the Keurig and the Nespresso were popularized because of this and caused a surge in quality coffee sales in grocery stores, both online and in person[39]. As a result, second wave producers were forced to pay more attention to the quality of their coffee in response to the consumers' demand for value aside from commodity and mass production.

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[38] Boaventura et al., 255
[39] Boaventura et al 255, 261

While this coffee is of a higher quality than first wave products, such as Folgers and Maxwell House, it does not consist of the same specificity that third wave coffee necessitates. This is apparent through the lack of commentary on the origins of the coffee past the country that the beans are from: third wave coffee shops promote the location of the farm down to the coordinates on a map. There is a definite attention to detail in the creation of the drinks themselves, however, as second wave workers often are thought to care less about the beans and more about the customers and the cafes instead[40]. This increase in socialization did have a positive effect on the growth of knowledge surrounding coffee, both for cafe workers and consumers. Second wave cafes created the first community spaces for coffee drinkers to connect over their preferences for the beverage, whether this pertained to the roast of the beans itself or what flavor syrup they take in their lattes.

I believe that the popularity of second wave coffee shops in Lewisburg directly impacts the coffee culture amongst the consumers that I have interviewed. Without fail, each of my interlocutors commented on the presence of both Starbucks and Dunkin within their own lives, whether or not this was because of their disdain for the drinks or because they purchased from each regularly. The fluidity and impact of socialization in the second wave creates an attitude of willingness to try all different types of coffee in order to learn more about one's own taste preferences. This differs greatly from the third wave, which

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[40] Roasters, Driven Coffee. 2019. "The Differences Between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Wave Coffee." Driven Coffee. May 17, 2019. https://www.drivencoffee.com/blog/coffee-waves-explained/.

expects a less malleable taste palette due to the increased qualifications a "coffee geek" must look for prior to trying a new blend.

Social: Liam

I first met Liam as a member of a team of staff in one of the academic buildings on campus during my research over the summer; following my post on the Bucknell Message Center, one of his colleagues reached out to inform me of their Google chat entitled "Coffee" and how the group often meets up throughout the work day to brew and catch up. Liam was one of the most vocal interlocutors in this group conversation, often commenting on the influence that the members of their staff have on one another's coffee preferences. This world that Liam and his colleagues have created within their workplace is an interesting intersection of many different values within the three waves. While they each agreed to a preference for quality coffee, the way that they define quality does not consist of enough specificity to label their drinking habits as third wave. If they were to each agree to a specific roasting style, origin, and brewing method to ensure consistency within the making of the beverage, this would then lean more into third wave consumption. However, I observed that the main value that drew each member of "Coffee" together was the shared community that they find within each other's coffee habits due to their continued emphasis on sharing the drink with one another. I left this group interview with a flavor of their community and was eager to taste more as I conducted interviews with a few of the members once again in the fall.

Through my conversation with Liam, I continued to learn about how the social impacts of coffee consumption drive his own drinking habits, both at home and amongst his colleagues. His individual contribution to this project highlights the importance of social interaction through second wave consumption habits as he describes the ways in which his coffee community impacts different aspects of his consumption.

Liam, unlike the majority of my other interlocutors, did not bring coffee with him to either of our interviews. I asked him about this and learned that he usually pours himself whatever is brewing when he first gets into the office as he catches up with his colleagues in the morning, but following this initial cup does not desire any more throughout the afternoon. This statement is important for two reasons: firstly, Liam casually mentions his willingness to drink "whatever is brewing" without diving into the roasts or the origins - this demonstrates the trust that he and his coworkers have in one another to uphold this quality coffee community; secondly, Liam acknowledges the significance of socialization in when he chooses to consume the beverage in the morning. Liam recognized this in himself as he shared that the experience of learning about coffee with his colleagues is the main reason behind his coffee consumption at work. He and his "Coffee" collective were drawn to one another's preferences for quality over convenience when they all discovered each other's distaste for the Keurig machine in their office. They, instead, decided to start bringing in their own grounds and a different coffee pot with which they could make "higher quality" coffee for each other each day. Between the five members of

"Coffee", they purchase beans from all different countries of all different styles, including locally roasted blends, Aldi-brand French Roast, certified organic Italian, and Amazon-purchased Black Rifle. As Liam listed the various kinds of coffee that rotate through his own coffee culture as a result of his shared experience with his colleagues, he distinguished himself from stereotypical third wavers due to his willingness to try all different blends instead of sticking to a specific preference. However, his acknowledgement of taste and quality is what lands him in the second wave as opposed to the first. They have established that the first person to come into the office each day is responsible for the day's brew, a tradition that allows them to share in each other's coffee preference.

> *Different people bring in different things depending upon whose turn it is*
> *next. So usually we make a big pot in the morning so everybody gets a*
> *couple cups along the way. That's **our** standard coffee culture.*

He shared another story about a time when an international student who worked in his office brought him coffee as a gift from the student's home country. Liam's eyes lit up when he remembered the taste out loud, describing it as "rich and spectacular" in a way that did not compare to any coffee he could buy in town. Despite his fondness of the small amount that he had been gifted, Liam still shared this coffee with his coworkers so that they could all experience the new taste together. This anecdote encapsulates Liam's dedication to the social experience that drives his consumption, both through the

exchange with his student and the need he felt to share the coffee with his coworkers. Liam could have kept the gift to himself in order to best preserve the low quantity that he had, but he made an effort to share with others that he knew would enjoy the coffee just as much as he did. While Liam was describing the flavor of this coffee, he did not know much about the origin of the beans aside from the country in which they were roasted; he frequently expressed how this coffee was stronger and bolder than the usual blends he uses in the office, though it was similar in the darkness of the flavor. Each of these statements affirm his second wave consumption tendencies due to the lack of knowledge of production and his enjoyment of the full-bodied roast.

Liam's preference for deeper coffee blends manifests in his home brewing habits. He explained that he and his wife opt for either the Moka pot or a French Press that they share. Each of these brewing methods surpass the quality of a normal drip coffee pot due to the attention one must pay to the grind of the beans used for brewing[41]. Additionally, each gained popularity in America during the second wave when consumers began to increase the quality of their brewing habits at home; unlike first wave brewing, these individualized coffee makers require more preparation and thus more attention to quality of the grounds and the product itself. Liam shared that while he enjoys the taste that each of these brewing methods brings to the coffee, the smaller sized pots also make a perfect amount for him and his wife to share together. They used to have a drip coffee pot, but

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[41] The Moka pot produces small, full bodied portions of coffee that resemble an espresso shot. However, unlike an espresso machine, this method does not require the application of physical pressure to prepare the grounds. In contrast, a French press makes larger amounts of coffee, though not as much as a standard drip machine.

realized after many years that they did not need to make such a large portion for just two people. Liam did, however, express frustration about instances when they had guests over and needed to brew several pots of coffee in order to serve everyone. This difficulty continues to illustrate his socially driven coffee culture, as he guided the conversation towards social interaction despite my asking about his own personal habits.

Liam shared his own interpretation of how his coffee taste has evolved throughout his lifetime with the growth of the coffee market. He remembers when his preferences were more aligned with Maxwell House and Folgers in his early consumption years - from what he could recall, he did not even know that Fair Trade or bird friendly coffee existed. Yet, as he grew older and coffee became more commercialized, he started to learn about the variety of purchasing options and eventually tailored his taste to what it is now.

> *Once you get exposed to different types of coffee then you start realizing what kind you like… Now, I like espressos and things like that, and they just weren't options before.*

Liam explained that some of his current preferences, like espresso, were not available when he first started drinking coffee. This evolution of taste lends to Liam's open-mindedness when accepting a cup from others; because he has personally chosen to consume many different styles and roasts throughout his lifetime, he is aware of how vast his taste for coffee is in comparison to some of the other people in his life.

When I asked Liam if he has noticed any sort of correlation between his social habits and his taste palate, he said that the two exist in a sort of algorithmic relationship. Oftentimes, when he is meeting someone for coffee, he learns something new about either himself, the person he is drinking with, or the physical product he is consuming. Liam acknowledges that his own interest in learning about others and their coffee habits is hugely impactful on when and how he consumes his coffee.

Liam's coffee community provides a social structure that invites him to expand his palate and enjoy time with both his colleagues and his family. He credits the majority of his consumption to others, as most often he is motivated to enjoy a cup through the social interaction that will accompany it. This contrasts Colin, the social consumer in the first chapter, who uses coffee as more of a mechanism *for* social interaction on account of his desire for the caffeine. Liam, instead, finds that he is more likely to drink coffee if he is doing so *with* others. This motivation has guided him throughout his own relationship with coffee and continues to shape his consumption habits.

