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A report for the Masters of Arts:

HOW DO ETHIOPIAN MIGRANTS IN JOHANNESBURG CONSTITUTE THEMSELVES THROUGH FOOD CULTURE?

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This research report is presented in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Migration & Displacement, Graduate School for the Humanities & Social Sciences,

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I. DEDICATION

To Piggy who passed before the completion of this report.

II. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest gratitude goes to God for giving me strength, perseverance and the ability to complete my Masters.

My heartfelt thanks to my parents, siblings and the rest of our family for all the prayers, support, love and provision that you have given to me all these years. Your sacrificial love is worthy of praise.

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Lastly, thank you to all who were a part of this journey. I appreciate you all.

III. DECLARATION

I, Noreen Wahome, know and accept that plagiarism (i.e., to use another's work and present it as one's own) is wrong. Consequently, I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other university.

Signed: 

Date: 30 November 2018

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IV. ABSTRACT

Food culture plays a significant role in the adaption of migrants when they leave their home country in search of a new home, acting as a constituent of a migrant community. This has been the case for the Ethiopian migrant community in Johannesburg.

The ways in which food culture plays a role in the formation of Ethiopian migrant communities in Johannesburg has been explored in this study. Furthermore, literature on the gendered roles of men and women regarding food cultural practices remains embedded within a masculine paradigm which results in the side-lining of the experiences that Ethiopian women face in Johannesburg.

Therefore, an attempt is made to understand the role that Ethiopian food culture plays in the socio-cultural identity formation of Ethiopian migrants residing in Johannesburg. This qualitative study consisting of interviews, informal discussions and observation of Ethiopian restaurant owners, Ethiopian restaurant workers and members of the community at large aim to accomplish the understanding of the role that food culture plays in Ethiopian migrant communities of Johannesburg.

Research findings showed that Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg relied on their nationality to construct their socio-cultural identity in the host space. The expression of pride for their Ethiopian identity was easily evident. It was also found that there was a use of their food culture to dispel stereotypes about a 'starved' Ethiopia, usually by the mention of food ingredients that can only be found in Ethiopia. The 'transportation' of food culture can also be owed to the importation of Ethiopian food ingredients, a deliberate means of preserving one's identity. A performance of culture allows for Ethiopian migrants to showcase and celebrate who they are. The practices found within

Ethiopian food culture are held through community formation, passed on from generation to generation. The evolution of the roles of Ethiopian men and women also contributes to this study through its changing dynamics in an era where patriarchy and gender are being evaluated. This implies the need for the development of the study of Ethiopian food culture in Ethiopian migrant communities.

Key words: food culture, Ethiopian migrant, Johannesburg, gendered roles, socio-cultural identity.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

Food culture and cultural identity must not be separated in the aim of exploring what forms a community. The performance of culture and its food cultural practices as its aspect must be considered when identifying what constitutes a community. Ritson, Gofton & McKenzie (1986) stated that "food is the key ingredient of relationships between group members". Food culture is an important study and contribution to the social sciences as it builds on the foundation of what constitutes a group's cultural identity.

Ethiopians migrants in South Africa were considered to be about 45 000 to 50 000 by the year 2008, according to Akanle, Alemu & Adesina (2016), although Howard (2009) has claimed that this number accelerated significantly. Therefore, the understanding of how Ethiopian migrants construct their identity while navigating their space in the host country of South Africa that is continuously infiltrated by migrants generally from all over the continent is essential to understanding social construction of migrants better. Moreover, the maintenance of identity construction is vital to understanding the livelihoods of migrants. Migrant communities have access to the local food yet they still choose to eat their traditional food, depending on the migrant community (Xu: 2008). The choice to continue practicing their own food cultural practices and going to extreme lengths to import their own traditional food needs to be examined.

The ways in which food culture influences and shapes the identity of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg and how Ethiopian restaurants contribute to the role of food culture in identity formation has been investigated for this study. The gendered roles of men and women in food cultural practices also contribute to this investigation as it strongly links to the identity construction (Woodward, 2004). The preservation of traditions within these food cultural practices is worthy of exploration as it establishes the role that Ethiopian food plays in creating Ethiopian communities in Johannesburg. Lewis (2007: i) states that tradition is "beliefs and practices that have been transmitted from generation to generation… with certain cultural elements that are rooted in the past". Food culture of Ethiopian communities makes a fundamental contribution to the formation of their communities based outside of Ethiopia. However, my findings show that 'tradition' itself is changing within Ethiopian society, especially with respect to gender roles and food production.

Overall, the study of Ethiopian migrants in South Africa is a recent phenomenon, and the focus on food culture as a dependent for identity is a unique focus. The Addis Tribune (200I) confirmed the increase of Ethiopians in South Africa, consequently risking their lives in search of a better life in South Africa. This begs for a better understanding of how Ethiopian migrants settle and adapt in South Africa, creating their own space within South Africa in an already identified space- vastly different to their own. Mecer & Meterlerkamp (2018) emphasize that "food brings a sense of belonging to immigrant communities in South Africa, adding that the informal food economy serves as an important social safety net of last resort for migrant communities.. Beyond the economic importance of the informal food economy, it highlights how food brings people together and explores the universal love of a home-cooked meal, celebrating the

simple act of coming together to eat, and the power this holds in bridging perceived gaps between people and cultures." It is central to building resilience among vulnerable communities and the global social networks they support.

This research study explores the way in which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg practice Ethiopian food culture by investigating how the role played by food maintained the 'home' identity for Ethiopian migrants who have been in South Africa for five or more years. It further explores the way in which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg use their food culture to establish their identity in Johannesburg in order to form their own communities and perform their culture for others, particularly in the restaurant setting. The role of Ethiopian restaurants in Ethiopian communities is also to be considered for this study as they serve Ethiopian food to the Ethiopian community and the international community at large, on a daily basis.

232 million migrants were reported to have been living across the globe in 2013, according to UNDESA (2013) – highest number of immigrants recorded in history. The 2008 xenophobic attacks that took place in South Africa was an indication of the negative attitudes that foreigners in South Africa face, particularly those of lower income status (Kersting, 2009: 16). This is what brought rise to the concept of afrophobia-South Africa's selective xenophobia (Thakur, 2011).

A local media source (IOL, 2018) reported that immigrants felt that they did not receive the necessary protection that they need to survive in the local communities and in that regard; they did not feel safe in the communities that they reside in. Foreigners in South Africa suffered from the label of being foreign, in addition to the accusations of being criminal; leaving them disheartened yet determined to defend their identity.

Furthermore, this study examines how their food culture is practised through their assigned gendered roles and how the evolution of these gendered roles has taken place to deconstruct the foundation on which the Ethiopian food culture stands.

This study is based purely on the experiences of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg and how their experiences as migrants in Johannesburg have been impacted by their food culture. It is also their experiences that have guided the way in which they choose to identify themselves and execute their cultural identity through food culture.

Overall, Ethiopian migrants remain one of the largest migrant communities in South Africa with Gebre (2007:4) labelling them a "relatively recent phenomenon and there is no adequate research done to assess and measure the experiences of Ethiopian migrants in South Africa". Ethiopia holds one of the most populous nations on the continent of Africa (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census, 2008). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that a large number of Ethiopians flock to what they commonly perceive to be a utopian South Africa for better economic opportunities as well as to escape the political turmoil erupting in Ethiopia.

Ethiopian immigrants move to South Africa in search of a better standard of living (Gema, 2001). A majority of Ethiopian migrants start businesses e.g. restaurants as they do not have the qualifications to join the formal sector, and for some, the legal documents to get employment in South Africa. A common accusation that is associate with xenophobic attacks towards migrants in South Africa is the 'stealing of jobs' from local citizens as their forms of income poses as a threat (Shindondola, 2003).

In the context of a historical South Africa, post-apartheid South Africa witnessed an influx of migrants generally from different parts of the world, especially from other

parts of the African continent (Landau, 2005). Yet, still after 25 years of a newly inclusive South Africa, immigration policies continue to frustrate rather than improve the lives of its migrants. This highly suggests the exclusion of immigrants in the design of an 'inclusive South Africa', which evidently explains why many migrants in South Africa face the kind of challenges that they do, mainly based on discrimination and as recently reported- xenophobic attacks (Crush, 2008).

Whilst the socio-economic challenges of migrants in Johannesburg continue, the question of how they create a space for themselves in the host country of South Africa arises. Landau (n.d.:29) indicated that "No city in the world has the luxury of selecting its population or dealing entirely with a settled population, least of all South African cities. Cities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria are amongst the youngest in the world and are quintessentially cities of migrants." This then emphasizes the need to understand where and how non-nationals fit themselves in the local communities of South Africa and the ways in which they live amongst national citizens. If Johannesburg is indeed a city of migrants as Landau has stated above, the common assumption that Ethiopian communities segregate themselves from the local community must be investigated.

A suggestion for migrants in Johannesburg to abandon their cultural identity would pose as a solution to most of the socio-economic challenges that migrants face. In fact, some migrants have gone to the extent of learning the local language to assimilate into the South African life and prevent discrimination. However, the categorization of migrant status for many Ethiopians in Johannesburg is heavily drenched upon their cultural identity. "Ethiopian social institutions evolved out of a confluence of the country's history, culture and societal needs and an environment where all these

elements find each other and form a particular landscape. Their existence is therefore not only based on members having been initially socialised into them or merely bearing an emotional attachment to them" (Yimer, 2012:6). My aim is therefore to explore how this socialization of culture and the construction of identity for which it stands upon exist within the framework of Johannesburg's social structures. As Yimer (2012:4) stated, "The technological, economic and social developments of today have created many new dimensions and the survival of migrants' imported cultures and identity is one with many of its own subtexts that needs to be explored." This begs for further study into the specific structures that migrants use and import from their own country to socially construct a landscape for them in their host country.

In this study, I explore why food culture and the preservation of traditions is so critical to identity formation among Ethiopian immigrants in Johannesburg. I also examine shifting gender roles among these immigrants as a way to explore why Ethiopian men are becoming involved in restaurant ownership in the city. This study contributes to migration scholarship by revealing the meaning of identity to Ethiopians which they carry proudly as well as their performance of culture to validate who they are and the emergent role of gender plays in reshaping food culture. Moreover, the gendered roles of men and women including the evolution of these roles will also add important value to this study, particularly how the food cultural practices of Ethiopian food remain the same despite the evolution that is taking place in the roles between men and women when it comes to food cultural practices.

The research question for this study included "why the role of food culture plays a part in the formation or constitution of Ethiopian migrant identity in Johannesburg and why it contributes to gender roles in the food cultural practices of Ethiopian migrant

communities. This research specifically aimed to explore the ways in which food culture formed the identity of Ethiopian migrants, taking into consideration the gendered roles of men and women in food cultural practices as my main objectives.

1.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There is a common focus on the nutritional values of food by scholars and this study aims to focus on the social role of food rather, in the Ethiopian migrant communities found in Johannesburg. A large portion of literature regarding Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg focuses on their living experiences through social networks and the disconnect between Ethiopia & South Africa (Zack, 2015), the informal economy for which their survival is based upon (Perberdy, 2016), the ''entrepreneurialism" of Jeppe Street (Zack & Arnot, 2012) and the xenophobic attacks that they have encountered which has shaped their migration experiences as a whole (Harris, 2001).

With the guidance of studies conducted such as the ones outlined above, this study particularly focuses on Ethiopian restaurant owners and how they practise Ethiopian food culture in Johannesburg. In addition, it also surveys the ways in which these Ethiopian restaurant owners create communities consisting of both Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians through the setting of their restaurants which call for all to gather. It also inspects the perceptions that Ethiopian restaurant owners hold of their culture and how these perceptions impact the way in which they perform their culture for those who reside and visit South Africa, the host country. Furthermore, their perceptions of their

roles as male Ethiopian migrants and what they perceive of the roles of female Ethiopian migrants shape the way in which they constitute themselves as a community.

Although studies highlight on the history of Ethiopian food and the preservation of its recipes such as that of Civitello (2011), there are also studies that suggest the link between identity and gender such as in Pankhurst's 1992 Ethiopian study titled 'gender, development and identity'. This study outlined the way in which women took control of the state despite the state side-lining them. There is also an increase on the contemporary aspects of food culture in and the 'body politics' that it presents as well as the significance that it has occupied in the tourism industry (Parasecoli, 2008).

The inclusion of female Ethiopian migrants to this study presented a rare paradigm of the women's perspective to their roles in food cultural practices as well as their experiences as migrants. The question of who narrates the perspective of Ethiopian women and their experiences especially in this quest to understand food culture must be considered. After all, "Migrant women's account within this process remains under searched" (Mugisho, 2011). This inclusion demonstrated the power imbalances between men and women, especially in telling the stories and perspectives of Ethiopian women by Ethiopian women themselves.

