TRANSLATING FAIR TRADE: NEGOTIATING IDENTITY, TRADITION, AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF PERUVIAN HANDICRAFTS

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

---

by
Melissa K. Krug
May 2020

Examining Committee Members:

Paul B. Garrett, Advisory Chair, Anthropology
Inmaculada M. García-Sánchez, Anthropology
Heather Levi, Anthropology
Keith R. Brown, External Member, St. Joseph's University

ABSTRACT

Fair trade offers an alternative market for handicraft producers in Peru, connecting them to buyers in the Global North. This market connection means that formerly utilitarian and traditional handicrafts must now satisfy the changing desires of consumers with whom artisans have no direct contact. In this dissertation, I examine the connections between Peruvian artisans and Northern importers as mediated through Manos Amigas (MA), a fair-trade handicrafts-distributing organization based in Lima. From its intermediary position in the fair-trade network, MA aims to design products that will sell to Northern clients while supporting Peruvian artisans—many of whom are Quechua-speakers and Andean migrants—and adhering to the principles of MA's fair-trade certifier, the World Fair Trade Organization.

The dissertation is based on eleven months of ethnographic fieldwork involving participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and analysis of audio and audio-visual recordings of product-innovation meetings, clients' visits with artisans, and other interactions. I examine the ways in which, and the extent to which, MA, through its implementation of fair trade, translates fair-trade principles into practice, supports the use of indigenous languages and artisanal traditions, and fosters transparent communication. I find that artisans are quite often excluded from important fair-trade conversations. In product-innovation meetings that involve MA staff members, Northern clients, and only sometimes artisans, the participants negotiate such product attributes as tradition, authenticity, "Peruvianness," and desirability. Through my analyses, I demonstrate the varied meanings that these attributes have for different participants in fair trade. Even when artisans are included in meetings with Northern clients, much of the talk that occurs is not translated into Spanish for the artisans' benefit. Artisans' speech, on the other hand, is often translated into English for clients' benefit, making translation largely unidirectional. This contributes to the knowledge and experience of the Northern visitor

but does not increase artisans' understanding of consumer trends or of clients' reactions to their products. Translation practices thus tend to perpetuate unequal relationships that keep artisans at a disadvantage.

Manos Amigas offers an example, overall quite successful, of how fair trade can be implemented. There is always room for improvement, however—ways to uphold fair-trade principles more strongly and ways to support artisans more effectively. Throughout the dissertation, I indicate ways that fair trade and conventional trade are similar and present comparable pitfalls. Competition, discrimination, poverty, and ideologies of gender that tend to keep women from powerful and well-paying positions are some of the challenges that artisans consistently face. I demonstrate numerous ways that fair trade—through certification and auditing, flexible interpretation of fair-trade principles, unidirectional translation practices, and client control over product designs—perpetuates asymmetrical power relations and Southern dependence on the North.

For Adam:

Your support, patience, and

understanding made

this possible.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I'm grateful to have this opportunity to thank numerous individuals who encouraged and supported me in various ways throughout my doctoral program, and especially while writing. I'd like to thank: my adviser, Paul Garrett, for his many hours of editing, humorous emails, mentorship, and guidance; the other members of my doctoral committee, for their examples of exciting and thorough social-scientific writing and analysis; my Quechua instructors, and friends, Michael, Indira, and Américo, whose extensive knowledge and guidance greatly improved this research; the staff of Bean Fosters in Golden, CO, where much of this dissertation was written, fueled by lattes; and my wonderful peers from the Anthropology Department of Temple University for their friendship. Eryn Snyder Berger and Nicole Nathan in particular were confidants, commiserators, mentors, and encouragers for all of these eight years. They, along with Nathan Jessee, Sonay Ban, Grace Cooper, and David Paulson read and commented on parts of this dissertation; I extend them sincerest appreciation (and accept all critique as my own). My fieldwork was supported by a Fulbright-Hays DDRA Fellowship, and a Temple University Center for International Business Education and Research (CIBER) International Research Award; I am also grateful to Dr. Richard Lobban and Dr. Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban for their help during preliminary fieldwork. My family supported me through this process; there are hundreds of things I could thank them for, but I hope a few will suffice: a home before and after fieldwork, cat care, drives to and from the airport, delicious meals, video chats and long text conversations, a much-needed vacation, visits, concern, understanding, patience, and unconditional love. This dissertation could not have been written if I were not warmly welcomed in Peru. I deeply appreciate the artisans, clients, Manos Amigas staff members, and other fair-trade representatives who shared their time and stories with me. Finally, I thank my partner, Adam, who made many sacrifices, with grace and compassion, for me to pursue my dream.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT ii