Ethical: Robert

As both a barista at the Seventh Street Cafe and an avid coffee consumer myself, I thought I had a near perfect understanding of the coffee options available to students at Bucknell. I, like most of my peers, obtain lattes from Seventh, the Library Cafe, or one of

the dining options located in the Elaine Langone Center (ELC). However, this summer, I was introduced to a new way of making and purchasing coffee through my connection with Robert, one of the professors in the College of Engineering. Upon our first email exchange, he requested that we meet in the Maker-E located in Dana Engineering. This is where he introduced me to the manually operated espresso machine that students are able to use if they are trained properly through the space's online video tutorials.

Throughout our conversation, Robert explained his affiliation with the club and the opportunities he hopes it can provide for students who are more interested in higher quality coffee like himself. He shared that his own personal belief in ethical coffee consumption drives his definition of quality: throughout his lifetime, Robert has intentionally guided his purchasing habits to benefit those on the ground rather than the large corporations that monopolize the coffee industry.

Robert immediately disregarded the effects that caffeine has on him: he emphasized the point by sharing many instances in which he has made espresso before bed and has been able to fall asleep almost instantly. Unlike many other consumers, Robert's love for coffee did not start out of a need for the buzz, but rather out of an interest in the brewing process itself. He was introduced to the beverage by a Youtube influencer that he had followed for many years prior, and he explained that this individual's dedication to quality coffee inspired Robert to try a roast for himself. Upon this first encounter, Robert fell in love with the taste of black coffee. Since he has started experimenting with

different blends, he has discovered that his preferences for coffee lie in the center of the roasting spectrum. Robert's self-recognition of preference for quality over caffeine separated him from the first wave, though not enough to expose whether or not his preferences lie in the second or third wave. However, as our conversation continued, it became clear that his attention to quality, like Liam's, is not specific or consistent enough to label him as a third wave "coffee geek".

Like Liam, Robert is not quite as particular about the style of coffee that he is drinking if he is not making it himself.

> *If I go to someone's house, and they say 'Hey, here's some Folgers out of my drop coffee machine', I'm gonna drink that coffee because they're making that coffee for me.*

Robert recognizes the different taste values that other people in his life have, and thus is willing to try new roasts and blends when offered. This open-mindedness contrasts the "coffee geek" stereotype that is often associated with people who prefer quality coffee, which plays a large part in his association with the second wave. When he is taking the time to make his own espresso, though, he is particular about where his beans are coming from. Robert explained that the majority of his coffee consumption relies on the hand-operated espresso machine in the Maker-E, so as he is purchasing blends for the coffee club to use, he is often making the executive decision to buy what he prefers to

drink. Therefore, the majority of the coffee that he and the students brew is certified organic from a local producer[42].

While this roaster has higher quality product when compared to coffee that is purchased at a chain or at the grocery store, it is also not to the degree of specificity that designates the coffee as third wave. Robert acknowledged this himself, stating that while he would like to venture into third wave coffee, it is not something that he has had the opportunity to pursue due to economic reasons. Throughout the semester, the Maker-E will purchase in bulk from this local roaster in order to ensure a coffee supply at all times for those who wish to make it. Students, then, grind the beans themselves to prepare the espresso for brewing. Robert admires this ritual, and explained how he uses it every morning when he gets into work to collect his thoughts before a busy day. He acknowledged the fact that other people in the space with him often enjoy this routine, as well.

> *I know that it's obviously kind of like a level of quality. So I feel like people*
>
> *who I've found are people who enjoy the taste and kind of enjoy knowing*
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> *where they're sourcing their coffee from.*

This comment reflects the community that the second wave promoted through the creation of coffee shops and other public spaces in which consumers could connect through their shared values. As an educator, Robert is able to share his expertise on the

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[42] At the very beginning of my research, I had the pleasure of meeting the quality tester in this roastery and touring their facilities, so as Robert was telling me about his preferences, I quickly understood the caliber of coffee he was using.

product with students as they choose to learn more about quality coffee consumption. While this social opportunity is important to him, he expressed that the drive behind this connection is due to his dedication to ethical consumption, both within the coffee sector and in other aspects of his life. As a result, he supplies the Maker-E with primarily certified organic and fair trade coffee beans. While he enjoys the taste of these blends, the primary drive behind his ethical consumption practices is that he wants to know that the money he spends will somehow make it back to the people on the original side of production, whether it's the roasters or the farmers themselves.

Robert attributes this to a trip he took his senior year of college, during which he traveled to Nicaragua and volunteered on a coffee farm for a week. Following graduate school, he and his wife decided to return to the same area and spend several months living with a host organization near a coffee cooperative. During this time, the two of them were able to work alongside the farmers and help market the product to buyers. Robert explained that this connection to the soil opened his eyes to the work that the individuals on the coffee cooperative were doing, often without recognition; in today's world of commercialized agriculture, it is incredibly common for bigger companies to profit from the work that is done by these smaller farms. As he works with the coffee club on campus, he tries to promote consumption of coffee from smaller companies because it is more directly beneficial to the actual people doing the farming.

This community within the Maker-E allows those on campus who are aware of the espresso press to share in a style of coffee that is not often promoted within Lewisburg. I feel that because they have this opportunity to access higher quality coffee on campus and learn about where the coffee is coming from, students and staff who partake in the coffee club, like Robert, may have a different perspective on whether there is something missing from the coffee scene in and around Bucknell. This was evident in Robert's verbalized satisfaction with the different coffee options Lewisburg has to offer. Unlike other interlocutors, he feels that the variety in shops between Dunkin, Starbucks, and Amami allows for coffee consumers to choose from many opposing styles. He also commented on the handful of local roasters within a thirty minute radius of Bucknell, expressing his admiration for the offerings that a small town in Pennsylvania gives to its citizens. I was a bit surprised by his positive response to this question, as most of the other people that I have talked to who self affiliate with higher quality coffee express a distaste for the lack of options in town. However, I believe that this positive attitude towards an otherwise lackluster coffee culture illustrates another separation between him and the third wave coffee scene.

Economical - Brendan

I learned almost immediately of Brendan's dedication to economic spending through his value-based description of the many coffee shops around Lewisburg. As a routine coffee consumer, he knows the ins and outs of each establishment's reward systems and how to

best spend his money in order to obtain the most amount of points for the coffee that he is buying. However, unlike the economic consumer in the first wave, Brendan's consumption choices are accountable to both his taste and his spending. When he is deciding what kind of coffee to obtain, Brendan balances these two components to ensure that he is receiving the best quality product for the money that he is spending. As the coffee industry developed, incorporating taste became necessary due to the increased specificities within what designates each wave's classification. In the framework of this research, I believe that Brendan's habits exemplify his preference for economic value within the second wave due to the attention he pays to both aspects of his consumption.

Despite Brendan's daily coffee consumption, he admits that the product's caffeine does not have any physical effect on him. He explained that he is not sure whether this is due to the roasts that he purchases or the slow pace at which he drinks his coffee, but nevertheless, it is not a driving factor in why he consumes the beverage. Brendan's lack of dedication to caffeine underscores how his taste situates his preferences higher in the wave categorization. Like the other two interlocutors in this chapter, Brendan acknowledges that his primary reason for consuming coffee is because he likes the taste. He did not begin drinking coffee until more recently, and thus credits his "coffee snobbery" to the fact that he was introduced into the specialty consumption scene by his colleagues. While his first introduction into the coffee community was a social endeavor, he explains how his current consumption habits are much more "value minded" than others who share his affiliation for quality.

I wouldn't say I'm frugal, but I'm also not [just going to] throw money down. I look at the value of what [I'm] getting... especially if [it's on a] regular basis.

Brendan recognizes how costly coffee consumption is now that it has become a part of his daily routine, and because of this he has guided his purchasing habits to best suit both his taste and the amount of money that he wishes to spend on the product. At the grocery store, Brendan looks for darker roasts of all different origins and roasters, but consciously steers away from canned coffee like Maxwell House and Folgers. These two brands are the pillars of the first wave, which promotes mass production and does not contain the same emphasis on quality as second wave roasts[43]. Brendan's self-recognition of his distaste for this kind of coffee automatically pulls him out of first wave contention; similarly, his disregard for caffeine discredits any first wave affiliation due to Manzo's assertion that this era's main selling factor is its function as a "caffeine delivery system"[44].