The process of who determines what food to be bought, who buys the food, who cooks it and serves it and finally who consumes it states that there is a role for every member of the community to play in terms of everyday food practices, implying a "division of labour" that "genders food tasks" in the community (Kemmer, 2000: 324). The development of these gender roles will help to better understand the Ethiopian community and what roles are played to establish the Ethiopian migrant community in Johannesburg.

The merge between the socio-cultural identity and food culture of migrants in Johannesburg must be accredited. The focus on food culture as a component of a migrant's cultural identity is imperative to the understanding of the ways in which migrants adapt and constitute themselves.

On that account, my research question entailed what role the Ethiopian food culture played in the formation of the socio-cultural identity of an Ethiopian migrant in Johannesburg. Hence this research sought to explore and better understand the various dynamics that make up food culture and identity and its link to Johannesburg's Ethiopian migrants. Such understanding can help inform policies and programs around communities on how better to integrate co-existing cultures in our dynamic and increasingly complex societies.

It must be noted that "South Africa is a major destination country for African asylum-seekers and migrations" (Zack & Estifanos, 2015: 1), and this places an emphasis for more studies on the cultural organisational structures of foreign communities that are found in South Africa to be made in order to better understand the ways in which a foreign community forms its own identity within the local identity and how both identities co-exist.

1.3. STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

This research report is divided into five chapters, including this introduction.

The second chapter consists of a literature review. This literature review outlined the already existing body of knowledge regarding the constitution of migrant communities through food culture. It also focuses on the political and social contexts for which

migrants find themselves in and have to adjust to. This is heavily dependent on the social organization and cultural structures that contrast these communities; hence the sources that hold this claim remain relevant to this study. The review highlighted the findings that were found in some of the studies conducted and the limitations of these studies which directed my research curiosity. This literature review is particularly helpful in determining the similarities and differences with my findings, and whether my findings support the conclusions in the sources within the literature review or not.

The third chapter narrates the methodology that was adopted for this study. It gives the context of the areas studied as well as the participants who were included in this study. Moreover, an overview of the challenges faced during data collection is highlighted. The tools used for data collection are explained. The reason for the choice of my research design is justified in this chapter as well. Ethical issues are also included in chapter two. Lastly, the limitations of my study conclude this chapter.

Following an illustration of how my research study was conducted, chapter four comprises of my findings. In this chapter, I identify the themes from my findings as a result of my data analysis. It categorizes the way in which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg form their community and their identity through the different aspects of how they practise food culture. It further explores the way in which they perform their culture for others and how the gendered roles of Ethiopian men and women in food practises have changed overtime.

The last chapter comprises of the summary of my findings and my reflections thereof, as well as recommendations for future studies. Lastly, a conclusion follows. A list of references and appendices close this report.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

With this literature review, I aim to investigate the already existing body of knowledge that will direct me in what I need to investigate further in order to contribute to this body of knowledge.

I look into the themes of how culture is performed for 'others', the gendering of food culture and finding identity through food culture as well as how communities are formed through food culture. This spans from the local context to globally and in between to find the similarities and contrasts with the context that I have at hand- Johannesburg for the Ethiopian migrants.

2.2. FINDING IDENTITY THROUGH FOOD CULTURE

Hall 1990:21-24) powerfully stated that what makes identity is one's culture, history, experiences and codes that are shared with those who share their origin. Therefore, the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg cannot stand without the dominance of their identity influencing their livelihoods and constitution of their community. Furthermore, Yimler (2012:6) stated that:

> "Ethiopian social institutions evolved out of a confluence of the country's history, culture and societal needs and an environment where all these elements

> find each other and form a particular landscape. Their existence is therefore not only based on members having been initially socialised into them or merely bearing an emotional attachment to them."

This compliments what Hall & Yimler have stated above by giving base for which the Ethiopian migrants place their identity; on history and their societal structures back home for which they are rely on but also attached to and fraternized.

In 'Between Mothers and Markets: Constructing family identity through homemade food', Moisio, Arnould & Price (2004) investigate the family setting and how food made in the home functions in constructing the structure of the family and how that impacts the relationships that they have with each other. Although 'Between Mothers & Markets' was conducted in Midwestern region, the confirmation it provides regarding the meaning that food has on identity extends to this study. Therefore, the examination of what meaning food gives to identity in the Ethiopian community context of Johannesburg matters as it differs from the Midwestern region.

Bugge (2003: 3) certifies cooking with the following claim "a significant part of self-presentation and identity formation". Bugge's study caters specifically to the Norwegian food culture although the claim above should be considered for any setting that consists of food culture. However, the way in which identity is formed through a particular food culture is tested in its own margins. The systemization of food preparation for any context, and in this case, the context of Ethiopian migrant communities in Johannesburg is therefore explored to discover the ways in which it contributes to the formation of identity for the Ethiopian community.

Attempting to link food to identity, Fischler (1988: 275) articulately stated,

> "Food is central to our sense of identity. The way any given human group eats helps it assert its diversity, hierarchy and organization, and at the same time, both its oneness and otherness of whoever eats differently. Food is also central to individual identity, in that any given human individual is constructed, biologically, psychologically and socially by the food he/she chooses to incorporate".

Fischler's argument made over thirty years ago rings true today. However, this thirty year old argument needs to be assessed again in terms of the extent of its validity. This means an investigation into whether food is the only central aspect of our identity needs to be clarified. Furthermore, there must also be an establishment as to whether there are any other factors that bring people together other than food today.

2.3. PERFORMING CULTURE FOR OTHERS

In 'The presentation of self in everyday life' which articulates Goffman's performance theory, Goffman (1956: 152) states clearly that "Within the walls of a social establishment we find a team of performers who co-operate to present to an audience a given definition of the situation." The author argues that the activities that people do are what underwrites the perception that others have of them. Goffman points that that an impression is laid upon the audience and thereby, the relationship between the performer and the audience is one to be considered more closely as it implies how the performer wants to be viewed by the audience. With Goffman's findings, it is therefore essential to unpack what the Ethiopian migrant community wants their customers and

the local and international community to know and feel about them as it determines whether their presence in Johannesburg matters to the local and international community or not. With the space of a restaurant, the food cultural practices are used to assess how the local and international community responds to who they are, whether with acceptance or rejection.

> "Individuals with a discreditable actual identity want to be 'virtually normal': stigma is the gap between the virtual and the actual, and the shame which attaches – or which would attach – to its discovery by others. Stigmatisation is, moreover, a continuum of degree. We are all disreputable in some respects, and
>
> the information management skills required to control who knows about them, and to what degree, are routine items in our interactional repertoires" (Jenkins, 2004: 73).

According to Gebre who focused on Ethiopians in Durban,

> "Ethiopian immigrants in South Africa live isolated from other groups… They do not socialize with the South African community or other refugee communities. They keep up their social networks within their own community. Most Ethiopian immigrants do not speak any of the local languages. Many of them have knowledge of Basic English, but not enough to communicate freely. This is one of the factors that prevent them from interacting with other communities. It is also possible that their limited exposure to other communities might have contributed to their low level of language proficiency and development" (2007:42).

This begs the question as to how then, the Ethiopian community can expect to adapt in the host country of South Africa when practicing this form of withdrawal. I aim to explore whether this applies to Ethiopians in Johannesburg as well and investigate where they place themselves in the organization of the local community structure. So dire is this experience (or lack thereof) between Ethiopian migrants in Durban and the local residents that "many of the respondents stated that not being able to speak to local languages did not have a significant impact on their lives here, informal discussions with various Ethiopian immigrants revealed that some of them had a very hard time working in the townships. At times, they had to carry a pen and paper so that they communicate with their clients in writing. They write the prices of the items on paper and their customers write down their preferred price and negotiation continues in the same way." This then gives an indication that perhaps; the Ethiopian community does not depend on the local community to complete their constitution of their identity.

Gebre (2007:44) also noted that South Africans in Johannesburg are more receptive towards Ethiopian migrants than those in Durban. This was tested in my questions to my research participants about the ways in which they interacted with the local community and tourists overall. Hence, the understanding of what perception the local and international community have towards the Ethiopian community is crucial for this study as it also helps to identify what stereotypes the outsiders have against the Ethiopian community.

2.4. FORMING COMMUNITIES THROUGH FOOD CULTURE

Yordanos Seifu Estifanos (n.d.:21) stated that

> "The context of Johannesburg impacts on social connection. Crime and the threat of xenophobia loom over the lives of migrants. Socially the danger of being mugged, robbed, or killed limits migrants' movement and socializing as it restricts movement and hours spent in the public domain".

His study on the migration process of Ethiopians to South Africa was particularly relevant to my research topic as it enabled me to understand more deeply the issues and challenging processes that Ethiopian migrants face when coming to South Africa. This effectively built perspective and context for my investigation into how Ethiopian migrants form a community when they arrive in South Africa, specifically through food culture. Estifanos looked at the ways in which Ethiopians adapt in South Africa through the living conditions that they are succumbed to due to financial and social pressures as the utopian South Africa that these young Ethiopians land into turns into a land of misery, loneliness and fear of xenophobic attacks. This contributes to the establishment of close-knit Ethiopian communities that provide protection for them and enables them to from relationships that "constitute social capital in South Africa" (Estifanos, n.d) as they strive to primarily make a living for themselves for survival. Estifanos' quote above symbolizes the importance of interaction within the Ethiopian community as they wrestle against the socio-economic factors that threaten their safety. My research study went further by considering how the Ethiopian food culture contributed to the social capital of Ethiopian migrants in South Africa and the ways in which their food culture strengthened their relationships in the midst of their economic situations.

Landau (2006:14) attempts to give the answer to how communities can be better integrated from the hand of the host country.

> "…Overcoming racialised fragmentation and avoiding new forms of exclusion means bringing together people from all sectors of the urban environment in ways that promote investments in a shared future. This was never going to be an easy task in South Africa's heterogeneous cities. Marginalising significant migrant communities, however, only creates an additional obstacle to achieving this objective. This is already visible in migrants' widespread sense of permanent dislocation fostered by the violence, abuse, and discrimination they experience in new residential communities. Rather than striving to integrate, foreigners instead cling to their outsider status, make conscious efforts to avoid close personal relationships with South Africans, spend their time in South Africa planning their move elsewhere" which was also stated by Amisi & Ballard (2005), Mang'ana (2004) and Araia (2005).

This expresses the unavoidable contact that the Ethiopian community must make with the local community in order to adapt in Johannesburg. However, he reminds us of the important factor that is needed to contribute to this adjustment- the local community themselves and the role that this community can and must play in the Ethiopian community for the benefit of all communities together.

Estifanos's findings compliments Yimler's notions that "in the case of migrants from the same country, they are left with social institutions that are juxtaposed with an already existing framework that contains its own culture" which speaks to the social networks that Estifanos spoke about above, in that these social networks are made up of one's own culture which is imported from Ethiopia.

Ethiopians socialize in their business settings although these settings do not allow for deeply rooted interactions as it's stated:

> "The physical set up of their business environment where they spend the bigger portion of their days, still allows Ethiopians physical closeness and constant interaction with one another. Aside from the comfort of dealing with people who share similar economic and cultural background, the relationships formed in this community do not extend to more than knowledge of one another's basic background information such as city of origin, religion or marital status. They are also usually more business based than social ones." (Yimler, 2012:38).

The state of South Africa is antagonistic towards immigrants today, and in turn, exclusion becomes critical to Ethiopian identity. During apartheid, the state used black labour from surrounding countries and regions as a means of developing South Africa, particularly for the benefit of the white population of South Africa.

Perberdy (2001:23) zooms back to 1994 in South Africa when black South Africans received their full rights of citizenship for the first time and how despite the integration of black South Africans into a new South Africa, the approach towards immigrants wasn't quite the same. As he states,

> "The new immigration anxieties of the state are exemplified by changes in the way that officials imagine and describe immigrants and migrants. The new state is relentlessly negative in the language it uses to describe the impact of migrants and immigrants on South Africa. Post-1994 immigration discourse caricatures migrants and immigrants through a series of conceptual conflations and unsubstantiated assertions".

Perberdy tackles the loop holes found in the South African immigration policies and how dividing the policies have posed for immigrants and South Africans even though it

claim otherwise "black Africans have thus become the focus of the new state's fears" (2001: 29). As I tackle the challenge of identity for Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, I am persuaded by Perberdy to also bear in mind the exclusion of Ethiopian migrants as a component of their identity.