DEDICATION iv

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS v

LIST OF TABLES x

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xi

CHAPTER

1. CHAPTER 1: TRANSLATING FAIR TRADE THROUGH PRINCIPLES, CERTIFICATIONS, AND LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL METHODS 1

    Introducing Manos Amigas 14

    A Collaborative Relationship 21

    Research Methods 24

    Personal Background: Fair Trade, Previous Research, and Language Study 28

    Meeting Artisans 34

    Contributions 36

    Overviews of Chapters 38

2. CHAPTER 2: FAIR-TRADE HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION AND CONTEMPORARY DEBATES 42

    Fair Trade's Origins 45

        "Alternative" to "Fair" 47

    Fair Trade in Peru 49

To Seek Certification, or Not? 53

The Auditing Process 56

Mainstreaming, Commodity Fetishism, and the Certification Revolution 64

Commodity Fetishism 70

Fair-Trade Marketing: Seeking Transparency? 72

Fair but Not Completely Transparent Prices 80

Conclusion 84

3. CHAPTER 3: "ME SIENTO FELIZ DE MIS ORÍGENES": MIGRANT ARTISANS' EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION, LANGUAGE SHIFT, AND FAIR-TRADE SUPPORT 86

Indigenous Identities in Latin America 92

Andean Ethno-Racial Categorization and Language Use 98

Quechua Language Endangerment 107

Peru's Internal Violent Conflict and Resulting Urban Migration 111

Artisans' Ethno-Racial Self-Identification Practices 116

Artisans' Stories of Discrimination and Migration 121

Fair Trade's Benefits to, and Challenges for, Artisans 130

Being "Poor Enough," but Not Too Poor, to Work with Fair Trade 134

Fair Trade and Women 139

Future Implications for Language and Culture 143

Conclusion 150

4. CHAPTER 4: TRANSLATING POWER IN FAIR-TRADE CLIENT–ARTISAN ENCOUNTERS 155

Defining Translation 162

Cultural Translation 165

Experience is Required 169

Breaking Down the Bridge Metaphor 171

Nonverbal Communication 172

Overview of Client–Artisan Encounters 174

"I'm Very Sorry": Co-Construction of an Artisan's Autobiographical Story 182

Lost in (Missing) Translation: Compliments and Product Development 193

"You Just Say 'No!'": Limiting Artisans' Perceptions of their Impacts 202

Yannina's Position as Mediator 207

Encounters with Spanish-Speaking Clients 223

Conclusion 228

5. CHAPTER 5: TRANSLATING SOUTHERN TRADITIONS TO MEET NORTHERN TASTES: PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT AND MARKET COMPETITION 232

Local Forms of Competition and Copying 234

Price Setting for Local and Global Competition 239

Setting Fair Prices 245

Competition on a Large Scale 247

Importance, Risk, and Complexity of Innovating New Designs 253

Accomplishing Innovation 260

Traditions: Invented, Revived, and Introduced by Outsiders 268

Authentic and Handmade 277

Qualities of Fair-Trade Handicrafts: "Losing Identity" 283

Tradition as Place-Based 287

Conclusion 292

6. CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION: "TRADE" MAY HAVE WON OUT OVER "FAIR," BUT AT LEAST "FAIR" IS OUT THERE 297