In addition to his distaste for the flavor of early wave coffee, Brendan comments on the difference in appearance between lower and higher quality products. He tends to steer away from first wave products like canned coffee grounds due to his distrust of the company's packaging policies. While he did not demonstrate any

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[43] Manzo, 144.
[44] Manzo, 144.

extensive knowledge of the production process, Brendan did call out canned coffee's routine staleness, and credited this as one of the reasons as to why he sticks with bagged beans from the grocery store. He also enjoys learning about the grounds from the coffee's packaging and notices that companies like Folgers do not include as much detail as smaller roasters often do. Without directly crediting the wave model, Brendan's opinions on store bought coffee mirror many of the reasons why the coffee market shifted away from mass-produced coffee in the first place: consumers were looking for more attention on the producers' end in order to increase the value of what they were buying[45]. Despite Brendan's recognition of his value-minded habits, he knows that his taste influences his coffee habits enough that he does not choose to partake in first wave consumption.

After Brendan settled into a coffee routine, he began to tailor his purchasing habits around his economic preferences. This has led him to frequent Dunkin' on his way into work: both the cheaper base prices and the rewards program entice him to choose their establishment over others in town. Dunkin' is a primary example of a second wave coffee shop due to their increased attention to detail within each individual drink; however, when compared to Starbucks, their drinks are often not as consistent and thus can be less enticing for gourmet coffee drinkers. Brendan, interestingly, said that he does not mind this because he knows

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[45] Roseberry, 263.

what he is paying for. Unlike Starbucks, Brendan believes that the price of Dunkin' coffee accurately reflects the quality of the beverage.

> *Dunkin' is more my price point. Starbucks is good, but I feel like it's a little expensive for what you're getting. Is it better than Dunkin'? Yeah, but for the cost, I don't know.*

This quotation demonstrates how Brendan weighs the quality and the price of his coffee against one another: he recognizes that due to the frequency at which he drinks coffee, he is more likely to sacrifice taste in order to ensure that the economic value is sustainable. This, of course, is not to say that Brendan does not value the quality of his coffee, as demonstrated through his disdain towards first wave products. He shared that if coffees from two different establishments are priced the same - for example, Sheetz and Wawa - he will then choose the drink that tastes best to him. Similarly, Brendan often pays attention to how the sizing at different coffee shops correlates with the price to ensure that he is obtaining the best amount of coffee for the money that he is spending. In his eyes, this is another important factor in determining the overall value of his purchase.

As a frequent Dunkin' user, Brendan enjoys many economic benefits from the rewards points he collects with each purchase. Other companies such as Starbucks and Wagging Tail use reward points as well, but he feels that their systems take

much longer to create a profit. The only exception, according to Brendan, is that Starbucks offers users a free drink on their birthday, while Dunkin' only increases the total number of points you can collect. The only time that he chooses to go to Starbucks is to collect this on his birthday in order to take advantage of this economic incentive.

As the second wave blossomed around chain coffee shops such as Starbucks and Dunkin', many consumers enjoyed the new social benefits of the shared space created within the storefront. Throughout my own research, I found that many of my interlocutors cherish this social ability within their coffee habits, and often frequent Starbucks and Dunkin' as a result of a social interaction. Brendan's consumption practices contrast with this due to his individualized routine. While he visits shops on occasion with his colleagues or friends, he most often consumes coffee on his own. This further emphasizes how the economic impact of Dunkin's pricing drives his consumption choices, unlike many second wave consumers who frequent chain coffee shops for the social benefits[46].

Conclusion

The second wave exists in a complex space between the other two, and thus often exudes values that could be interpreted as either first or third wave. Despite the second wave's

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[46] Topik, 93.

overwhelming presence in Lewisburg's coffee culture as a result of the coffee chain epidemic, I felt as though I did not truly understand the qualities necessary to classify one's consumption as "second wave" until conducting these interviews throughout the last several months. While the second wave is driven by chain cafes who brew large quantities of coffee each day, the individualization within each of the drinks differentiates this era from the first[47]. Similarly, while both the second and the third wave are geared towards heightened quality within the product, it is apparent that the former promotes a certain open-mindedness in what could be considered specialty coffee when compared to the latter.

As demonstrated within this chapter, the heightened standards of production that are necessary within the second wave impacts how individuals incorporate taste into their own consumption habits. Unlike the first wave interlocutors, who are driven mostly by a need for caffeine and convenience, Liam, Robert, and Brendan each demonstrate how their preference for specialty coffee guides their habits in correlation with their tendency towards some combination of social, economic, and ethical consumption. While their taste is not as refined as the consumers introduced in the next chapter, they each exemplify how their own knowledge of the product that they are drinking informs what they are and are not willing to drink. The difference between each interlocutor, then, is in the next steps that they take to land on what they will be consuming at a given time.

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[47] Roseberry, 765.

<u>Chapter III: The Third "Wave"</u>

Introduction

A third wave coffee drinker must occupy a different position in relation to the coffee they consume when compared to the first two waves. Manzo coins this kind of consciousness as the "coffee geek subculture", which hints to the intensified knowledge one must if they are to be considered a third wave drinker[48]. There is an extra layer of decision that is made when purchasing third wave coffee that extends beyond the simple question of what tastes good or not according to the consumer. For Manzo, the coffee "geek" is always conscious about what they are purchasing, which in turn, allows them to surround themselves with other consumers who share similar preferences for third wave coffee[49].

Prior to the start of my research, I was not confident in the existence of the third wave in Lewisburg due to the lack of quality coffee shops and community spaces within our town. Much to my surprise, however, there were a handful of interlocutors who identified themselves as third wave coffee drinkers without my mentioning the phrase. Others demonstrate consumption habits that follow the third wave, even if they are not doing it intentionally. As my interviews progressed, I was delighted to learn about the creative ways that quality consumers maintain their own status as a third wave consumer. Each of the interlocutors that I will introduce in this chapter make decisions that stem from a

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[48] Manzo, 153.
[49] Manzo, 146.

place of social consciousness, but unlike many modern communities that allow for these consumers to come together in third wave spaces, my interlocutors act independently to fulfill their own version of the third wave. While the morality of each coffee drinker is undoubtedly the driver for their decision making, the ways in which they demonstrate their beliefs are quite different.

In order to follow the same structure as the last two chapters, I will explain how the three third wave consumers promote their own moral consciousness through either social, ethical, and economic behavior. Each interlocutors' promotion of these values is vastly different from those in the earlier waves due to the qualities that are necessary for a third wave consumer. A clear example of this is in the economic consumer for this chapter: as you will see, his coffee habits are economically driven due to his insistence of voting with his dollar rather than because of an effort to spend less money on coffee. As a "coffee geek", it would be hard for him to spend less due to the inevitable expense that accompanies third wave roasts. Despite their differences, each consumer also promotes first and second wave practices, though not often enough to designate first or second wave classification. Their current status as a "coffee geek" is due to the knowledge that they have gained throughout their coffee drinking experience, which has allowed them to develop their consumption habits into what they practice today. You will learn that these three consumers surpass the taste values of the others in both their specific attention to origin and their dedication towards quality coffee consumption.

Social: Alexander

I first met with Alexander after a mutual friend introduced us due to our shared love for quality coffee. At the time, Alexander was in the first phase of opening a brand-new coffee shop in Lewisburg, and I was fortunate enough to learn about his consumption habits alongside his vision for this new store front. As a Guatemalan native himself, Alexander's own experience living around coffee has shaped his consumption habits and sparked a desire to teach more people in our town about higher quality coffee. He hopes that his new shop, *Coffee Culture*, will allow him to promote a community in which people have the opportunity to learn more about coffee if they so desire.

My first meeting with Alexander was over a cup of freshly roasted, third wave, Costa Rican coffee. As a textbook "coffee geek" would, Alexander opened a fresh bag of beans and measured out a calculated number of ounces before transforming them through his hand-spun grinder. All the while, he explained to me how he prefers to make his coffee fresh each time so that he knows exactly what the product will look like when he is done. As the coffee was brewing, he pulled out the bag and showed me the information on the label: this specific roast was microlotted, which means that the beans are traced back to either the plot of land from which they were planted or the farmer that harvested them[50]. Microlotting is indicative of third wave coffee consumption due to the fantastic attention to detail provided by the roasters to educate consumers on what they are drinking. While

[50] Smith, Julia. 2018. "Coffee Landscapes: Specialty Coffee, Terroir, and Traceability in Costa Rica." *Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment* 40 (1). https://doi.org/10.1111/cuag.12103: 40.

it is possible that some who buys a microlotted roast may not care about the traceability of the bean, Alexander explained that this kind of education is what he is hoping to promote within his cafe.