Similar to my research topic, Gebre (2007) in his research study investigated the experiences of Ethiopians living in Durban. According to Gebre (2007:34),

> "social networking is an important factor that contributes to migration. Social networks are crucial links before and during their journey, upon arrival and settling in South Africa… social networks help Ethiopian immigrants in exploring business opportunities and starting up their own business".

Gebre's study gives an excellent illustration of the way in which Ethiopians live in Durban and echoes the livelihoods of those living in Johannesburg. Although Gebre focused on Ethiopians in Durban, I focus on Ethiopian migrants living in Johannesburg instead, using almost identical methods as Gebre used for his study. Gebre touches on the pressing issues that Ethiopian migrants face as they live in Durban, including xenophobic attacks and forms of exclusion that divides them and the local community. He also articulately describes the way in which migrants (in general) positively contribute to the economy of the host country. I take on a much deeper route, focusing on the ways in which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg strengthen their own community and try to mould their identity in South Africa, their host country.

2.5. GENDERING OF FOOD CULTURE AND ITS EVOLUTION

Beoku-Betts (1995) recognizes that "analysis of relationship between women and food preparation practises can broaden understanding of the construction and maintenance of tradition in marginalised cultural groups" which she considers being "a neglected aspect of the study of social organization". This therefore calls for further study into what factors are responsible for the need to preserve culture. In Beoku-Betts's study as highlighted above, she states that this focus can add value to the increasing interest about what constitutes as "cultural identity in communities" (1995: 535).

Unlike Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, African American women in Gullah according to Beoku-Betts (1995) are susceptible to changes and tweaking traditions when the need arises. However, the African American women in Gullah also share similar sentiments with Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg as they are protective of their culture by wanting to preserve what makes Gullah cooking ''unique". She states,

"Cultural preservation through food preparation and feeding is a highly conscious act on the part of these women; it is tied closely to their judgments about when to accept, and when to resist, change. Gullah women, therefore, are willing to take shortcuts in cooking when time pressures demand it, but they seem less willing to compromise their feelings about nature and environmental protection or to tamper with the "unique" seasonings they say are a component of true Gullah cooking" (1995: 553).

Lehohla (2015:9) quantified that "a total of 39 573 thousand travellers (arrivals plus departures) were recorded in 2015 compared to 18 750 thousand recorded in 2001, indicating that the overall number of travellers doubled over this 15-year period", further declaring that "the main purpose of visit for foreign arrivals was holidays

(93,8%). Whereas 2,5% of the 2015 arrivals were on business; 2,0% and 0,6% of arrivals came for work and to study respectively".

Beoku-Betts (1995) also adds an interesting dimension to the theme of gendered roles in food preparation practices, citing that "this area of work and cultural activity traditionally has been viewed as a ''natural role" for women, its value has not been acknowledged seriously or appreciated in the production of cultural knowledge systems (Smith, 1987: 18-19). She also argues in the same study that women should use these roles to tackle gender inequality by empowering themselves through these roles, even though they are not considered valuable.

Angela Davis complements this view in her work (1981: 7) where she alludes to a historical basis to give context to why women's roles in not only food preparation practices but general domestic practices were considered insignificant during the era of slavery. However, she brought to light the fact that women who cared for their families in the homes had an impact towards their families that not even their autocrats had and that itself was powerful to change the perspective of women's roles in the home.

Beoku-Butts (1995: 552) goes on to state that the normalcy of what is considered to women's roles in the domestic setting actually has not "received much analytical attention". She gives an imperative contribution regarding the scholarship of feminists who "advocate changes in this sphere … recommending equitable distribution of housework among house-hold members, cutting back on housework, and creating new family roles for men" (Chodorow, 1978; Hochschild & Machung, 1989 & Oakley, 1974). However, DeVault (1991) is quick to argue that the sharing of food preparation gendered roles does not necessarily solve the issues of gender inequality. Hence, the exploration of what the roles of men and women regarding food preparation practices

means to them and how they consider each other's role is imperative to the exposure of what organises gender inequality.

These ascribed roles of men and women place them in different hierarchical positions even before the migration. While the manifestation of men's roles is described as one that projects pride and power, women's positions are seen as weak and very open to influence. Yet both are still interdependent to help one another fulfil the needs that their family units require." (Yimler, 2012: 11). The gender roles of men and women, or rather the roles as to which men and women have been ascribed to by past generations speaks to the perspective as to which Ethiopian men and women have of themselves and the opposite sex and the expectations that they hold each other to. This is well documented in the findings below as the men in particular articulate the discomfort and awkwardness that they still feel when performing food culture, even years after practising it. This is simply due to the fact that their community structures do not allow for this as Yimler has stated.

"Gender is also best understood as a primary identity, organising the earliest experience and integrated into the individual sense of selfhood. Depending on local context, ethnicity may be, too (Jenkins 1997: 46–8). Mentioning gender and ethnicity in this context emphasises that primary identifications are neither fixed nor timeless. Identification is something that individuals do, it is a process. As decades of interactionist sociology has documented in detail, even the reproduction of the status quo requires perpetual work of one sort or another. What's more, primary identifications are only resistant to change; they're not set in concrete. Change is routine in the human world, occurring for all kinds of reasons, and selfhood, gender and ethnicity are in and of that world" (Jenkins, 2004: 48).

"Despite the individuality of gender, all human communities and all local views of 60 entering the human world the world are massively organised in gender terms. This is a collective matter. Gender is one of the most consistent identifying themes in human history, and one of the most pervasive classificatory principles – arguably the most pervasive – with massive consequences for the life-chances and experiences of whole categories of people. Gender is thus simultaneously individual and collective in equal degree, and in this it may be distinctive. Although all human identities, individual or collective, are definitively interactional, where the individual emphasises difference, the collective is weighted towards similarity. Gender identities are fairly evenly balanced in this respect. Gender is a binary classificatory scheme, and the demographic distribution of the root male–female differentiation is approximately equal. Thus each main gender is the classificatory intersection of one basic relation of difference and one basic relation of similarity" (Jenkins, 2004: 60-61).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

My interest to this study developed from my living experiences with Ethiopian migrants in Germany and Swaziland. I wanted to understand how and why Ethiopian migrants preserve and practise their culture even when they live outside of Ethiopia. Furthermore, I wanted to investigate the different aspects of their cultural identity and how they maintain it outside of Ethiopia, zooming in on food culture and their food cultural practices. I also wanted to understand why their food cultural practises are so important to them and how their food culture brings them together as an Ethiopian community in the host country of South Africa. This chapter aims to provide insight into my methods for this study- why I chose these particular methods below, how they worked and what challenges I faced when I deployed these methods in the field and during my analysis.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

This research adopts the qualitative research design. It contains in-depth case studies of ten Ethiopian migrants, six of who own Ethiopian outside of Jeppe Street on Johannesburg's CBD. Informal discussions with two Ethiopian restaurant owners whose restaurants are located on Jeppe Street in Johannesburg are also reflected upon in this study. Two key informants from two Ethiopian migrant communities of Germany and

Swaziland are also included to show the similarities that exist between Ethiopian migrant communities in Johannesburg and beyond. This study aims to explore how Ethiopian migrants constitute themselves in Johannesburg through the perspective of Ethiopian restaurant owners who perform Ethiopian food culture daily.

It should be stated that ''qualitative research is difficult to define clearly. It has no theory or paradigm that is distinctively its own… Nor does qualitative research have a distinct set of practices that are entirely its own" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 6). However, qualitative research enabled me to explore Ethiopian food culture through the lenses of Ethiopian migrants, posing the ''how'' question to inform my research question (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2003: 3). This qualitative research design enabled me as a researcher to "grow and expand (my) knowledge and experiences with qualitative design in order to better utilize a variety of research paradigms" (Turner III, 2010: 754). The interviews conducted "provided in-depth information pertaining to (my) participants' experiences and viewpoints…. to provide with a well-rounded collection of information for analyses" (Turner III, 2010: 754). The nature of the questions asked during the interview process also aided in selecting the qualitative research design, considering that the methodology was emergent- changing and evolving in the field depending on my respondents' reactions and deploying the methodology that was most suitable.

The benefits that qualitative research design afforded me were the ability to "understand the phenomena deeply and in detail… for discovery of central themes and analysis of core concerns… learn from the participants in a setting or a process the way they experience it, the meanings they put on it and how they interpret what they experience… goal of generating new ways of seeing existing data" (Atieno, 2009: 16).

The research methods employed addressed the construction of food culture on socio-cultural identity of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, centralizing the experiences of Ethiopian migrants to establish this and focusing on their separated gendered roles to inform this constitution.

The case study design was particularly chosen to "closely examine the data within a specific context (with) limited number of individuals as the subjects of the study" in order to "explore and investigate the contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events" (Zainal, 2007: 2). The case study design guided in the way in which I "observed the events, collected data, analysed info and reported the results" (2007:2).

Because of limited time, a full ethnographic study could not be conducted. I spent a total of about two months in conducting fieldwork, approximately. However, the utilization of some ethnographic elements into the study such as the concept of observation which is a core ethnographic technique (Horsky & Mamykina, 2012) was completed. The time occupied in the Ethiopian restaurants and the Ethiopian communities was used to observe the activities taking place in the restaurants as well as the ways in which the Ethiopian restaurant owners & staff interacted with their customers and guests. This was extremely insightful as it offered the opportunity to learn about the community more deeply.

As a key instrument for my study through the roles of researcher and interviewer (Fink, 2000), data was collected through observation in Ethiopian restaurants & communities. Interviews and informal discussions were also conducted on Ethiopian restaurant owners and other Ethiopian community members who are all included in this study.

This enabled me to better understand the ways in which my research participants constructed their own worldview.

3.3. PARTICIPANTS OF THE STUDY

The population of this study primarily included Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg who moved to South Africa from Ethiopia and had lived in Johannesburg for at least 5 years. There were eight participants or key informants who were featured in this study with the context of Johannesburg and the other two key informants shared their living experiences as migrants in Germany and Swaziland which electrified the similarities that exist among different Ethiopian communities globally.

Considering the nature of this study, the participants were Ethiopian restaurant owners and Ethiopian restaurant workers based in Johannesburg. There were also members of the Ethiopian migrant communities who were included in this study although they were not Ethiopian restaurant owners but contributed valuable information regarding Ethiopian migrant communities. These research participants were middle aged men and women. The inclusion of two Ethiopian female restaurant owners in this study is significant considering that the restaurant setting is highly male dominated.

The outlook of Ethiopian men regarding the roles of women in Ethiopian food cultural practises was insightful in determining how Ethiopian men consider the roles of Ethiopian women in food cultural practises and whether they deem the roles of women to be important.

My visits to the numerous Ethiopian restaurants in Johannesburg afforded me the opportunity to interact with several Ethiopians in their respective setting. This allowed me to gain insight into the Ethiopian community and understand their livelihoods more deeply.

I was fortunate that my research participants were fluent in English which was the language that was used to communicate throughout the research process. I took the opportunity to also learn some terms in Amharic which they highly appreciated. I can also attribute my East African roots to the success of my research participations engagement with me. They acknowledged me as a 'neighbour' of theirs who could possibly empathise with their challenges as a foreigner (Watts, 2008: 5). This also allowed me to have informal discussions with them generally in order to learn more about their way of life and understand more about their experiences as a migrant. In pursuing this project of identity, my nationality as a Kenyan acted as an asset in terms of establishing trust among my participants- because there was a sense of commonality, perhaps coming from the same region.

The research participants located in Johannesburg included in this study have been living in South Africa for more than 10 years and so, their perspective of South Africa as migrants and their interactions with fellow Ethiopians with whom they have formed Ethiopian communities with in Johannesburg was well informed. Due to the requirement of potential participants to have resided in Johannesburg for 5 years or longer, these research participants were well over qualified to contribute to my study in order to unpack the case of Ethiopian food culture in helping to shape their identity as Ethiopians in Johannesburg.

3.4. RESEARCH LOCATION

As already stated, the research location for my study was conducted primarily outside the CBD of Johannesburg although research was also conducted in the CBD to better understand the migrant community of Ethiopia in Johannesburg. Therefore, the two main areas of focus for this study were Maboneng Precint (Meek, 2017) & Norwood (SACPWits, 2017). Most of the literature regarding Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg is based in the CBD of Johannesburg as stated by Zack, Tesgaye & Kotzen (n.d.) and other literature already highlighted in this study. The strike to focus on Ethiopian restaurants outside of the CBD derives from a claim that Mussa*[1] made, "*I came as a tourist (in 2006) and found that there is no Ethiopian restaurant that's what surprised me… You can find among the Ethiopian community but no outside".* Mussa was the first Ethiopian migrant to open an Ethiopian restaurant outside the CBD of Johannesburg.