Environmental Sustainability..298

Manos Amigas' Long-Term Sustainability 299

Sustainable Cultures and Languages 302

The Sustainability of Fair Trade 305

"Trade" May Have Won out over "Fair," but at Least "Fair" is out There 310

POSTSCRIPT 317

BIBLIOGRAPHY 322

APPENDICES

A. NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION 351

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Visits with Clients ……………………………………………………..…………………178

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration Page

1. The Ten Principles of Fair Trade (WFTO 2017)……………………………………...3

2. Map of Peru: "*Departamentos*," or Regions (The Only Peru Guide 2019, https://www.theonlyperuguide.com/peru-travel-information/maps/peru-map-regions/)…………………………………………...…………..16

3. Map of the Province of Lima Including Metropolitan Area and Outskirt Districts (*Blogspot* website, 2015, http://gianellapumapillog.blogspot.com/2015/07/mapa-bandera-y-escudo-de-lima.html).……………………..17

4. Two of MA's Clients' Labels and MA's Own Label (Photos by Author)……...…62

5. Luca's and Amelia's Interaction (Screengrabs by Author)..................................194-5

6. Yannina with her Head in her Hands (Screengrab by Author)……………………..221

7. Nepalese Nativity Sold by Yonder Star, Arendtsville, Pennsylvania. (https://www.yonderstar.com/3-nepal-nativity-scene-fair-trade-from-peru/)………263

8. Log Cabin Nativity Sold by Ten Thousand Villages, Canada. (https://www.tenthousandvillages.ca/shop/en/all-products/6116540-log-cabin-nativity.html)..263

9. Ceramic Owls in a Nest (Photo by Author)……………………………………...263

10. *Mate Burilado* Artisan with Array of Colorful Markers (Photo by Author)……….269

11. An Example of a Gourd Colored with Markers (Photo by Author)……………..……270

12. Intricate, Traditional Gourd-Carving Styles (Screengrab by Author)……………...270

13. Simpler Carved Gourds (Screengrab by Author)…...………………………………271

14. Snowman's Family Ornament Sold by Ten Thousand Villages, U.S. (https://www.tenthousandvillages.com /4f3020b47eb575ff053-0776573ec35ad)...284

15. Peruvian-Style Nativity (Left) and Russian-Style Nativity (Right) (Photos by Author)……………………………………………………………………286

16. Evelyn's Gestures with "a Piece of the Philippines" (Screengrabs by Author)……289

CHAPTER 1
TRANSLATING FAIR TRADE THROUGH PRINCIPLES, CERTIFICATIONS, AND LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL METHODS

"¿Qué *es* comercio justo?" (What *is* fair trade?)*,* Yannina wondered aloud to me, a month after my arrival to Peru in 2017.[1,2] She is the marketing manager and co-founder of Manos Amigas (MA), a fair-trade[3] handicrafts-distributing organization based in Lima.[4] As we sat together in her small no-frills office in the MA headquarters, Yannina shared examples with me of recent frustrations she had encountered that caused her to question what fair trade had become and reflect on how that seemed to differ at times from what she felt it should be or what it had been like in the past. In the nearly three decades since founding MA, Yannina has experienced many events that have called attention to the paradox of juxtaposing the two words "fair" and "trade."

Fair trade is an "alternative" market system that connects producers, typically in the Global South, to vendors and consumers, typically in the Global North, through a

[1] Yannina and Manos Amigas are the marketing manager's and organization's real names. With the exception of my Quechua instructors, and the name of the organization Threads of Peru (also used with permission), all other names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms. Yannina chose to make her name and organization name public for this research as she expressed to me repeatedly that she was very proud of the organizations' work, and was confident in openly sharing what I would learn. The reach of this research will hopefully contribute to an increase in sales opportunities or tourists' visits to Manos Amigas. I am happy to put readers in contact with Yannina for information on the organizations' tours or importing its handicrafts.

[2] See Appendix A for transcription conventions.

[3] "Fair-trade" is hyphenated when used as an adjective. Some authors capitalize or refrain from hyphenating adjective forms; quotations are reproduced exactly.