> *Good coffee for me is when I know about that coffee. Every coffee has something special. And I don't say, "This coffee is perfect", but when I know about the coffee, I think "This coffee is good".*

Alexander's obvious care and knowledge about the products that he consumes was evident in each of our in-person interactions. For example, as he would make coffee, he would describe how the flavor notes in a specific bean would best compliment the style that he was making. I learned from him that the lighter roasts are often best used for pour over coffees due to their floral undertones, which are best brought out through the slow brewing process. Each of these specificities encompasses the "coffee geek" mentality that is necessary for the third wave.

Alexander's own personal consumption preferences vary as he enjoys different brewing methods. He noted that while he prefers using the pour over method due to his liking for lighter roasts, he also enjoys dark roasted coffee when he is making lattes or other espresso-based drinks. While this differentiation is due to a taste preference, Alexander also comments on how the origin and tasting notes within a darker roast make for a better latte due to the heavy amount of milk that is required. This description exemplifies how

his knowledge about the beverage reaches beyond simply what he believes tastes best; his dedication to learning about the intricacies of the coffee that he is consuming such as origin and flavor notes represents a third wave belonging.

Oftentimes, third wave consumers have a tough time effectively educating others about traceability due to their fear of seeming snobbish in their explanation; however, one thing that I think makes Alexander unique is his own personal connection to the coffee process. He hails from Guatemala and grew up in a part of the country that he affectionately referred to as "coffee land". Every day when he was younger, he remembered his grandmother gathering their family in the living room to share coffee and bread and connect with one another. This everyday ritual sparked his love for coffee and his interest in creating a space where people can share this same kind of connection.

After he moved to Lewisburg a little over a decade ago, Alexander noticed how different the culture was in a small town that does not have this same sort of shared connection to coffee. While coffee is a necessity for a large portion of the Lewisburg population, there is not the same sort of commitment to knowing both about the coffee that you are drinking and the people that you are sharing it with. This value of shared knowledge is something that he is hoping his shop will promote to the customers that order their coffee. Alexander explained that while he has met some people who express a similar affinity for coffee, the culture of Lewisburg is mostly grab-and-go, which does not promote this same

sort of social connection amongst individuals who share the same desire for specialty coffee.

> *I'm trying to introduce coffee here, and the community can come in and see that they can drink a specialty cup of coffee. We're interested in letting them know where it comes from, what the process is like, and then explaining [how to] make their own coffee at home.*

The thing that often separates a second wave shop from a "third" is this level of education that the producer promotes within their coffee shop. As discussed in previous chapters, one's coffee taste naturally evolves throughout their lifetimes, and often can lend to a more sophisticated coffee palate. As producers develop their own taste preferences, they often learn of consumption habits that they consciously choose *not* to promote in their own coffee shop or roasting company[51]. Alexander explained how this is true in his own experience with the Lewisburg coffee sector, which has helped him decide what kinds of things he does and does not want to include in his shop. He illustrates this through his mentioning of the grab and go culture: while Alexander acknowledges the importance of quick consumption in Lewisburg, he hopes that he will draw people in and encourage them to develop an appreciation for the taste and artistry of the coffee and not just for the caffeine to help them through their day. I believe that his own relation to coffee helps create this welcoming atmosphere, as he is able to speak on personal experience when

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[51] Boaventura et. al., 264.

educating consumers about what they are drinking. Similarly, his recognition of the multifaceted culture within our town differentiates Alexander from the coffee snobs that Manzo and Boaventura illustrate in their own literature. While their interlocutors are not necessarily "forcing" taste preferences onto the people around them, they also are not open-minded in promoting the third wave. Alexander discredits Manzo's assertion that third wave consumers isolate themselves from coffee drinkers in the other two waves. Instead of trying to provide drinks that are *better* than the other coffee shops in town, Alexander hopes that Culture Coffee will be a space that is *different*. He is not driven by the need to outshine other shops, but rather by a desire to create a community where quality coffee consumers can enjoy and learn together.

Boaventura writes about how this community driven orientation often aids in building third wave culture within new spaces; oftentimes, third wave producers draw upon connections within the coffee industry to learn more about the product in order to enhance the value of the customer's experience[52]. Alexander's own desire to learn about coffee fuels his passion towards allowing this opportunity for others. All of this is centered around his belief that great coffee comes from people who have a passion for the product itself. Large companies like Starbucks and Dunkin often do not provide the same educational experience due to their disconnect from both the people who grow the coffee and the people who consume it. Alexander, on the other hand, is able to provide his consumers with an opportunity to learn about the coffee that they are drinking because he

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[52] Boaventura et. al., 264.

takes the time to study the differences between the many roasts and brewing styles offered in Culture.

While Alexander's Guatemalan heritage complements his passion for the product, it does not limit the types of coffee that he roasts or consumes. In his work towards creating a space for others to learn, he wants to provide many different styles and types of coffee for him and his customers to talk about. Alexander's dedication to community also drives his curiosity in other people's coffee preferences, whether this is in his coffee shop or in his day to day interactions. He made this abundantly clear upon my first interaction with him, during which we tried a new blend of coffee that he was hoping to offer in the shop. Before he said anything, he waited for me to take a sip and asked my opinion on various aspects of the coffee: the roast level, the flavor profiles, the acidity. Despite his clear knowledge of the product, he valued hearing what I thought of the coffee before telling me about what he has learned about each of these specificities. Afterwards, we chatted about all different types of coffee that we have drank throughout our lifetime, and I was inspired by his dedication to my own journey despite him having a deeper connection with the product.

> *All it takes is a cup of coffee to get to know somebody, you know. I like to meet other people from different cultures, different countries. Coffee is universal. So that's why I drink it, because I can meet other people and then kind of get to know a little bit about them.*

Ethical: Cynthia

Cynthia's affinity for quality coffee is unlike any other consumption preference that I have learned about through the course of this research. Unlike many past interlocutors who described their willingness to try different styles of coffee, Cynthia is grounded in her consistent consumption of shade grown bird song dark roast coffee, and she will not drink anything else. She repeatedly affirmed her ability to consume the "perfect roast" every single day, though unlike Alexander, she does not necessarily feel as though she needs to share opinions on coffee with other people. Cynthia's own coffee culture consists of her belief that everything she consumes should fall within a strict certified organic classification, and this is due to her dedication to the environmental effects of mass production processes.

Unlike Robert, the ethical consumer in the second wave, Cynthia's purchasing habits do not stray from a set routine: she is not willing to compromise her values in order to try a different product, but rather sticks to the same roast each time she goes to the store. As a third wave consumer, Cynthia's commitment to the quality of her morning coffee is also crucial in her consumption habits. She takes care to weigh and grind her beans each morning to ensure a consistent taste, and assured me that her unopened bags of coffee stay in the freezer to maintain freshness. Cynthia's preferred blend is a dark French roast, which is often more common in first or second wave consumption practices; however, I

believe that her use of the pour over method and the specificity with which she prepares her coffee each morning hold more weight in classifying her as a quality-oriented coffee drinker. Aside from this, Cynthia's value in ethical sourcing is the most prominent aspect of her consumption habits, and this places her firmly within the third wave.

When I met Cynthia for the first time, she gifted me with a pamphlet written by the American Birding Association (ABA) on the ethics in shade grown bird song coffee production. She explained how this organization guarantees environmentally safe coffee farming, which preserves the habitats for many different animals around coffee farms. Much like Robert, the ethical consumer in the second chapter, Cynthia has had experience working on coffee farms, and thus understands the direct impact that harvesting can have on the environment.

> *I'm looking at the farmer. I'm looking at the organic side and looking at the certified organic side. The farmer, the place, the country of origin, that it's bird friendly. That it's doing its thing for the forest overall: I want it birdsong, I want it shade grown, that's for sure.*

Shade grown coffee, as the name suggests, is harvested from plants that have grown under the canopy of forest trees[53]. Prior to the regularity of deforestation, this was the

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[53] Jaffee, Daniel. 2014. "A Sustainable Cup?: Fair Trade, Shade-Grown Coffee, and Organic Production." In *Brewing Justice*, 1st ed., 133–64. Fair Trade Coffee, Sustainability, and Survival. University of California Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt7zw0dh.12.

natural state of all coffee plants due to their lack of ability to blossom in the sun. However, as the plant has mutated to adapt to more direct sunlight, shade grown coffee is less and less common. Sustainable coffee drinkers, like Cynthia, promote this style of farming due to the environmental benefits for both the plants and the animals surrounding the coffee plants.