[1] Mussa is the pseudonym used forone of the research participants in this study. Interview; Norwood, 2 November 2017



FIGURE 1: MUSSA'S SIGNATURE DISH

The aim is therefore to identify how Ethiopian migrants who own Ethiopian restaurants outside the CBD of Johannesburg perform their culture for others as they cater to an international community. The focus on these two locations also helped to understand the ways in which Ethiopian migrants create communities with their fellow Ethiopian migrants around them with the inclusion of the international community that is served by them. It is also the locations of this study that have exposed the commitment that Ethiopian migrants have in preserving their culture through their food practises. The inclusion of restaurants located in the CBD as well as Ethiopian migrant communities in Swaziland and Germany give perspective to this focus.

3.5. SAMPLE

The participants in this study were identified using purposive sampling and snowball sampling. This was to explore the way in which Ethiopian restaurants outside of the CBD perform their culture for non-Ethiopians as opposed to Ethiopian restaurants inside of the CBD that cater mainly to their fellow Ethiopians.

My participants were identified using purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling is "also called judgment sampling… the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses…. Willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge and experience (Bernard, 2002, Lewis & Shepard, 2006). Snowball sampling which was the first type of method used "generated biased samples because respondents who have great number of social connections were able to provide investigators with a higher proportion of other respondents who have characteristics similar to that initial respondent (Etikan, Alkassim & Abubakar, 2016: 1). A large number of potential research participants were identified through referrals within the Ethiopian community and reduced the suspicions that the Ethiopian migrants had as opposed to me approaching them independently.

The role of my gatekeepers also assisted in this process as the gatekeepers introduced me to relevant candidates for my study (Broadhead & Rist, 1976: 329). These gatekeepers enabled me to gain access into the Ethiopian community by introducing me to different members of the community and requesting them to take part in my research study on my behalf. My gatekeepers also educated me on the etiquette to be practised within the community as well as the social climate of the community. My introduction to the Ethiopian migrants from my gatekeepers had a positive impact in the interactions

that I had with the Ethiopian community of Johannesburg. The recommendations made by my gatekeepers significantly guided my search for research participants.

I presented all the relevant documents that revealed the purpose of my research study in order to prove that this was purely for master's research report project. This consisted of continuous assurance to keep their anonymity. I also introduced myself in terms that they would identify with. For instance, I used my Kenyan nationality to put them at ease with my foreign status- which did not always work. Although I was successful in many instances, there was still a level of discomfort, e.g. my inability to speak Amharic signified our different identities which blocked our connection.

3.6. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

I initiated the sampling procedure by contacting my social network- some of whom knew Ethiopians or who were Ethiopians themselves that could potentially assist with connecting me to the Ethiopian community.

This was instantly a deadlock that led me to go to Jeppe Street where Ethiopians in Johannesburg are commonly known to be based. I went there in the company of a friend who was extremely supportive and enjoyed the experience of exploring Ethiopian restaurants in Johannesburg with me. The reluctance and difficulties faced by many Ethiopians in the CBD to participate in my study led me to exploring the Ethiopian restaurants outside of the CBD. This is where I noted the difference in the reception between Ethiopian restaurants in Jeppe Street and Ethiopian restaurants located

outside of Jeppe Street. The Ethiopian restaurants outside of the CBD were more receptive than the ones in the CBD.

3.6.1. CHALLENGES IN THE SAMPLING PROCESS

This study was not without its fair share of challenges. Although I committed in writing to the Ethics committee not to directly put myself in compromising, the exploration of certain areas in the city made this inevitable, considering the high crime rates of Johannesburg.

Initially, I found it challenging to locate Ethiopian migrants. My social networks were not able to refer me to any Ethiopian migrant that could fit the criteria for my study. Most of them did not personally know any Ethiopian migrant living in Johannesburg.

When I was able to finally locate Ethiopian migrants located in Johannesburg through my gatekeepers, I was considered suspicious by them initially and thereby, they did not want to interact with me for fear that I had ulterior motives. This made the access to the Ethiopian communities in Johannesburg all the more difficult.

In order to gage with the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg, I proceeded with visiting the Ethiopian restaurants in Jeppe Street at the CBD. Not only did my non-Ethiopian status pose as an obvious threat to their protective community but most were too busy to engage with me and referred me to other people as a form of dismissal.

In one instance, I had an Ethiopian owner who directly informed me that although he had initially accepted to participate in my study, he changed his mind solely for the

purpose of protecting his family as they were convinced that I had been sent from government to retrieve information about them. Although this couldn't be further from the truth, I understood their position and politely accepted his rejection to participate in my study as the wishes of all potential participants are to be duly respected.

One of my research participants named Mussa also expressed that he feared I had ulterior motives, saying "I fear that you may be coming here to learn so that you can open your own (Ethiopian) restaurant with your associates." I had to patiently present my consent forms and participant information sheet again which clearly indicated that this was purely an academic research with no personal or business agenda. I was- three times, during my fieldwork exploration accused of being a spy for government or a prospect competitor of their restaurant despite my submission of informed consent forms & participant information sheet, etc.

It is also the issue of safety, privacy and protection that posed to be a challenge in interviewing customers who visited the Ethiopian restaurants. The aim of interacting with customers and observing them at the restaurant was to gain insight as to how Ethiopian customers practise Ethiopian food culture in the restaurant setting and engage with the Ethiopian community in the process. It was also to establish how non-Ethiopian customers perceive Ethiopian food culture. In addition, Ethiopian restaurant owners are protective of their customers in ensuring that they receive hospitality of the highest accord and my interruption to conduct my study on them would risk this objective of theirs.

Another challenging aspect of the study was securing interviews with my participants as they commit most of their time to running the restaurant and ensuring a smooth operation of the restaurant. This shortened my time with them significantly.

My biggest challenge as stated above was identifying female participants for this study as already stated; the public settings of Ethiopian communities tend to be male-dominated. However, the perspective of Ethiopian women in Johannesburg provided an exceptional narrative to this study. I observed that Ethiopian women are not 'easily' visible in public settings such as these restaurants as it is heavily male-dominated. For this reason, most of the restaurant owners I came across were male, who gave me their own perception of the different gender roles between men and women and how these roles have changed overtime.

3.7. DATA COLLECTION

Data collection tools for this study included semi-structured interviews and informal discussions. Personal observation and mini-participant observation was also used to enhance the quality of the data collection tools that were utilized.

I conducted several in-depth interviews for my research participants, guided by an interview schedule (Mathers, Fox & Hunn, 2002: 9) that did not get answered in the particular order that they were drafted as it dependent with the direction that our conversation took. These semi-structured interviews "involved a series of open-ended question that was based on the research topic…. Providing opportunities for both interviewer and intereviewee to discuss some topics in more detail… probing the interviewee to elaborate on their original response" (Mathers, Fox & Hunn, 2002: 2). However, I was a bit concerned about the repetition of information given by the participants initially. Open ended questions were preferable as they gave the

participants the liberty to answer my questions in their own way. Open ended questions also suited my participants who clearly showed a passion for educating and teaching, and I was there for all of it.

As the conversations went deeper, the participants would often time drift off topic to share with me their personal experiences and talk about politics, which was truly appreciated and indicated a good level of engagement.

My observation which can be defined as "the systematic description of events, behaviour, and artefacts in the social setting chosen by the study (Marshall & Rossman, 1989: 79) permitted me to "learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities (Kawulich, 2005). My observation was authenticated by my in-depth interviews that helped to clarify a lot of what I was seeing in the environment. Also, what I was learning through the in-depth interviews was aligned with what I was observing. Therefore the implementation of both methods was effective in helping me to explore how Ethiopians practice their food culture in Johannesburg within their community.

Informal discussions and gatherings with the Ethiopian migrants can be credited for the success of the information that was gathered for this study. These informal discussions positioned me as a researcher with deeply enhanced lenses to better understand the living experiences of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg and why their food culture is so important to them. It is also due to the informal discussions that trust was built for my participants to engage with me more comfortably.

I did not observe any emotional distress from my research participants during my interviews, except when they mentioned how much they long to return to Ethiopia or

how politics has shaped their country. In that regard, there was a sense of frustration but not alarming enough to seek any psychological support for my clients although these services were readily available had there been a need for it.

To conclude, I used a voice recorder (Rumble, Juntti, Bonnon & Millspaugh, 2009: 2) for my in-depth interviews and wrote field notes to capture my observation.

3.8. DATA ANALYSIS

For the analysis of findings, the thematic analysis method was chosen. This aided in identifying the patterns and trends that appeared within the data collection. Some of the most common trends found were that the Ethiopian food culture played the biggest role in their identity as migrants in Johannesburg. The way in which they perceive their food culture enabled them to perform their culture for others in order to validate themselves as outsiders in South Africa. Despite the discrimination that they face from the local communities in Johannesburg, they unashamedly explode in pride for their country and what they deem as a 'unique' culture that has irrevocably shaped the way in which they constitute themselves. Hence, they ensure that they 'take Ethiopia' with them in their immigrant status through the importation of Ethiopian food ingredients in order to continue practising their food culture outside of their home country.

The data analysis used in this study was imperative to presenting my findings, considered as the "central step in qualitative research… forming the outcomes of the research" (Flick, 2013: 3). The objectives and aim for my research study also influenced the choice of data analyse used in this study.

For this reason, thematic analysis was applied in this study. This can be defined as "a type of qualitative analysis… used to analyse classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data. It illustrates the data in greater detail and deals with diverse subjects via interpretation (Boyatzis, 1998). The procedure for my data analysis was also crucial for ensuring that the data collected was accurately presented in my findings.

My participants' interpretation of how they perceive food culture and the ways in which food culture helps to build their socio-cultural identity was central in influencing my analysis. I also had to ensure that my themes were "effectively linked to the data" (Patton, 1990).

I coded and categorized my data which helped identify the themes for my study (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which later "produced and presented the data more effectively in reflecting the reality of the data collection (Miles & Huberman: 1994, Creswell: 2009 & Hayes: 2007).

3.9. ETHICAL ISSUES

After receiving approval from the human research ethics committee of Wits University, I proceed with my research study. It was in this application to the Ethics committee that I detailed in length how I plan to carry out my research and how I intend to handle the possible ethical issues that could ensue.

It was also due to ethical implications that I decided not to carry out research directly in my participants' homes for my own safety. All the interviews and observations were

conducted in the Ethiopian restaurants. They shared me with their contact details in order to set up meetings.

Although I had given them copies of the informed consent forms and participant information sheet, I also verbally explained the forms to them. To prepare them for the interview and clear out any confusion, I outlined how I had structured my interview schedule to them before each interview to prepare them for the questions beforehand. This was extremely helpful for the interview stage as they were not alarmed or choked by any of my questions. This also helped to clarify anything that was of concern from their point of view.

To protect my participants' identity, I used pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity (Crow & Wiles, 2008). Although my participants did not have any issues with me using their real name, I still wanted to protect the identity of my participants' as far as I could. This was clearly communicated with them and well understood.

The interviews took place in the restaurants which was ideal for my observation purposes. However, it also became a hindrance occasionally during my interviews as interruptions occurred frequently where my research participant would be asked for either by customers or by staff.

I did not compensate my participants financially at any point. I did however purchase the food that I had bought at the restaurants in order to show my support to them and their businesses. This was also a form of expressing gratitude for the time that the dedicated to participate in my research study.

3.10. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Time proved to be a significant factor in the limitations to my study. With the limited time, I was not able to conduct my research study in the homes of my participants and their families. To conduct such a setting, vast amount of time would be needed in order to build trust and comfort between the researcher and research participants. One of my initial aims was to understand the ways in which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg constitutive themselves as a family through food culture. However, the risk of broadening the research topic to a point of dilution of certain vital aspects led me to eliminate this aspect of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION & ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present the findings of my study. I argue that Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg constitute themselves through food culture by performing their culture for others, forming communities amongst themselves and with the international community and practice their gendered roles in their food cultural practices which all constructs their socio-cultural identity. According to my participants, their socio-cultural structures in Johannesburg are highly influenced by their food cultural practises that determine the way in which they constitute themselves. This chapter aims to explore how Ethiopian migrants practise their food culture and how their food culture defines their identity as migrants in Johannesburg.

In this research, the experiences and perspectives of the research participants solely explains the way in which they live and establish themselves as a community in Johannesburg. Four major constituents are explored in this section: the meaning of Ethiopian identity and the pride that is carried with it as well as its protection from stereotypes. The importation of Ethiopian food ingredients are looked at in this section. The second one includes performing culture for others. The third is the formation of communities and how they preserve traditions. Lastly, the roles of men and women are interrogates as well as it evolution and how that impacts the food cultural practices. I will conclude this chapter by linking the discussions of all themes.