[4] Manos Amigas has been variously translated as "hands joined in friendship" (Ten Thousand Villages, U.S. n.d.-a), "hands of friendship" (Serrv International n.d.), and "friendly hands" by Sam, a staff member.

network of distributing organizations and shops.[5] I refer to these connections as a "network," following other scholars (e.g. Fridell 2004; Raynolds 2002, 2004; Raynolds et al. 2004). The fair-trade "network" refers to all individuals and organizations involved in fair trade including producers, distributors, importers, retailers, and consumers. In order to maintain clarity, though, I use "chains" when discussing specific producer–exporter–importer product trajectories. To be officially recognized as fair trade, certification by international organizations such as the Fair Trade Federation (FTF) or the World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO), which certifies MA, is required.[6,7] Distributing organizations, producers, or vendors may obtain certification and there are different requirements for food producers and handicrafts organizations. Each of the certifying organizations has a set of principles that they uphold. Although these principles differ slightly between certifying organizations, in general, all fair trade seeks to reduce the problems in conventional trade such as to alleviate poverty by providing fair wages and long-term buying relationships, empower marginalized populations, avoid child labor,

---

[5] I recognize that differentiating the countries of the world by using the terms "Global North" and "Global South" furthers racialization and the perception of the South as backward. I use the terms throughout this dissertation to call attention to the geographical distance over which ideas, products, and people must travel, and the dissimilar access to power individuals can obtain and utilize. The erasure of difference within each region is not my intention and, for this reason, when possible, I use more specific geographic identifiers such as specific countries or cities. I chose these terms over "developed" and "developing" because this binary seems to perpetuate a more explicit value judgement and assume that economically disadvantaged countries are on the same trajectory as, but lagging behind, the more advantaged countries (Hussey and Curnow 2013). This, too, erases colonial legacies that set the North and South on different paths, and is a Eurocentric notion (ibid.).

[6] Other certifications include Fairtrade International, Fair Trade USA, and Fair for Life. See Fair Trade Winds (n.d.) for a guide to different fair-trade certification labels.

[7] The WFTO, the certifying organization for MA (formerly called International Federation for Alternative Trade, IFAT), has 400 members representing 70 different countries (WFTO n.d.-a).

ensure safe working conditions, support capacity building, protect the environment, and encourage market transparency between producers and consumers. The WFTO's (2017) Ten Principles are depicted in Illustration 1 below.

Illustration 1: The Ten Principles of Fair Trade (WFTO 2017).

A key difference between fair trade and conventional trade are the long-term relationships on which producers can depend when natural disasters threaten livelihoods, and when other economic pursuits fail, as happened during the global coffee crisis at the beginning of the 21st century (Bacon 2005; Fridell 2007b; Jaffee 2007; Linton 2012). International fair-trade organizations, mostly in the Global North, can absorb artisans' losses during times when market, environmental, or personal hardships hinder sales. Artisans who work with MA are paid half of their earnings upfront for an order, by request, to cover the expenses of raw materials. Fair trade also provides producers a market connection to consumers that they otherwise may not be able to tap. There is evidence that fair trade can help to alleviate poverty somewhat (but very little evidence that it can help people get completely out of poverty; Fridell 2006; McArdle and Thomas 2012; Murray et al. 2003; Raynolds et al. 2004), educate producers' children (Grimes

2005; Lyon 2007; Mauthofer et al. 2018; Nicholls and Opal 2005), provide training toward technical skills (Murray et al. 2006), make improvements toward empowering women (Grimes 2005; Henrici 2007), and encourage continued production of traditional goods (Lyon 2010; M'Closkey 2010). Producers' livelihood vulnerability can be reduced through involvement with fair trade, and they may feel more secure in keeping their land even during times of crisis (Bacon 2005; Lyon 2011). The majority of studies, including this dissertation, demonstrate that fair trade helps marginalized producers to some extent, but that it could still do more.