When Cynthia first started to thoroughly research ethically based coffee producers, she learned of the many brands sold at the Natural Food Store on Route 15 and was comforted by their commitment to the sustainability of coffee production. Here is where she found the brand that she has roasted for the past twenty years. According to Cynthia, this company's dedication to the agriculture and the land around the farms satisfies each of the qualifications that she looks for in her coffee. To her, this outweighs the actual taste of the coffee after it has been brewed; if she cannot guarantee that the harvest has not met her consumption standards, then she will not drink the coffee. This almost extreme commitment to the farming mirrors the microlotting process in the way that Cynthia is able to pinpoint exactly where her coffee is coming from. However, instead of using this specificity to guide her taste preferences, Cynthia finds comfort in this knowledge to affirm her commitment to the whole picture.

Despite her consistent routine, Cynthia's coffee habits have not always relied on her dedication to the environment. Like many of the other interlocutors, her reliance on coffee began during her undergraduate years after a visit to a local coffee shop with some

of her roommates. While she appreciated the caffeine, Cynthia credited her coffee tastes back then to what she felt was best for her, both in terms of taste and pricing. Once she started working in the agricultural sector, she made a conscious effort to search out third party certified organic products, both in coffee and in her other grocery items. Cynthia's time working in agriculture exposed her to a world of production that is not environmentally conscious and sparked her desire to give back where she is able to. Much like how Alexander's experience with other coffee shops in Lewisburg helped him shape the culture within his own store, Cynthia's personal journey with environmental production has guided her consumption to what it is today.

When looking at Cynthia's coffee habits through the lens of the waves, it is hard to position her routine in any place aside from the third. In fact, her ritual could be seen as the kind of coffee sophistication that Manzo describes as indicative of the third wave, despite the fact that her reasoning behind these habits is ethically sound. Throughout her time in Lewisburg, Cynthia has kept an eye out for a coffee shop that promotes the same kind of value that she seeks in her coffee. However, she vocalized a lack of commitment from both the community and the producers in the local area to maintain a worthwhile coffee culture.

> *To me, if you're not supporting the organic marketplace, you're missing.*
> *And I've seen coffee shops come and go over the years, and they'll say, oh,*

yeah, we have organic, and then it just goes sour. I'm really, really, really

critical about what it means to those people on the ground.

Lewisburg's lack of consistent attention to the ethical consumption that Cynthia practices has kept her out of coffee shops for the past several years. While Manzo argues that the socialization of coffee consumption is necessary for third wave connoisseurs, I believe that Cynthia's practices warrant a "third wave" classification due to her knowledge on what occurs at the ground level. Her uniquely individualized ritual and strict morals regarding coffee production emphasizes the complexity of the wave typology and acknowledges the depth of what a third wave identification holds: while a third wave consumer may learn best about coffee through social interaction, others, like Cynthia, may not see this as necessary. The investment that Cynthia has made into her own ethical values creates a world within itself and thus excludes the possibility of connecting with others via a shared cup of coffee.

In spite of her lack of interest in other forms of consumption, Cynthia assured me that she would never try to persuade people to change their personal habits to fit her own. She recognizes coffee as a way for people to express their own individuality, whether this is through the coffee they choose to drink or how their own values shape their purchasing habits. However, Cynthia does believe in the power of connecting with others through shared value in ethical consumption. While she does not wish to push her opinions on

others, Cynthia also expressed that she will not hesitate to talk about her beliefs if someone were to ask her.

Cynthia's ethical consumption spans beyond simply her coffee habits: she works to purchase all of her food locally from farms that she has confirmed are certified organic. She refuses to buy anything from Amazon, due to both the company's mistreatment of workers and their willingness to destroy land to build warehouses and storage facilities. Her dedication to ethical consumption outweighs any sort of commitment from other consumers in this case study; however, when I was learning about her coffee habits, I was inspired by just how far she is willing to reach in order to maintain her values. Even when she is traveling, Cynthia brings her shade grown, bird song dark roast coffee in her suitcase in order to guarantee access to coffee that she will consume.

Economic: Denis

One of the labors that third wave consumers must face is the expense that accompanies quality coffee production: individuals who value small farm or microlotted coffee spend more on both the beans themselves and the equipment necessary to brew specialty coffee. This economic sacrifice establishes a class barrier within the waves and results in a relatively wealthier third wave demographic. Denis shares his understanding that his class status has impacted the development of his taste for coffee throughout his lifetime and his ability to consume third wave coffee. As a dedicated quality coffee consumer, Denis

knows a lot about the production industry in and around Lewisburg, though he does not personally buy from many of these roasters due to his disinterest in their political affiliations. Throughout our conversation, Denis frequently referenced his conscious effort towards "voting with his dollar", which drives his personal consumption habits. While his decisions are inherently ethical, Denis' own recognition of how his class allows for his economic ability in supporting certain companies demonstrates how his own economic values promote his coffee consumption.

Denis was one of the few consumers who referenced the three waves throughout our time together. I learned of his personal opinions regarding the wave typology as he explained his morning coffee routine, which consists of brewing with a French Press using beans that are sourced from small farms. He referenced some of the different local purveyors that he likes to buy his beans from and assured me that he prefers to buy locally in most aspects of consumption.

At the time of my conversation with Denis, I had already been in communication with a few of the local coffee producers around Lewisburg. To my understanding, two of them were considered third wave due to their dedication to both traceability and higher quality selection and roasting processes. Despite this, however, Denis chooses not to purchase his coffee from them due to the politics that some of the companies promote. He shared his own experience researching these companies and how he quickly noticed that many local

roasters in Lewisburg hint towards right leaning political affiliations through their connections to religion and missionary work.

> *I have trepidations about [many of those companies]... I'm not really sure. You know, in the same way that I don't necessarily want to be giving my money to big corporate America, I'm also not sure that I want to be like underwriting missionary practices that they may be promoting.*

While he has not personally felt victimized by any person within these companies, Denis also asserts his ability to spend his money elsewhere in order to ensure that he is not associating himself with politics that he does not believe in: he recognizes the privilege that he has to lean into his class ability through deciding who he will and not will purchase from. Greater third wave literature comments on the coffee industry's connection to capitalism and class affiliation through the higher price range that typically accompanies a third wave roaster; people with the taste and the ability to spend more money on coffee lean into their class and make these purchases without the economic consequences that may affect those of a lower economic stature. Similarly, as discussed in "The Rise of Yuppie Coffee", this changing socioeconomic relationship between coffee roasters and coffee consumers provides a lens through which we can view "relationships and socialization" within the industry[54]. In Denis' case, most of these socioeconomic decisions were based on his own political beliefs:

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[54] Roseberry, 770.

There's this idea of "vote with your dollar", so basically when it comes to where you get your coffee from, and being someone who's on the far left that's important for me is like trying to support you know, whatever the smaller group… But these can also be reasons why I don't get all of my coffee from them. For political reasons, perhaps I'm not sure. As an individual it's fine, but then to bring that into an institution… I haven't tried [some of the local roasters] for that reason.

The ability to "vote with one's dollar" is not a luxury that everyone can practice or afford. Denis recognizes that his class allows him to make political choices with his economic habits: people with comfortable income have more flexibility in where they can and cannot spend their money, which allows them to make their economic decisions for various reasons aside from what is cheapest. While Denis is making choices that are reflective of his own personal morals, he consistently acknowledges how he is able to do so because of his economic status. This differentiates him from other consumers who promote ethical value without recognition of the economic choices involved. Additionally, Denis' preference towards consuming specialty products and learning about where his coffee originates places him within the third wave.

In order to best balance his preference for quality and his political beliefs, Denis and his partner source their coffee beans from smaller roasters across the country. Their favorite

roaster is located in New York, and they are able to have its coffee beans delivered to their doorstep through an online fair trade subscription. Though he would prefer to buy from a purveyor that is local to Lewisburg, Denis recognizes that his value for economically supporting businesses that align with his politics is more important. However, he did demonstrate some discomfort with the convenience cycle that he and his partner are stuck in in order to receive this coffee; he often does not wish to give into "front doorstep" consumption, where one can purchase something online and it arrives at their house the next day. In order to satisfy both their taste and spending preferences, however, Denis must conform to this cycle of online purchasing. This is a different kind of convenience than that within the first wave, which describes coffee that is ready to consume at any time or coffee that is available for a low price. Third wave convenience, instead, allows consumers like Denis to access higher quality products through online purchasing.