4.2. UPHOLDING THEIR "ETHIOPIAN IDENTITY" WITH PRIDE

"What does it mean to be Ethiopian?"

This was one of the central questions that were directed to the research participants. Although they struggled to answer what they think it means to be an Ethiopian, this was by no means offered an indication that they did not identify as Ethiopians. Even though they struggled to define what being an Ethiopian means to them, Mussa and Farhaan*[2] were quick to illustrate the pride that they felt for their nationality. When asked who they are, they label themselves as Ethiopians instead of using other characteristics such as that of professional occupation or tribe. They simply classify themselves as Ethiopians which is telling of how they view themselves and how they want to be identified by others around them.

The mention of their identity was accompanied by the pride that they felt for their Ethiopian identity and where they come from. All the customs and traditions that they were taught during their upbringing in Ethiopia has shaped their identity and constructed their worldview. The way in which they present themselves and interact with their fellow Ethiopian migrants as well as the local and international community that they co-exist with is influenced by the way in which they were accustomed in Ethiopia. The construct of their identity during their upbringing has been cemented in such a way that they cannot identify in any other way other than through their 'Ethiopianess'.

[2] Farhaan is the pseudonym used for one of my research participants. Interview; Maboneng, 21 December 2017

For instance, when Mussa was specifically asked what it means to be an Ethiopian, he simply said "*that's our identity"* with no further explanation. Their Ethiopian identity makes them whole and finds their whole existence dependent on this identity. Their Ethiopian identity is what constitutes not only their individuality but also the community as a whole as he specified "our" in his answer above.

Farhaan echoed similar sentiments to Mussa but elaborated further;

> "*It's something unique, something different… being an Ethiopian is in our blood, you know. We get pride out of it…. In terms of lifestyle & in terms of culture, in terms of history, when you add all these things up, I always, always, always am proud of my heritage and culture, my country, my forefathers who defended me from adopting any other culture and kept it authentic and passed it to us so that we could nourish it and keep it and take it forward as well…. You can't explain it. It is something unique, something different."*

From the above extract, it is clear that the Ethiopian identity is marked by its historical context and how this Ethiopian identity has been imparted from one generation to the next. Therefore, the Ethiopian identity is not just for the individual but expected to be passed on to the next generation. Here, it is established that Ethiopian migrants consider their identity to be 'unique' and one that they naturally have pride for considering the way in which they have been accustomed to it.

To be more specific, one of the aspects of the cultural identity of Ethiopia that is considered to be unique is the Ethiopian food. Mussa stated *"We have a unique different food as you have tasted so food is not explored… people don't know about Ethiopia."* Nugent (2010: 23) stated that Ethiopia has a 'distinctive regional cuisine' which gives it

a ‘national uniqueness’ making the food a ‘national statement. The uniqueness consists of the rare ingredients used to make the food- ingredients that can only be found in Ethiopia, e.g. the berebere spice. Ethiopian meals are generally spicy as they are cooked with numerous spices over a long period of time. Figure 2 consists of Shiro which is a meal made of chick peas crushed and cooked with spices, served over injera.



FIGURE 2: ETHIOPIAN FOOD PLATTER (SHIRO)

The way in which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg uphold their identity through food culture as has been established above helps to clarify how they maintain their constitution as Ethiopians. Yimer (2012:4) asked the pertinent question “How is identity reconfigured to fit into a new mould?” The way in which they identified as Ethiopians in Ethiopia should surely be different in the way that they identify as

Ethiopians in Johannesburg. The context of Johannesburg after all is dominated by the local South African cultures, leaving Ethiopian migrant communities as the minority group. Yet still, even as the minority group, their Ethiopian identity is still upheld within their space.

The interrogation of the meaning of 'Ethiopian' identity was justified by their emphasis on how 'unique' their culture is, naming food as an example of what they consider to be a unique element of their culture. They marvel at the distinction of who they are in global society at large which enables them to carry immense pride for their culture. Thereby, their association of what it means to be Ethiopian is significantly based on how they feel about being Ethiopian, making the suggestion that being Ethiopian is also considered as a feeling, establishing the fact that to be Ethiopian is to be proud.

As stated above, this 'unique' element of their culture is extended to their food description. Farhaan states about Ethiopian food:

> "I*t's unique, it's different. It's unusual and vegan friendly. It's a bit different. On 21st century, you are told to eat with your fingers (laughs)… and also, its vegan friendly which is unusual in Africa where we love our meat and also flavourful… we have spices that nobody has in the world. Very unique. Very different. Africa uses more spices than the rest of the world."*



FIGURE 3: ETHIOPIAN FOOD CONSISTING OF BOTH MEAT & VEGETABLES

Therefore, it must be acknowledged that the Ethiopian identity is strongly linked to Ethiopian food. His determination to justify the uniqueness of his identity requires him to advocate for Ethiopian food although the contemporary society still maintains this as he continues to say "t*he modern times when you look at Ethiopians and their relationship with their food, it is about identity…"* Farhaan rests his case with the following statement, "*a farmer doesn't want to eat his cow because he respects the cow more than*

himself and both of them die." This signifies the way in which Ethiopian migrant honour their food that they consider to be just as important as their identity- if not considered as one matter.

Mussa offers other reasons for the pride that they have for their identity, listing their inability to *''see colour" as they "try to see people as equal."* Mussa also adds that their pride derives from the way that they "*communicate as a people"*. From my observations, I noted the way in which Ethiopian migrants gather together on a regular basis to share a meal and eat together while discussing matters affecting their lives.

He further goes on to say that the "*zero crime country that is also part of (the) culture"* and trying to keep Ethiopia peaceful leads to the pride that Ethiopians feel for their country, giving them a "*national feeling".* During my stay in Swaziland, Elsa[3] often informed me the respect that Ethiopians have for one another and for the law. An offender of the law would be disciplined by the community collectively. This made the role of the community in the lives of Ethiopians crucial, whether they live in Ethiopia or beyond.

When asked what differentiates Ethiopians from other Africans, Mussa states that it is "*a feeling of never been colonized".* Mussa acknowledges that they have a reason to be proud of their Ethiopian heritage because":

> *"most of them (Africans) don't have their own alphabet so as Ethiopians we do write, read and communicate with our own language. That's what makes us different. Ethiopians have already accepted the meaning of a unique people. We are unique people even when we are among other people. That's what makes us unique… we have our own culture".*

[3] Telephonic interview with Elsa; Swaziland, 25 October 2018.

Amharic and other languages spoken in Ethiopia have also been used to showcase the 'uniqueness' of Ethiopia. However, even though the languages are also distinct, it is the Ethiopian food that can be shared with non-Ethiopians easier than the language. The presentation of Ethiopian food illustrates the cultural identity of Ethiopia as it can be experienced by non-Ethiopians instantly.

In catering to non-Ethiopians, Farhaan said "*I have to do lots explanation about our cultural food and the whole set up, so one time, I was asked, 'why is your food different?"* to which he responds "*remember that we have never been colonized… so we were practicing what we had and perfected. So we invented our own things. We perfected it and we practiced that."* Hence, Mussa repeatedly stated that "*Ethiopian food has now become second healthiest food in the world because we don't use deep fried…"*

Asmelash*[4] whose restaurant is located in Bruma, Johannesburg stated that,

> *"to be an Ethiopian, one special point I have seen is we are the people who are, even if we are in exile or everywhere. We just came with our culture, everything and we are also very serious with our religion and we are very close to one another. We are very helpful to each other… The injera[5] is the one that is different from the other culture and the way that we eat the food. "*

During my telephonic interview with Elsa from Swaziland, she stated that the following about being Ethiopian, *"we are Ethiopians. We do things like Ethiopians. How we grow up is how we are. We are very strict in culture. Every Ethiopian you see behaves the same, because we grow up in the same way."*

[4] Asmelash is the pseudonym used for my research participant. Interview; Bruma, 15 November 2018
[5] Injera refers to the soft spongey bread that is served with meat and vegetables in the food platter. It is made out of rice flour.

From my point of observation, it was easy to comprehend what Elsa stated about their identity as Ethiopians. The characteristics and mannerisms of Ethiopians in Johannesburg are similar to those of Ethiopian migrants in Swaziland. All the Ethiopians who I came in contact with eat their traditional Ethiopian food daily which suggests the devotion that Ethiopian migrants have for their country and their food. Elsa even said the following about her husband, *"my husband can only eat injera. So I cook injera for him every day. That's how he grew up. You can't change it."*

4.2.1. DISPELLING STEREOTYPES

The presentation of the Ethiopian food culture empowers them to deal with stereotypes about a 'starved-Ethiopia' and dispel them. Ethiopians use their traditional food which many non-Ethiopians think they do not have to discard stereotypes that label Ethiopia as not having food.

Although there is an acknowledgement for a disruptive political tension in Ethiopia by its citizens, Ethiopian migrants are frustrated by the way in which media portrays Ethiopia which has distorted the way in which non-Ethiopians perceive Ethiopia. Mussa claims that the narrative that people have of Ethiopia is usually politically motivated- and used as a means of dividing the community or causing disruption. Farhan stated that the reason for leaving Ethiopia was due to the political disruptions at home that led him to leave his country *"we were looking for a break from some issues at home so yeah, I have stayed here for 15 years long".*

However, the tensions that Ethiopian migrants escape from Ethiopia are found here in Johannesburg as well. There is, to a certain level, a symmetrical line between Ethiopians in Ethiopia and Ethiopians in Johannesburg. Some Ethiopians in Johannesburg are divided politically, interrupting the formation of identity that Ethiopian communities in Johannesburg are building. Even the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg can be separated by the political turmoil in Ethiopia, hence Farhaan states "*we have our differences when it comes to politics".* Farhaan believes that there are members of the community who intentionally disrupt their community using means such as social media to spread untruthful information about Ethiopian politics and he considers it his responsibility to expose that, hence his difficult relations with the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg:

> "*I don't know what is going on. The only thing I used to get information for was social media and now social media is f***** up, sorry for my language. The fake news is going like a wild fire and we are blind to see it because it is a strange and new thing. And it is cool to be on social media and instead of me connecting with you so that I can connect… we can create a chain of communication to exchange knowledge, exchange culture, exchange things... It's a mess that we created."*

Henceforth, the performance of Ethiopian culture through the presentation of its food is crucial to depict a true version of what Ethiopia contains- rich food culture.

''*A lot of people don't even know our own culture or religion",* Mussa exclaimed. "*They only know about our problems during the starvation time. They thought that we didn't even have food"*. Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg depend on their identity for survival when they are in Ethiopia and beyond. Therefore, the wrong perceptions of their country are frustrating as it interferes with their identity formation and how they want to be represented.

Ethiopia was struck by famine in the 1970s carrying on into the 1980s in phases, starting with crop failure which resulted in destitution and mortality within the country. The government did little to address the situation, which was an act opposed by academics of Ethiopian universities at the time who were attacked for questioning the government on their lack of response to this crisis. The government went as far as denying that Ethiopia was in a state of crisis and denounced the report that there was a famine in Ethiopia. It was the TV Journalist, Jonathan Dimbleby who exposed the state of Ethiopia in a documentary titled 'The Unknown Famine', which helped to bring relief to Ethiopia (Kumar, 1987).

Mussa learnt from his local customers that during the era of apartheid in South Africa, the local customers were often taught in school about Ethiopia not having food; and to "*save their leftovers for the Ethiopians*". This makes their role as Ethiopian food ambassadors through the ownership of their restaurants favourable to deconstruct the notions that the local community embraces of Ethiopia and its citizens.

Although my key informants all acknowledged that there was famine in Ethiopia for years, at one point, Farhaan specifically mentioned about his living experiences during the time of famine in Ethiopia:

> "*People's perception of what they picture Ethiopia is a different way, where there is no food… yes, there is poverty, yes, we are poor… but people forgot about the political implications which led Ethiopia to poverty… why are people saying things like this? What led to the famine? For me, to find that out that its only one province that went through that- one province out of nine. That exploded and people started taking pictures and calls because of the political landscape. We were in the time of military regime".*

Their aim is to elucidate that famine did not diminish their food culture with its own distinctive food cultural practices that they depend on to define their identity.

However, these stereotypes can be used to create interactions with the international community. Mussa recalled a time when he received several customers to his restaurant who had registered to participate in a marathon the following day. They customers ordered injera and humorously informed Mussa that they wanted to inspect whether eating Ethiopian food would enable them to run as fast as Ethiopian athletes do. To which Mussa jokingly responded "*that's a good choice (of the injera that they were eating). But it is not going to help you in one day. At least you have to eat it regularly and see the difference".*

These efforts to dispel stereotypes about Ethiopia have been rewarded with acknowledgements from non-Ethiopian communities stating that they were oblivious to the state of Ethiopia and what had led and occurred during the time of famine. Mussa states that he usually gets a "*wow, we did not know, we didn't know*" response from his customers.