Denis and his partner have taken advantage of this convenience in order to best promote their own personal value towards voting with their dollar. Denis did reference the large-scale coffee producers in our area and explained that while he does not wish to support outwardly right leaning local roasters, he also consciously stays away from chains like Starbucks and Dunkin out of a similar distaste of their pseudo politics[55, 56].

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[55] "Pseudo politics" refers to systems in which individuals believe that they have free will, but their choices are actually guided by two or three larger players within the system. In the world of the three waves, Starbucks and Dunkin act as these larger influences due to the ways in which their coffee dominates the coffee market.

[56] "Pseudo Democracy - ECPS." n.d. Accessed March 30, 2024. https://www.populismstudies.org/Vocabulary/pseudo-democracy/.

Denis makes an effort to stay away from larger corporations in every aspect of his consumption, as he does not want his own money to support companies that often corrupt local businesses. He also referenced how his taste impacts these decisions within his coffee purchasing: even if he was willing to purchase coffee from larger corporations, Denis does not enjoy the roasts from Dunkin and Starbucks and thus would not go out of his way to consume their coffee.

Denis credits his evolving coffee palate to the opportunities he has to try new styles and roasts due to his class mobility: for example, his consistent spending towards sourcing his coffee is a privilege that he is able to enjoy due to the amount of money he currently makes. However, when he was younger, this constant economic commitment would not have been feasible, as he was not as secure in his economic status. Denis' first taste of the third wave was when he lived in larger metropolitan areas and was able to easily access higher quality coffee. Throughout his time in graduate school, he enjoyed spending time in third wave spaces as he completed his work.

> *[In the city], I did all of my work in coffee shops. Back then, I was thinking*
> *[about how I could] pay very, very little money and be there for three to*
> *four hours.*

Even as a student, Denis weighed the economic benefits of the coffee that he was consuming. However, instead of weighing the importance of who his dollar was

benefitting, he was focused on how he could make the most out of the money that he was spending. Consumers have the ability to benefit off of more than just the coffee that they are drinking if they take advantage of the space within the coffee shops: Denis explained that as a student, this was important to him, as he was always looking for comfortable spaces to complete his work. Now, living in Lewisburg, his economic priorities have shifted; with less opportunity to sit in coffee shops, he is more focused on how his spending habits reflect his political beliefs. In making the decision to not let his dollar benefit neither big corporate America nor smaller, right leaning companies, Denis exercises his third wave preference through outsourcing specialty coffee.

While third wave literature comments on the higher economic sacrifices a consumer must make in order to maintain "coffee snob" status, there are few references towards individuals who recognize how their class status allows them to practice third wave consumption. Denis' own reflection of how his economic ability empowers him to make informed decisions within his coffee habits. His recognition of economic value differs greatly from the interlocutors in the first and second wave. Denis acknowledges his economic privilege to use his money with intentions beyond just how much money he does or does not want to spend.

I do believe that it is important to note how Denis's preferences, while economically driven in the framework of this research, rely strongly on his ethical beliefs as well. Despite my separation of these two values within this chapter, I also understand ethics

and economics to grow more intertwined as one's quality and taste preferences mature. Boaventura writes about this in his research, and explains that a consumer's attention to ethical consumption will inherently affect their economic devotion to certain companies, whether this is in a positive or a negative manner[57]. While Denis illustrates the connection between the two consumption values, I understand his consumption to focus more on economics due his constant recognition of how class ability allows him to satisfy his third wave coffee preferences while also reconciling his personal values.

Conclusion

Third wave consumers differ from the other two due to their heightened attention to detail regarding their coffee consumption. While second wavers also value higher levels of quality, they are also more likely to slip into less regulated consumption habits due to their flexibility when it comes to what they consume. Alexander, Cynthia, and Denis each demonstrate how their personal commitment to either social, ethical, or economic consumption motivates their choices, but each also explains how these choices are more limited within a third wave lens. The first step towards third wave classification is choice in what kinds of coffee one drinks: each of the informants in this chapter detail their coffee routines in a way that illustrates their knowledge of the origins and the roasts that they consume, which automatically raises to a third wave distinction[58].

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[57]Boaventura, 264.
[58] Boaventura, 255.

The preferences towards social, ethical, and economic consumption reflected within this chapter differ from the consumers before due to the level at which each interlocutor sacrifices convenience in order to best satisfy these values. Just as Alexander's commitment to social connection through the third wave has driven him to open a shop in town, Cynthia makes a conscious choice to only consume what she knows is environmentally friendly. Denis reflects this same commitment through his consistent outsourcing of third wave coffee beans due to his stance against economically supporting companies who promote morals that he does not believe in. These choices reflect just how specific one must be in order to belong to the third wave: each interlocutor ensures the balance of their taste in their consumption habits. Regardless of the differences in taste between these three and the other consumers in this study, their promotion of social, ethical, and economic consumption allows each to connect with other coffee drinkers across the waves.

<u>Conclusion</u>

Despite my categorization of each of my interlocutors into either first, second, or third wave consumption, a single person's coffee habits often overlap due to the range of variables that impact an individual throughout their lifetime. For example, Denis describes how his economic status has impacted what coffee he chooses to consume, and thus his taste preferences have changed as he has been able to afford higher quality products in recent years. Robert, similarly, comments on how he has not always had a liking for espresso because he simply did not know what it was for the first portion of his coffee drinking experience. As the coffee market continues to evolve, each individual's taste also changes.

The culture of coffee in Lewisburg is indicative of this complex relationship between each individual and their own coffee consumption, and thus cannot be generalized as only one of the three waves. The similarities and differences amongst each of my interlocutors, despite their wave identity, demonstrate how coffee differentiates itself between individuals due to many different variables. In the scope of my research, I categorized these variables as social, ethical, and economic consumption value due to the patterns that arose throughout my conversations with consumers in and around Lewisburg.

While the literature that I digested throughout the course of this research is not representative of all coffee scholarship, each piece that I studied focuses primarily on how an individual's taste and quality preferences drive their coffee consumption. As a result of this, I initially geared my interviews towards learning about consumers' own consumption habits in relation to taste and quality. However, as my conversations unfolded, I learned of the other variables within my interlocutors' own consumption practices that work alongside their taste preferences to inform their decisions about which coffee to drink. Their own insistence of these factors guided this project towards its current framework: studying social, ethical, and economic consumption values. I believe that this thesis contributes to greater literature in my exploration of how these other factors work in collaboration with one's taste preferences.

Additionally, my inclusion of all three waves within one analysis differs from most coffee scholarship: each piece of literature that is referenced in this research study one wave more heavily than the other two due to their focus on a certain aspect of that wave's identification. Manzo, for example, introduces the first and second wave in the first few pages of his paper, but this was solely for the purpose of explaining how these earlier eras differ from the third[59]. His study focuses on how quality consumers find social connection through their coffee practices, and thus heavily emphasizes the third wave over the other two. Boaventura, similarly, writes only of the third wave in his study, as he analyzes the evolution of origin value and its effect on the production industry in Brazil.

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[59] Manzo, 144.

His ethically based analysis points to the differences between production in the early waves versus the third, but inherently focuses on the later wave as its primary case study[60]. "Rise of Yuppie Coffee" follows a similar structure as Boaventura primarily writes about the economic disparities between different kinds of coffee drinkers[61]. Despite the fact that Roseberry predates Rothgeb and her naming of the three waves, he is very clearly describing what she would consider second wave coffee practices. This is apparent through his discussion of the expansion of specialty coffee markets and their effect on the popular trend towards valuing quality coffee: he explores the various players within the coffee production industry and relates the growth of specialty coffee to the overall market shift towards neoliberal consumption[62]. Second wave companies thrived from this new consumer preference due to their ability to use mass produced coffee in a way that tailors the end result to each individual consumer; this is evident in the continued success of chain coffee shops like Starbucks and Dunkin.

As I reflect on my time writing this thesis, I realize now how each of these studies promote one of the three values that I write about in my research: Manzo emphasizes sociability, Boaventura writes about ethics, and Roseberry studies how trends in taste affect the economy. However, where my study differs is the way that I incorporate multiple values and multiple ways into one study.

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[60] Boaventura, 264.
[61] Roseberry, 773.
[62] Roseberry, 770.