As a result of Mussa's mandate to educate his community, he acknowledges that "*South Africans have become more open-minded to the food, culture and everything… learning to explore, trying something new, something different... nobody knew anything about Ethiopia, maybe all that they knew was the drought, now do you know that there is a mixed culture?*"

During my stay in Swaziland, I observed how Elsa would continuously defend her country from the stereotypes that were passed about Ethiopia. Her devotion for her country keeps her determined to enlighten people about how Ethiopia truly is. Hence, she invites non-Ethiopians to her home regularly to taste traditional Ethiopian food in the hopes that people will acknowledge that Ethiopia has food and that this food is distinctive from other regions.

4.2.2. IMPORTING 'ETHIOPIA' THROUGH FOOD INGREDIENTS

The extent to which Ethiopians go to import ingredients for their food must be highlighted. This speaks to the devotion that Ethiopian migrants have towards their traditions and their reliance of their traditional food ingredients to adapt in their host society.

I learnt that the Ethiopia community in Swaziland generally travel to Johannesburg occasionally to purchase the Ethiopian food ingredients. There is no sale of Ethiopian food ingredients in Swaziland; hence the Ethiopian community members travel to Johannesburg to purchase the ingredients for their families and friends. If they travel to

Ethiopia, they will also return with Ethiopian ingredients such as the berbere[6] spice in order to continue preparing Ethiopian traditional meals in the home.

The case in Germany was quite different as the Ethiopian community had access although limited to purchase Ethiopian ingredients in certain places in Berlin. This enabled the Ethiopian community in Germany to continue practicing their food culture in the homes and often served their traditional food to Germans and other non-Ethiopians based in their community. This was the first time that I was introduced to Ethiopian food and although this experience took place about twenty years ago, I still vividly recall the way in which Melon[7]'s family presented their food to us and frequently hosted us by serving their food to us. The food was central in our gathering and was always shared which I came to understand is a tradition.

When explaining how passionate Farhaan is about Ethiopia, he demonstrated how he used to travel all the way to Maseru, Lesotho from Johannesburg just to buy Injera, stating:

> "*When you tell someone this, they will ask you 'what the hell?'. Its more than 5 hours drive. We leave early morning to buy the injera- as much as you want and then you pack it and come back. That's in our blood. You can't stop it. We grew up in that culture. We grew up knowing that this is given to us and knowing that people died for it and knowing that we have to pass it to the next generation as well. So, I don't know what it is. You cannot explain it. I tried and tried and tried and failed".*

[6] Berbere spice is Ethiopian chilli powder made out of 16 ingredients.
[7] Melon and her family were the key informants for my study, based in Germany.

The importation of food ingredients across borders indicates that it is not just about traditional food cravings. It exemplifies that Ethiopian migrants desire to be in Ethiopia and therefore, must 'bring Ethiopia' to them through food. There is a cultural transportation that occurs during this importation of food culture as the migrant community of Ethiopians establishes their community using the tools that are found in Ethiopia, i.e., food.

Furthermore, Farhaan also imports his ingredients for food preparation from Ethiopia:

> "*I have to use Ethiopian spices which is imported from Ethiopia, which I couldn't find here. For example, the peri-peri spice, berbere has more than 16 spices in it… you cannot find that mixture anywhere else in the world… people think that turmeric is just turmeric but when you use the Ethiopian turmeric, it has ginger and garlic which makes it different and unique. We use the mother of spices and the father of spices that exist on this planet. We use them all. SO that makes it different. That makes it unique."*

Mussa also imports his food ingredients for his restaurant from Ethiopia. He says "*The spices, especially the berbere spice and the shiro*[8] *and the chickpea powder is imported from Ethiopia… It's very hard to import the spices because it's directly from Ethiopia*". Despite the difficulties of importation, Ethiopian migrants still consider it vital to import the ingredients as it helps with the adjustment process of living outside of Ethiopia. Importation gives them access to Ethiopia and enables them to construct their identity in the host city of Johannesburg. Not only are they able to showcase their food to the

[8] Shiro is chickpea soup

non-Ethiopian community but importing food from Ethiopia gives them comfort and a sense of familiarity to what they are accustomed to.

4.3. PERFORMING CULTURE FOR OTHERS

Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg also constitute themselves through the performing of their culture for others, particularly though food culture. The restaurant setting is ideal for this purpose as it provides the platform to not only present the food to the local and international community but it also gives these non-Ethiopian communities to learn about the cultural identity and traditions of Ethiopian migrants. Performing culture for others validates the existence of Ethiopian migrants in the host city of Johannesburg as it gives them the assurance that they are contributing to the society through its enactment of cultural practices.

The performance of culture also comes through the form of education. Ethiopian migrants take any opportunity to correct and enlighten non-Ethiopians about the history, state and culture of Ethiopia. They make it their responsibility to represent their country well in order to verify why they are proud of it. Mussa states *"I have to. It's my responsibility. Otherwise, it doesn't make me unique. This is a unique restaurant with regular customers who love the food".* He gets customers who want to explore the Ethiopian food and it is these customers that he feels compelled to educate about the history of his country. The engagement with his customers is a two-way chain as it enables the customers to also share their cultures with Mussa in exchange.

The performance of their culture also aims to inspire the way in which they co-exist with other cultures as they consider this to open channels of engagement with the local and international community as well as open doors that allow diversity. Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg perform their culture for others by illustrating their food practices to the international community that they interact with. Mussa states that":

> *"There are a couple of restaurants (in his location) - Italian, some Asian, Indian, Chinese, Thai. People can come out and enjoy different kinds of food so that's what I'm hoping will be" adding that "you can find all African people in South Africa but when it comes to the food and culture; it's very limited, very limited. So that is why I said let me try it."*

This indicates that there is a co-existence in the performance of culture for others among others, which is considered to be an exchange of culture where people want to display their culture and share their culture for others to experience.

The performance of culture in the restaurants can be seen between the restaurant owners and their staff. There is an introduction made of each person's culture to the other and the invitation to experience it. Through this process, they learn about each other's culture and what similarities and differences exist between each other's cultures. Of South African food, Mussa stated that he enjoys pap and his kitchen staff cooks it. They also eat injera although it took them a while to get used to it before they got "*addicted*". He notes that "*South Africa is a braai country who love meat*" although Ethiopia also '*braais',* the do so differently, by "*pan-frying the lamb"* which is more preferable for them.

There is a Zimbabwean and a South African who work in Mussa's restaurant, which is another form of an exchange of culture in this setting. Hence, local South African food and Ethiopian food are also cooked in the restaurant and shared between Mussa and his staff. The same could be stated for Farhaan in his restaurant, where his South African & Zimbabwean staff eat Ethiopian food. In Asmelash's restaurant, there is an Ethiopian woman who works at the restaurant but they also have Zimbabwean workers in the restaurant that cannot be differentiated from Ethiopians anymore because they have adopted the Ethiopian culture and can cook all Ethiopian meals for the customers.

The performance of culture does not end within the restaurant owners and workers but extends to its customers whom they serve. This type of service comes with the art of illustrating what Ethiopian culture is and what food constitutes to be Ethiopian. Thereby, Mussa often gets approached by his customers ask him why they fail to make Ethiopian food. This assuming approach indicates an underlying interest from non-Ethiopians in learning how to prepare Ethiopian meals in order to participate in their culture.

Farhaan contributed his thoughts on the exchange of culture, stating that:

> *"… in Gauteng, you'll find uhmm, a diverse immigration. You'll find few people from Africa- all over Africa. You find from European but now just recently, I don't think it's even more than 20 years- between 15 to 20 years, Africa food is rising up. People never knew Africa food, let alone Ethiopian food, not only Ethiopia has culture and tradition when it comes to food. Each and every 52 countries have perfected something. So immigration brought that diversity back to South Africa. You'll find that Nigerian food. You'll find Ethiopian food. You'll find Jewish food. You'll find Italian pizza. You'll find South African modern food. You'll find South*

African sharp braai… You'll find that immigration brings food flavours… we serve in different ways, in a different culture, in a different taste but we have food. Everybody on this planet got food but we prepare in our own different way. South African pap and ugali doesn't taste the same. It doesn't, sorry!"

To make the experience truly worthwhile, Mussa plays Ethiopian music to create an ambience that directs to Ethiopia in an effort to sell an experience. He also has a gallery at the restaurant which he hopes to expand so that "*in future… people come here I want them to get a full package of Ethiopia".* Indeed, the atmosphere in Mussa's restaurant is very inviting and he greets each guest who visits the restaurant with honour and respect. He goes on to make recommendations for meals that his customers should try. During my initial visits to Mussa's restaurant, he played YouTube videos for me on his tablet to learn more about Ethiopia's rich history and heritage- which by the way was very insightful. This specified Mussa's interest in teaching his community about his culture. He is very passionate about the history of Ethiopia which he includes in his interviews.

Similarly, Farhaan is acknowledged by his international community, including his friends whom he thanks for giving him the platform to showcase his culture, "*thanks for the people who really took me into their wings and lift me up as well. This is not me doing this. The support is amazing. The clients are satisfied."* This is why his concern is based on the services that his restaurant offers as he tries to ensure that the Ethiopian cultural identity is impeccably portrayed through its food culture. Hence he says:

"Are *they going to like it was my biggest worry and still today, so I know I am growing really good but you still ask that question, am I really giving good service? How am I giving them the taste that we taste at home?"*

Mussa stated *"I have regular Ethiopian customers and I'm trying to cater to South Africans and for the tourists and for most other people but still we do have regular Ethiopian customers".* Mussa works with a vegan society as he claims that Ethiopian food makes them "*very good candidates for the vegan society."* Mussa claims that *"they also use the Ethiopian spices as an antibiotics"* that *"cleans the system.* Mussa caters to officials and staff who work at the African Union & United Nations in Pretoria who are more informed about the history and traditions of Ethiopia are also considered to be more open-minded. As a hospitality package, Mussa considers it important that guests in the Ethiopian restaurant are served by Ethiopians as this fulfils the mandate of selling an Ethiopian experience. This is also why Ethiopians are the chefs in his restaurant, including himself.

In contrast, Farhaan is the only Ethiopian in his restaurant as his staff are made up of South African & Zimbabwean nationalities. He cooks and they serve the food. Farhaan caters to less Ethiopian migrants than he does the international community because the area that his restaurant is based attracts tourists, as he says:

> "*very, very few. Less than 5% (of Ethiopians)… Because the business is based in Maboneng and who comes to Maboneng? Tourists and people who miss Joburg, people who left Joburg. They want to see the city and it's like a really long time since, since Joburg was like this. So I cater more to the International community, the locals also when I include the international community that includes the South Africans as well."*

Despite the divisions that Farhaan stated the Ethiopian government tried to create within the Ethiopian community, Farhaan credited Ethiopian food culture to bringing

the community together- even with non-Ethiopians from all around the world as he said:

> *"it was me- 4 Ethiopians out of 12. The rest were young South Africans in a mixed up team. We prepared a proper feast- a traditional Ethiopian feast and a lady has to make the coffee… I cooked, that is what I know… somebody brings the Ethiopian traditional cake. It's a bit different- moist. We created a long table and we eat and sit and laugh and chat. That brings us together".*

Just like Mussa, Farhaan is also quite engaged within his community with the aim of informing his community about his food culture. That is why when he was asked frequently about Ethiopian food, he accepted the invitation from his friend to run a cooking class "*He (his friend) invited me for a cooking class with some guests. So, I did a cooking class here at Arts on Main. I did the cooking class and everybody was enjoying it. Everybody was happy. Then he said that the market has to start".* And that was how Farhaan accepted the numerous requests to start an Ethiopian restaurant.

Although the Ethiopian community in Swaziland is much smaller than that of Johannesburg, they still maintain the tradition of gathering together for special occasions. It was during these special occasions that I observed how important it is for Ethiopian migrants to gather in order to perform their traditions and cultural practices. One of this was the preparation of food for these events as they invite the community to gather together and feast. Food is prepared for any occasion and for any gathering regardless of the number of people present. Several children of these Ethiopian migrants were encouraged to carry traditional food to school for their school functions as a way of celebrating their heritage and showcasing the kind of food that is found in Ethiopia.

4.4. CREATING COMMUNITIES

By creating communities amongst themselves, Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg have maintained the formation of the identity. These communities have functioned as accountability elements. The formation of Ethiopian communities in Johannesburg has also provided Ethiopian migrants with a support structure for their everyday life challenges. The gathering of these communities is commonly associated with the intention to eat food while engaging with each other. In fact, the sharing of food is considered to be an engagement in and of itself.