This thesis fits into this web of consumer analysis by connecting each of the three waves to one another through their shared values towards social, ethical, and economic consumption. While scholars such as Manzo demonstrate the shared qualities amongst consumers within the same wave, in order to best describe coffee consumption in Lewisburg, it is necessary to understand how we do not fit neatly into this three wave typology. Rather, we exist at the intersection of all three. I chose to break down an individual's consumption into my trio of values in order to best explain ways in which consumers connect despite differences in taste.

Categorizing Value and Wave Identity

The intersection of social, ethical, and economic value within each wave varies based on the different requirements of taste and quality. My research explains how this is true within Lewisburg, as each chapter explains these values while also differentiating what levels of quality are necessary for a person to be associated with each wave. For example, Colin and Ana, the two consumers in Chapter I, do not consciously brew coffee from certain origins and primarily brew coffee with methods that do not bring out the flavor notes within the beans. The Chapter II interlocutors, Liam, Robert, and Brendan, each explain how they have certain roast and origin preferences, but also that they are willing to stray from these if necessary. In Chapter III, Alexander, Cynthia, and Denis illustrate the most intricate taste and quality choices within this project; they take care to learn about their consumption with careful consideration towards a variety of factors, such as

the origin and the practices of the businesses who roast the beans. In this way, the consumers can be grouped together due to their taste and quality preferences, but then contrasted from one another as a result of which value motivates their consumption in conjunction with their wave identity.

Conversely, we could view the interlocutors through the categorization of the three values instead of by their waves. Through this lens, Colin, Liam, and Alexander all connect via their motivation through social interaction. Colin uses coffee as fuel prior to socializing, so oftentimes he will consume whatever is available to him at the time. Liam and Alexander each often choose what coffee to drink based on what the people around them prefer, and each values the information that they learn about both their peers and their colleagues through these shared interactions. Robert and Cynthia, my two ethical consumers, both express their dedication towards drinking sustainably sourced coffee as a result of their interest in environmental initiatives. Robert is not quite as strict about his consumption as Cynthia, though he makes ethically informed choices as often as he is able. Lastly, Ana, Brendan, and Denis all connect through their economic considerations when purchasing and consuming coffee.

Each recognizes how spending money impacts which coffee they consume, though each regards "economic choice" very differently as a result of their wave identity. Ana, the first wave economic consumer, makes an effort to buy the cheapest option - she does not take origin or roast into consideration, and thus is able to make her purchasing choices

primarily on cost. Denis, conversely, has accepted the higher expense that accompanies third wave consumption, and instead makes a conscious effort to ensure that his money is benefitting companies that he wants to see succeed. This association between values amongst consumers demonstrates how individuals and Lewisburg may have similar motivations behind their purchasing habits, but their taste inevitably draws them to different products. The combination of both the three waves and the three values constructs a more complex picture of the culture of coffee in Lewisburg than would be expected from prior studies of the three waves of coffee. Each intersection demonstrates how different motivations drive personal consumption: the coffee that a person drinks is the culmination of each of these values.

Moving Forward

There are many other aspects of coffee culture within Lewisburg that have yet to be explored. While I focused primarily on the practices of consumers, the perspectives and practices of producers and local roasters in the region have yet to be analyzed. If I were to continue with this project, I would want to learn about whether roasters around Lewisburg consciously promote social, economic, and ethical value within their production spaces. What are their overall production values compared to the consumption practices that have been described in this project?

Additionally, I understand that it is important to note that the consumers with whom I conducted my interviews were mostly tied to Bucknell in one way or another. In Lewisburg, there is a clear difference between the demographics of those who simply reside in town versus those who are associated with Bucknell: this was apparent in my study, as the majority of the people that I interviewed were members of the white upper class. This demographic historically has access to higher levels of quality coffee when compared to those of a less affluent background[63]. If I were to continue with this research, I would make more conscious efforts towards diversifying my sample in order to accurately assess the culture of the entire Lewisburg population.

Concluding Thoughts

Before I discovered my interest in the three waves, I spent many hours in conversation with my advisor discussing how I could potentially frame my research around coffee. In one of these exchanges, we were brainstorming various aspects of coffee culture, and I proposed the idea of studying consumption patterns in Lewisburg. My advisor snapped his fingers excitedly and said:

> *You can learn a lot about a person by the coffee they drink. I mean, to each individual person, their way of consuming coffee is correct to them. That would even be an interesting question to ask: can you make coffee wrong, anyway?*

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[63] Manzo, 153.

As I now reflect on my research, I realize just how perfectly this simple question sums up the complexity of data within my study. Despite the endless number of ways that coffee can be consumed, each individual's taste preferences and values guide them in the direction of their own "right" cup of coffee. While people may share similar social or ethical dedications, or even connect via a preference towards a certain origin of coffee bean, it is still possible for the end result of their coffee consumption to be different. Lewisburg's coffee culture reflects the complexity of each individual consumer due to the lack of consistency from one person to another. In spite of all of this, the overall culture of coffee within Lewisburg is one that, I believe, promotes our town's love of the product. Whether I was learning about an interlocutor's caffeine addiction, their Nespresso pot, or their love of Guatemalan roast, they were all sharing with me their own "right" ways of drinking coffee.

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Appendices A-G

Appendix A: Key interlocutor guide

Colin, a male IT worker in his mid 30's

Ana, a female career counselor in her mid 50's

Liam, a male IT worker in his early 60's

Robert, a male professor in his early 40's

Brendan, a male IT worker in his early 60's

Alexander, a male barista in his early 30's

Cynthia, a female musician in her early 60's

Denis, a male professor in his mid 30's

<u>Appendix B: Informed Consent Document</u>

<u>Informed Consent Form</u>
Institutional Review Board, Bucknell University
Researcher: Libby Hoffman, Anthropology and Italian Studies Double Major, Bucknell University

Hi! My name is Libby, and I am a rising senior doing an independent research study through Bucknell University for the summer. In this project, I am studying the impact of what local coffee shops, roasters, and vendors mean to the culture of coffee consumption in Lewisburg and the surrounding area. This research will be the first written account of the current coffee sector in this part of Pennsylvania. Today, I hope to engage with you in a semi-structured interview in order to learn more about your relationship with coffee as either a coffee consumer or a coffee roaster in and around Lewisburg. Along with your contribution, I hope to interview around 100 people, both roasters and consumers, throughout the summer. These conversations will be audio recorded as well as documented through hand written notes. I expect that our interaction will last about an hour.

<u>Confidentiality</u>
The only risk that comes to you with participating in this project is that someone could recognize your contribution through the writing. In order to prevent this from happening, I will work to maintain confidentiality by:
1. Never using names, surnames, age, gender, or any identifying information in any field notes or publications, UNLESS you explicitly state that you want me to do so.
2. Keeping my notes on a password protected computer that only I have access to.
3. Only recording participants if they have explicitly stated that they wish to participate in an interview. I will then remove their name and identifying information when writing a statement about the recording.
4. Keeping these signed consent forms separate from any other printed data.

<u>Your Rights in Regards to This Study</u>
1. You may take time to read this form thoroughly before signing it, as well as asking me any questions you may have pertaining to the study.
2. You may take a copy of the form with you.
3. You may ask to see any jottings/field notes that I have written, but only as they pertain to our interactions (i.e. you may not ask to see notes on a different participant).
4. Your participation is completely optional, meaning that you may decide not to participate in this study, you may decide not to answer any questions I may ask, and you may withdraw consent from participating in this study at <u>any time</u> during the process without penalty.

<u>Consent</u>

Please indicate your consent by initialing the statements below that you agree to, and then sign this form. I will give you another copy of this form for your records. By signing this document, you are indicating that I have explained this research to you and answered any questions you have up until now, and also that you are at least 18 years of age.

_____ I agree to participate in this study through casual conversations and observations.

_____ I agree to be interviewed and recorded. These recordings will never be made public, but may be transcribed and quoted anonymously without information that would identify me.

Signature of Participant: _____   **Date:** _____

Signature of Researcher: _____   **Date:** _____

If you have any questions about this study, please reach out to me to discuss further. Here is my contact information:

     Libby Hoffman, <u>ekgh001@bucknell.edu</u>

You may also reach out to my supervisor on the project, who is an anthropology professor at Bucknell University. Here is his contact information:

     Ned Searles, <u>esearles@bucknell.edu</u>

General questions or concerns about the rights of human subjects of research may be directed to the chair of the Institutional Review Board at Bucknell:

     Matthew Slater, <u>matthew.slater@bucknell.edu</u>

Appendix C: Message Center Posting (Summer)

Subject:

Hi! My name is Libby Hoffman, and I am a rising senior here doing research this summer about the local coffee culture in and around Lewisburg. For this research, I am hoping to talk to locals about their coffee habits in order to learn more about this area's relationship with coffee consumption. If you live within a 30 mile radius of campus, drink coffee in any form (drip, espresso, cold brew) and are interested in having a conversation about your coffee habits, please reach out to me at ekgh001@bucknell.edu.