However, the formation of communities is not just solely for Ethiopian migrants alone. Ethiopian migrants engage with the local community as they depend on the local community to host them and support them as migrants.

Asmelash stated that although most Ethiopians in Johannesburg to Jeppe Street to interact with other Ethiopians, the Ethiopians located in Bruma, Bedfordview and Kensignton go to his restaurant to gather and eat meals together. Therefore, he caters to mainly Ethiopian migrants who are located in the Eastern suburbs of Johannesburg, adding *"I don't have the right figure but let's say between fifty and sixty people come here daily to buy injera or to buy food."*

It was at Asmelash's restaurant where I engaged with an Ethiopian woman who came to buy injera as she regularly does for her family. She informed me about how the number of Ethiopian migrants in the suburbs was increasing and that they still practiced their

cultural traditions in their new locations. She informed me that she regularly visits the restaurant to buy injera for her family as she is not able to cook injera in the home even though her family still eats injera as a staple. During the visits to the restaurant, she engages with other Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg and gets to know more of them this way. The restaurant has provided her with the opportunity of meeting other Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg which she considers a privilege in order to hold discussions about their lives.

To allude to what the customer above said, Asmelash added that "*we use big plates as we use at home when I was a child. Even in the family, we eat together. Even if we are five or six people. That's the unique thing- we eat together, all of us. To me, that's the different thing about our culture... everybody comes to have the food and they come to eat in an Ethiopian restaurant and so it helps that the community comes together. They can meet people here also so it helps a lot"*

During my visits to Mussa's restaurant, I observed a number of Ethiopian customers in restaurant sharing food. An Israeli family was sitting not too far from the table enjoying their meals even though the language barrier prevented a general interaction between Mussa and this family. "… mostly the language is a barrier", according to Mussa who further explains that "As Ethiopians, we have our own language and our own alphabet and for most African countries (and beyond), it is not like that". This indicates that food brings communities together- even though they are not able to communicate with each other verbally. However, food plays as a uniting factor between communities that share space.

Through Farhaan's interaction with his community, he explored the reasons behind the fascination of Ethiopia from the global community,

> "*we were talking about coffee in Ethiopia, people picked me from there. People started talking to me about different cultures and different types of things. It all ended up on me asking a question, "Why are people so interested in Ethiopian culture? What's different? I know we are different in terms of culture and traditions, and customs and language and everything, but why?"*

This curiosity led him to interact with his circles of non-Ethiopian friends who were academics at the University of the Witwatersrand and encouraged him to undertake research to which he learnt that "*we have been eating injera for thousands of years. I was like what the hell? What in the world is going on?"* The interaction with other communities inevitably provides knowledge that one may not even have known about them.

Mussa operates in a residential area in the hopes of catering to that community. However, "*there is not much trade"* which makes his business quite difficult, hence his open hours usually start in the late afternoon, inviting about 20 to 30 customers on a daily basis in average. Half of the above mentioned are Ethiopians, and the rest are foreigners. *"I'm doing marketing through social media. You have to reach all people to let them know that Ethiopian restaurant is in the area",* according to Mussa.

Farhaan's food business has also opened for him a lot of opportunities to engage with prominent figures of the global society, some of whom he has become close friend with. He once served food to an international artist who sold out at the FNB stadium, without even knowing the profile of the person. But for him, his purpose is for every guest of his to eat and enjoy themselves. He also got the opportunity to engage with Mos Def who once came to the restaurant to eat Ethiopian food, which opened a channel of engagement. Farhaan is also well known as Trevor Manuel informed him that he had

heard a lot about Farhaan and when Trevor Manuel asked Farhaan how South Africa was treating him, his response *"The people are amazing but the politicians and government are terrible (laughs).* " But that is what fulfils Farhaan, his role in forming a community and learning different world views from different people who come from all walks of life who he considers have all shaped him and enabled him to *"see human life in a different way and a different perspective…"* just so that *"they can tell me something that I can keep… that is my treasure that I'm going to take to Ethiopia and pass it to the people."*

When Farhaan was asked whether Ethiopian food brings friends and strangers together, his response "*it doesn't matter. Ethiopian food brings you together because you share so that it creates a community kind of thing."* Furthermore, Farhaan added that:

> "*in our culture, food brings you together and like holidays, weddings and things like that, but most of the time, celebrations like Easter or Christmas bring all of us together. Lunches on Christmas Day. I prepare lunch for everyone and cater in my house and everybody comes together and we sit and we enjoy so it (food culture) has a big role (in the Ethiopian community) actually."*

To signify how important it is to commune as a community through food gathering, Farhaan emphasises on the importance of sharing food in Ethiopian food culture, giving an example:

> "*we share food…. For instance… yesterday…. There was nothing coming into my mouth, just water, coffee, water, coffee until I get home. Cause at home, somebody was waiting for me. So I said, okay, at least let me eat. That was the only time I ate yesterday the entire day. Because there was no one next to me to eat with me."*

This is why he criticizes Ethiopian migrants, who try to stray away from their culture, saying':

> *"The so called modern Ethiopians might do it (eat alone) but those conserving say that there is no one to eat with them so they cannot eat by themselves because you share food. When you share food, you eat a lot. When you are alone, trust me (laughs), it's tough."*

This arose my curiosity about Ethiopian migrants who live alone, to which he was quick to say to them ''good *luck!"* while laughing. He went on to say:

> "*You might have a fight with your next door neighbour which I always have with this one. So I have coffee, our traditional coffee. Then I will call people from the neighbourhood and say that the coffee is ready and so everybody comes and drinks. It's a community; it's a relationship kind of thing… But why do I have to call someone to drink my personal coffee? I bought it. But I cannot drink it by myself because I need someone to drink it with."*

"The film (The coffee drinkers) will juxtapose the narrations of this character with other elements central to the social institutions in question, i.e. group gatherings and coffee drinking, and discussions, to allow insight into the expectations Ethiopian migrants have at the onset of migration, the realities reflected in their current environment and the overall changes Ethiopians feel they have undergone since their arrival in Johannesburg." (Yimer, 2012:12)

This is why Farhaan values Africans, hence he says,

> "*We are Africans… we think Africa is backward. Africa is not. Africa is the most advance people you can find in this planet. But we don't know it. Trust me, this*

place has taught me a lot of things in life… this area, this restaurant. I met people like from celebrities to ordinary people. I met lots of people. I even argued with celebrities like you won't expect that I can argue with, you know. But you learn."

The first time that I visited Mussa's restaurant, he gave me two books from his shelf to read which he recommended to be beneficial for my research topic. He also proudly informed me about his lecturing opportunities at GIBS where he got to share about Ethiopian business with the students there. He always told me a historic narrative about Ethiopia which was always insightful.

Farhaan is clearly very passionate about politics and always made sure to include politics during our interviews, especially when proving his point. And his passion for education is also undeniable as he indicated several times how much he enjoys learning.

The Ethiopian restaurants located on Jeppe Street mainly cater to Ethiopian migrants who are based there and so the formation of communities on Jeppe Street is easier than outside of Jeppe Street. Ibrahim*[9] & Philemon*[10] whose restaurants are located in the heart of Jeppe Street talked about how their restaurants play a role in bringing the Ethiopian community members together.

During my visit to Philemon's restaurant, I saw the gathering of young Ethiopian men who were watching soccer on the tv screen with a big plate of Ethiopian food that occupied their table. They ate this food together while watching tv. They also played pool in this same location.

[9] Ibrahim is the pseudonym used for my key informant based in Jeppe Street.
[10] Philemon is the pseudonym for my key informed who is also based in Jeppe Street

4.4.1. PRESERVING TRADITION

Farhaan relates differently to Ethiopians in Johannesburg than Mussa. Farhaan interacts more with people from other parts of Africa more than he does with Ethiopians, although he is quick to defend his love and devotion for his country, as he says here "*I interact with different parts of the world. I don't care what colour of skin you have… I have made friends from different parts of Africa… I made friends with people from countries that people don't even know exist. I don't have a problem with that but you cannot take away my Ethiopianness".* Although it must be understood that Farhaan still battles with adaptation and adjustment to foreign cultures, he emphasizes this point, "*I try to open up, I tried to adapt but still at the back of your mind, it will tell you that this is not how you grow up. This is not your culture. This is not how you do things. That will always follow you".*

"It is the healthiest food so we tried to keep it that way", according to Mussa.

"*The history of Ethiopia has a long stream. We believe that Queen Sheba* (whom they believe is the first queen in Africa whose legacy and name is still honoured today) *had the same kind of food. We were never colonized and so the food is the same for thousands of years",* Mussa said, adding that "*our grand, grand grandparents had the same kind of food".*

In Mussa's kitchen, he does not use any modern spices or preservatives as he sticks with *"more garlic and onion and chilli powder (berbere spice)"* since he opened the restaurant.

Another way that Ethiopians preserve their culture is through the eating of food using hands, which has proven to be a challenge for both restaurants, particularly in a society

that uses cutlery. This is also the reason that they cannot be as the first healthiest food, due to the lack of use of cutlery as this is not part of their tradition, hence Mussa explained that "*our food is not supposed to be eaten with forks and knives so I always push to use hand, that's our challenge."* To add a humorous twist to this frustration experienced by Mussa, he once had a customer who refused to eat the food without cutlery. The second time that he visited the restaurant, he said to Mussa "*today, I'm not asking you, I brought my own cutlery"* taking out the cutlery from his pocket to show Mussa.

Mussa considers himself to be a teacher of Ethiopian culture to the community and how to preserve the traditions of Ethiopia's culture by showing them the *"traditional way of eating and commanding people to eat together with family and friends".* Although this is not always well received, he offers groups of people gathered two or three platters to eat together and eventually, getting used to this practice as he "*always recommends to eat together.*

Similarly to Mussa's challenge of cutlery requests from guests, Farhaan also emphasizes on the importance of eating Ethiopian food with the hands so that *"you can feel the food. You can smell the food. You can see it. You create a relationship with the food. So you eat it. I can eat two injera with a fork and knife. When I eat with my fingers, I can't finish one. I don't know why. Don't ask me why."*

Not only was Farhaan teaching but Farhaan was also learning, to which he shared "*I figured everything out after I sat down with people who came from different parts of the world. It doesn't matter whether you are African or you are Ethiopian, I was looking for answers. I found out that we were practicing this kind of culture. 2000 years so that is the*

surprising part of Ethiopia. I figured out all of this by myself with my friends by reading books and things like that."

Farhaan describes the food preparation as a special experience that requires more than just the knowledge of how to cook it, "*you cook it with love and passion. It takes a typical Ethiopian traditional stew 6 hours to cook… but you have to be really careful when you cook that chicken (dora wat). You have to know the steps. That's what makes it different and unique."*

Farhaan substantiates his point above by emphasizing that Ethiopians prepare their food in their own way, "*we use our own spices".* He adds that there are also other ingredients that are used during food preparation that are unique including "*berbere spice or paprika or periperi spice which has 16 spices in it… our traditional purified butter which you won't believe is butter. It's spiced up. There is a difference between the non-Ethiopian and Ethiopian butter. When is ay spiced up, I mean we have the type of spices added to it. When you look at the butter, it is purified organic butter, homemade butter but we add herbs. It looks like gee but it's completely different…. Turmeric."*

Farhaan also attests to the importance of sharing food together, sharing the same sentiments as Mussa, "*when you share food, you can eat well. When you eat alone, you can't. That's what I'm saying. It's different, it's unique, something that you can't explain."*

Even though Melon and her family were thousands of kilometres away from Ethiopia, they still preserved and practiced their culture in Germany. Interestingly, they learnt how to speak German in order to communicate with the German community; however, they still maintained their own cultural practices. Hence, the preparation of their

traditional food was regularly practiced with other Ethiopian migrants in the community.

The Ethiopian community in Swaziland was no different as they made deliberate efforts to preserve their traditions within the communities that they had formed for themselves. I found that the cultural values and practices that were instilled in them while they grew up in Ethiopia were now being taught to the children as a way of preserving their traditions and keeping true to their Ethiopian identity.

Asmelash also added that to preserve their traditions, they *"try to keep the food similar to the one at home (Ethiopia). So, in terms of taste and whatever we are trying to make, it is the same as back at home so that they feel that they are still at home."* In this way, they aim to keep the food culture authentic in order to truly identify themselves through what they are eating.

4.5. ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN & ITS EVOLUTION

The roles of Ethiopian men and women when it comes to their food cultural practices are traditionally based, with the norm of men providing and women cooking. However, I discover in my findings that the Ethiopian migrant men are also taking interest in food preparation and want to be involved more directly.

According to Mussa, Ethiopian women are expected to cook the Dora wat on the Saturday evening of the Easter weekend- the chicken that is eaten during the Easter holiday which they believe started a long time ago. It takes a couple of hours to cook it

as they include spices, oil & onions that take long to cook followed by the preparation of the sauce for the chicken and the egg. This meal is consumed after the church service in the early hours of the morning, typically about 1 or 2am on Sunday morning. Therefore, Mussa acknowledges the role that Ethiopian women played in the food cultural practices saying that "*(Ethiopian) women are the ones who played a big role in Ethiopian food" preparation*".

Farhaan stated that "*a (Ethiopian) woman has to prepare the food. It's the woman's responsibility because they are women."* For the reason that, "*as men, we don't want to admit but women know better (laughs). As men, we want to prove that we are better than women. The women are better at making injera than men so there is a woman who makes the injera."* Of himself however, he stated that "*I prefer to cook here in my restaurant and do everything else and then my staff serves the food."*

Although Farhaan honours women by mentioning that the women are more involved in the cooking process than men are, crediting them to doing 90% of the cooking.

This echoes what Yimer (2012:10) stated when she said "…, a woman's experiences are at the heart of the dynamics of culture, environment and processes. This is primarily due to the universal notion that women are the caregivers of any family unit, which endows them with the unique ability to influence and shape the cultural outlook of their families. Second, due to the vulnerabilities their gender exposes them to; women are the most open to experiencing any existing pressures in their environment. Therefore, their combined experiences of being culture bearers and vulnerable migrants make their perspective indicative of changes that take place."

"Age old notions that men are the decision makers of the household and the breadwinners of the family are present in Ethiopia as strongly as any country with defined patriarchal influences. These notions are also reinforced by elements such as rites of passages which emphasise notions of manhood and male pride." (Yimer, 2012:10). These notions not only exist in Ethiopia but are imported by Ethiopian migrants as it is similarly shared by Mussa & Farhan who try to break away from these notions by breaking what is regarded as their tradition.

Mussa grew up in a family business where he used to work in a family business which inspired him to work with other people in restaurants. The same was stated by Farhaan who also grew up in a family food business and also feels as awkward as Mussa when in the kitchen although they both thoroughly enjoy it. Farhaan even claimed "*I enjoy cooking. That's what keeps me going."*

As stated briefly above, Mussa and his Ethiopian male worker are the main chefs in his restaurant. This is because Mussa feels as though "*you don't get the flavours*" if an Ethiopian doesn't cook the food.

Of men, Mussa said that "men do the hard jobs", to which Farhaan echoes the same "*men slaughter the animal, prepare it and give it to the women to cook it".*

Farhaan, just like Mussa also cooks the food in his restaurant and positions himself as the main chef although if he is asked to cook on a Monday, he will jokingly tell you *"don't ask me to cook on a Monday; I will kill you (laughs)."*

When questioned on the evolution of men and women's role in Ethiopian food culture, Farhaan said "*in the metropolitan like the cities, the whole thing is changing, but when*

you go to rural areas, there is still that old thinking there. You will be asked, 'what are you doing in the kitchen as a man?"

"When contrasting these fuelled senses of manhood with the disempowered categories they are placed in as migrants, the differences in the sense of self-worth and strength of identity they display become very telling of the new communities they are in and the gaps they experience" (Yimer, 2012: 10). Therefore, they educate their communities and perform their culture for others to validate themselves of being authentic Ethiopians in order to fill these gaps.

But Farhan feels that the role of men in the Ethiopian food culture is not to be taken lightly as it "*breaks the cycle. It's about time… and I love cooking. I grew up in a hotel. I love cooking. My mum used to send me to cook something. Either she has to cook or I have to cook- one of us, it's a must. I like to give her a break whenever I have the chance. I always cook. She doesn't mind. There was a time before her time was about to end when she couldn't eat any food it is was not cooked by me so that kept me developing."* Farhaan is aware that it is still a taboo for men to cook but he doesn't mind as he grew up a hotel.

Kifaya*[11] who owns an Ethiopian restaurant in Mayfair stated that she naturally felt comfortable cooking food as food preparation was assigned to her during her upbringing. She states that she feels empowered by her role as there is a demand for her food, citing that "*I cook food for many Ethiopians, even the ones staying in Soweto. I wake up early in the morning, around 3am and cook food and deliver to the Ethiopians myself. It is me. I do this all by myself every day*." Although Kifaya considers the role of cooking Ethiopian food to be exhausting considering how time consuming it is, she still

[11] Kifaya is the pseudonym used for my key informant based in Mayfair.

considers it an important role and her way of contributing to the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg.

Kifaya received support from her Ethiopian community as she lives in Johannesburg alone, having left her family back in Ethiopia. She came to South Africa to make a living for herself and seek opportunities to further her studies. The restaurant has enabled her to fend for herself in Johannesburg as she prepares to look for academic opportunities.

In the middle of her restaurant, there are Ethiopian coffee beans and mugs decorated. There is also a backroom in her restaurant where she prepares the food that she sells. Upstairs, her small house is situated for the convenience of being close to where she prepares food early hours of the morning.

Yeshi*[12] of Kensington is still learning about the Ethiopian migrant community in Johannesburg even though she caters to them by selling food to the Ethiopian migrants. She once lived in Swaziland and also in Cape Town where she formed close ties with the Ethiopian communities both Swaziland and in Cape Town. Her restaurant enables her to get to know the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg better as she aims to also develop close relations with them. This will be of great benefit to her as she left her husband and child in Cape Town to start the restaurant business in Johannesburg. The Ethiopian community of Johannesburg has already offered a support system to her during her adjustment processes.

Although Yeshi employs two local workers in her restaurant, Yeshi still oversees the operations of the restaurant and interacts with her customers by offering them hospitality and serving food to them. Yeshi also dedicates about four hours of her time daily to prepare the meals that are sold in the restaurant. She enjoys this task and

[12] Yeshi is the pseudonym used for my key informant based in Kensington.

proudly shows me the food that she has served for the day on the big table located at the centre of her restaurant.

Asmelash stated that,

> *"Preparing of the food is for the women. Men are not used to go into the kitchen. We are Africans from the old-age. Also, even here in the kitchen, we have got only women so that's the role of women. They are there in the kitchen… okay, like here, if you take this hotel, our role here is to purchase the food which is very important for the kitchen. We go to do the shopping as men. We bring the food and give them everything. Then the women are the ones who prepare the stuff."*

The extracts of what Asmelash stated above were evident in the Ethiopian communities of Swaziland and Germany. During my time spent with the Ethiopian communities in Swaziland and Germany, I did not see men partaking in the cooking processes. I noticed that Elsa's husband frequently ran grocery shopping errands as he considered himself as the provider for his family. However, during a telephone conversation one day, Elsa said of her husband *"he does not cook. He doesn't know how to cook. I don't think he will survive without me (laughs).*"

In Ajani*[13]'s restaurant located at Maboneng, his wife and daughter lead with the cooking and catering tasks of the restaurant. In both visits that I made to the restaurant, Ajani's wife was working tirelessly in the kitchen to prepare food that would be sold to the customers visiting the restaurant that day. Ajani's wife also made recommendations for the food that we should eat and she served the food instantly. Ajani who proudly introduced his daughter to our group was sent to bring the food for us as a way of assisting her parents in the restaurant.

[13] Ajani is the pseudonym used for my key informant based in Maboneng.

Similarly, Philemon's wife also handles the cooking aspect of the restaurant that she owns with her husband. She cooks the meals daily although she divides her time between serving at the restaurant and serving at the church. She also prepares meals for her church services which are shared amongst the Ethiopian migrants that attend the church services.

4.6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, my findings showed that Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg constituted themselves by firstly, identifying as Ethiopians and they carried out their food cultural practices to honour their identity. Ethiopian migrants are extremely proud of who they are and where they come from and take any opportunity to illustrate their culture to others, particularly through their food culture that enables them to share their food not only amongst themselves but also with others whom they want to perform their culture for. This is usually hindered by the stereotypes of what people think Ethiopia is like- with no food. However, the display of their food through their food cultural practices is made possible through the importation of food ingredients and the preservation of their traditions and values that they instil in their children as the next generation. Lastly, I found that the gendered roles of men and women are traditionally based although men are increasingly taking an interest in cooking and taking the opportunity to be more influential through their roles as chefs and Ethiopian restaurant owners.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study analysed the ways in which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg constituted themselves through food culture and how their experiences informed that. I illustrated that the constitution of Ethiopian migrants through food culture is based upon their performance of culture, forming of communities amongst themselves and with others and practising food cultural practises through the various assigned roles of men and women that they are accustomed to. Findings also showed that these assigned roles of men and women are evolving and men are starting to not only perceive their role as important in the practise of their food culture, but they consider it to complement the roles that women play in their food cultural practises.

Furthermore, their continuous effort to preserve their culture from the monster of modernity that threatens it comes through the form of education. Findings showed that Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg take it upon themselves to educate and inform non-Ethiopians about their culture and the way in which they practise food culture. Ethiopian restaurants allow them this opportunity through their regular interactions with the non-Ethiopian community. Ethiopian migrants use their engagements and interactions with non-Ethiopians to dispel the stereotypes that they are labelled with and thereby turn their encounters into lessons about Ethiopia.

Ethiopian food culture was also established to be the basis for which Ethiopian communities in Johannesburg are formed. The art of eating together which is considered an unbreakable tradition within the Ethiopian food culture inevitably creates communities for Ethiopian migrants. This facilitates a lifestyle of communion and interaction which provides them with support for another and tremendously aids in

their adjustment process. Therefore, not only is imperative for Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg to perform their culture for others, but it is equally as important, if not more to create a community consisting of themselves as Ethiopian migrants where they can practise their food culture to which they are accustomed to.

Finally, findings also showed that that roles played within the Ethiopian food culture are strongly gendered. Traditionally, men are responsible for providing for their families and consider their roles as men very important as they feel that they not only bring communities together but they also have the power to change their roles as they wish and break cycles. Women, on the other hand are responsible for most of the tasks that are included in the food culture practises and the perceptions of men in regards to the role of women is definitely telling of the ways in which power dynamics exist within the Ethiopian food culture. Moreover, an evolution within the gendered roles of Ethiopian food cultural practises was eminent, at least for the Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. The male participants justified how their roles as chefs & restaurant owners significantly influenced the Ethiopian food culture in Johannesburg as carriers of their culture for themselves, their Ethiopian community and others.

I also used the patterns that were identified during the data collection phase to inform the ways in which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg constitute themselves through food culture. The perceptions of Ethiopian men were used to indicate what the roles of Ethiopian women are in performing food culture.

The exchange of culture came across as an extension to the performance of culture for others from Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. They used their performance to sell an

experience in such a way that all misconceptions about Ethiopia and their culture would be replaced through their displays of food culture.

Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg also effectively dispelled the stereotypes regarding their country through these same displays of food culture. They dedicated a lot of time to teach non-Ethiopians about the 'uniqueness' of their culture and food. Although Ethiopian politics played a role in making their decision to leave their home country, they are also aware that they must unite as an Ethiopian community even if their government separates them.

It is for this reason that the formation of Ethiopian communities in host countries is crucial for their cultural identity. Ethiopian food culture enables them to commune together and functions as an enabler of their community to interact with one another.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: ETHICS CLEARANCE

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Wahome

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H17/08/35**
PROJECT TITLE	How do Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg constitute themselves through food culture
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss N Wahome
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Social Sciences/
DATE CONSIDERED	18 August 2017
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	19 November 2020

DATE 20 November 2017 **CHAIRPERSON** (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professor I Palmary

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature _____ Date _____/_____/_____

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Hello,

My name is Noreen Wanjiku Wahome. Firstly, I would like to thank you for considering to participate in this research which is concerned with exploring how Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg constitute themselves through food culture. That is, this study aims to understand what helps to form your identity as an Ethiopian migrant in Johannesburg and also learn about the gender roles of men and women and how they perform food practices through their role.

Questions

1. How long have you lived in Johannesburg for?
2. What makes you identify as an Ethiopian?
3. Describe the Ethiopian food culture in Johannesburg.
4. Is there any aspect of your Ethiopian food culture that you practice? If so, what is it?
5. Do you think food culture within the Ethiopian community or household is any meaningful? If so, how?
6. What is unique about the Ethiopian food culture?
7. How does the food culture unite the Ethiopian community and households?
8. What do you understand by the different gender roles of men and women within the Ethiopian communities and households?
9. How do Ethiopian migrants perform their gender roles in the home and in the community?