Appendix D: Follow up email with to reconnect with interlocutors from the summer (Fall)

Subject: Coffee Research Continued!

Hello everyone,

I hope you are doing well!

I am reaching out to you following our conversation over the summer regarding your relationship with coffee in and around Lewisburg. I wanted to thank you for your participation in this research - you have helped me establish a foundation for a project that is now continuing as an honors thesis! With this being said, I am curious as to whether or not you would be willing to have another chat with me about coffee, this time exploring a slightly different angle. As my research progresses, I am now looking at the different value orientations that manifest within a cup of coffee. These interviews will be constructed around the information that I learned from you all this summer and will tailor towards your own specific relationship with coffee.

If you are interested, please reply to this email and let me know! I am hoping to begin conversations the week of October 16th following my return from fall break. I look forward to hearing from you!

Best,
Libby Hoffman (she/her/hers)
Anthropology and Italian Studies
Executive Intern to the Office of the President, UEIP
Bucknell University '24

<u>Appendix E: Interview Protocol (Summer)</u>

Libby Hoffman
Research Student
Project: Anthropology of Coffee in Lewisburg, PA

Step 1: Introduce myself and my project.

Hi! My name is Libby Hoffman and I am an incoming senior at Bucknell University. This summer, I am doing an independent research project on the culture of coffee in Lewisburg and in the general Lewisburg area. I was hoping to talk to you today about your relationship with coffee and learn a little bit more about how coffee impacts your life, either as a producer or a consumer. If you are willing to have a conversation, there is a chance that I would use some of the information that I learn in a final paper that I am producing at the end of the summer.

Step 2: Explain the research project to the subject and ask them to fill out the Informed Consent Document at their leisure.

Before we start our conversation, I wanted to give you the opportunity to read this consent form which outlines some more information about the project as well as the steps I will be taking to assure your confidentiality if you decide to participate. There is a space at the bottom for you to sign and some contact information for me and my mentors for this project. Please feel free to take this with you and read it over at home or take a few minutes to fill it out now. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time in the interview process as well as after we have finished our conversation.

Step 3: Commence with questions based on their relationship to coffee (producer or consumer).

<u>Questions/Conversation Statements (Producer):</u>
1. Tell me a little bit about your business.
    a. Why did you choose the coffee industry?
    b. How did you choose your location?
    c. Where do your beans come from? (more info about bean producer in a later section)
    d. What are you most proud of within your business?
2. Tell me about the blends that you offer to your customers.
    a. How were these blends decided?
    b. How often do you change which blends you offer?
    c. Is there a blend that is most popular?
    d. Do you roast on site?
    e. How does taste play a factor in your roasting? Do you construct the taste yourself?

3. Tell me about your relationship with your customers.
   a. Do you feel that you know your customers well?
   b. How often do you sell to new customers? How often do you sell to regulars?
      i. What makes a customer a "regular"?
   c. Are you able to tell if your customers have a community with each other?
   d. Why do your customers choose you
   e. Are your customers usually knowledgeable about coffee?
4. Tell me about your relationship with your producer.
   a. Have you had the same coffee producer since you opened?
   b. Are your interactions personal or through a computer?
5. What do you know about the coffee sector in this area?
   a. Both roasters and coffee shops
   b. Do you sell to local coffee shops?
   c. Do you get a sense of whether people prefer convenience or quality when it comes to coffee?
6. Why do you drink coffee?
7. In your opinion, what makes "good" coffee?

Questions/Conversation Statements (Consumer):
1. Where are you from?
2. Why do you drink coffee?
3. Tell me about the style of coffee that you prefer.
   a. Do you drink different types of coffee for different reasons?
   b. How does taste play a factor in your choice?
   c. How does quality play a factor in your choice?
4. Tell me about how you acquire coffee.
   a. How often do you make coffee at home?
      i. What style of coffee do you make?
      ii. What brand of coffee do you buy?
   b. How often do you get coffee from a coffee shop (e.g. latte, cold brew, etc.)?
      i. What kind of coffee shops do you prefer (e.g. local, chain, etc.)?
5. In your opinion, what makes "good" coffee?
6. What do you know about the coffee sector in this area?
   a. Both roasters and coffee shops?
   b. Do you frequent local coffee shops?
7. Do you ever feel as if you are a part of a community that is centered around coffee? If so, could you explain in more detail how this community is formed?
8. How do you feel that the coffee sector in the Lewisburg area could be improved?

Step 4: Conclude conversation.
Appendix F: Interview Protocol (Fall)

Libby Hoffman
Honors Thesis Interview Protocol
Community in a Cup: An Ethnographic Analysis of the Culture of Coffee in Lewisburg, PA

Step 1: Re-introduce myself and my project.

Step 2: Explain the new framework of the project and offer to review the Informed Consent Document before the conversation starts.

As this project continues as an honors thesis, I am excited to explore whether or not value and identity drive your coffee consumption habits. The questions that I ask you today will expand on your answers from our conversation over the summer. Before we get started, I wanted to offer you the chance to review the informed consent document that you signed before our first conversation?

Step 3: Commence with questions.

<u>Leading Questions/Conversation Statements:</u>
1. Would you tell me again about the reasons why you drink coffee?
    a. Input a question based on their interview from the summer (changes with each interview)
    b. So last time we talked, you said you drank X. Do you still do that? Have you branched out and tried any other new places/brands/types of coffee since we last chatted?
        i. What inspired this?
        ii. Thoughts? Like/dislike? Why?
        iii. Do you think you'd do it again in the future?
2. What would you say is the most valuable component of a cup of coffee?
    a. How important is cost in making a decision about coffee?
    b. Taste?
    c. How important is what other people are doing when getting coffee? How do other people and what they're doing impact your coffee habits?
    d. Do you consider the origin of the coffee?
    e. Do you think about the business practices of the brand/cafe when getting coffee?
    f. Do you ever make these same kinds of considerations when you are making other decisions, for example, buying clothes? Buying food? Planning a vacation? Learning about world events? Listening to music/consuming media?
3. How have your coffee habits changed overtime? What factors have influenced this change? Anything we talked about earlier?
Step 4: Conclude conversation.

Appendix G: IRB Approval

Mail

Libby Hoffman <ekgh001@bucknell.edu>

IRB Research Project Approved: 2223-147

matthew.slater@bucknell.edu <matthew.slater@bucknell.edu>
To: ekgh001@bucknell.edu
Cc: esearles@bucknell.edu

Thu, Jun 8, 2023 at 12:52 PM

Bucknell
UNIVERSITY

IRB #: 2223-147
Title: Anthropology of Coffee in Lewisburg, PA
Level of Review: EXEMPT

Dear Libby Hoffman,

The IRB has reviewed the above referenced proposal and determined that it is exempt from further review under 45 CFR 46.104(d)(2).

Please keep in mind that any protocol modifications/deviations must be approved by the IRB prior to implementation, unless they reduce risk to participants. Minor modifications (e.g., changes to the subject pool, recruitment strategies, adding researchers, non-substantive changes to materials) can usually be made via email. Substantive changes to the protocol should be changed via the renewal feature of the IRB's online submission system. Otherwise, the IRB's approval of this proposal does not expire.

Good luck with your project.

Sincerely,

Matthew Slater
Professor of Philosophy and IRB Chair
tel. 570-577-2767 | IRB Website: http://my.bucknell.edu/irb.html

Appendix H: CITI Training Certificate

CITI PROGRAM

Completion Date 22-May-2023
Expiration Date 22-May-2025
Record ID   56025716

This is to certify that:

Libby Hoffman

Has completed the following CITI Program course:

Not valid for renewal of
certification through CME.

Human Research
(Curriculum Group)
Social Behavioral Track
(Course Learner Group)
2 - Refresher Course
(Stage)

Under requirements set by:

Bucknell University

CITI
Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

101 NE 3rd Avenue, Suite 320
Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301 US
www.citiprogram.org

Verify at www.citiprogram.org/verify/?w8a9ed2ef-8e8d-42dd-a702-2c657921117c-56025716