A certification process theoretically verifies that organizations uphold fair-trade principles, but there are numerous paradoxes within the principles that researchers have explicated (e.g. Besky 2010; Fridell 2006; Goodman and Herman 2015; Jaffee 2007; Moberg and Lyon 2010; Stoddart 2011); these will be further explored in the following chapter. Fair-trade principles are contested, reaffirmed, created, maintained, negotiated, and manipulated by different actors in the network to ensure their compliance along with the companies' continued viability and sustainability to support local artisans and staff members' livelihoods. This dissertation explores the steps those involved in fair trade take in interpreting the principles and translating them into practice. Key tenets of fair trade such as sustainability, transparency, and "fairness" are subjective and complex in practice, and firmly upholding one aspect can put limits on others. The contradictions between supporting the sustainability of fair-trade organizations and thoroughly upholding all of the stated principles exist because of the largest, and oft-mentioned

paradox of fair trade: “fair trade pursues a market-based solution to the very problems developing from free markets” (Moberg and Lyon 2010:7).

Describing the contradictions of capital, Harvey (2014) includes the way that capital seeks to be ever-more productive (regardless of “traditions,” “cultures,” and symbolic values), increase profit (for capitalists, not laborers), encourage specialization (into minutiae, making the work valueless for producers), lower wages (without concern for them to be “fair”), speed up production (discouraging production by hand and, thus, disregarding many cultural traditions), and commodify things that are not commodities (such as the morality imbued into fair-trade products). It is, therefore, the trend of capital to lead to constantly increasing wealth disparities and fair trade’s principles can do little to bring down these centuries-old contradictions. Fair trade can thus not be completely “alternative” or subversive to the capitalist system because it is part of that system (Besky 2010; Fridell 2006; Jaffee 2007; Henrici 2007; Low and Davenport 2005b; Moberg and Lyon 2010). As Jaffee (2007:1) explains, “In its efforts to achieve social justice and alter the unjust terms of trade that hurt small farmers worldwide, fair trade utilizes the mechanisms of the very markets that have generated those injustices.” Low and Davenport (2005b) claim that fair trade, once a “radical” movement, has become less “alternative,” and has allowed for corporations to become heavily involved in the fair-trade network through “mainstreaming,” the use of some ethically-certified products to encourage consumers to have a more favorable impression of the entire corporation.[8] This has perpetuated in the fair-trade network many of the same problems found in

[8] These points are echoed by Fridell (2004:411) that the fair-trade *movement* has been “defeat[ed]” through the “current triumph of neoliberal globalization.”

conventional trade, such as increasing competition that drives down wages, oversupply, decreased transparency, and even corruption. But, Fridell (2007a:95) states:

> Competitive and exploitative behaviour under capitalism are [sic] not primarily a result of a lack of ethical values. Rather, this behaviour is a result of the lack of structural imperatives of the capitalist market which compel all producers to compete, accumulate and maximise profits in order to remain competitive and survive.

Although individuals and organizations may seek ethical market practices, the system through which they operate disallows these practices. As fair-trade markets grow and corporations are increasingly involved, corporate mainstreaming and commodity fetishism—the obscuring of production processes—result, pushing against the subversive intentions of the original fair-trade movement. These processes will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

In my discussion with Yannina, mentioned at the opening of this chapter, she was incited to ponder fair trade's effectiveness because of a miscommunication, or perhaps outright lie, from a foreign client about her company sending a payment that Yannina had not received. Yannina exasperatedly discussed MA's and other organizations' compliance with the guiding principles of fair trade as she compared MA's comportment to others' who claimed to uphold the same values but that appeared to have infringed on the ethical standards involved, like the client. She explained her role of "peer" auditor to me for which she had had to observe the practices of a Peruvian agricultural fair-trade organization and inform them of infractions she saw against fair-trade principle implementation. In that process, Yannina learned that the agricultural workers did not know what fair trade was or that they worked within it, and they often did not get paid

fifty percent upfront, as should be made available, but may have only received ten or fifteen percent.[9] This experience clouded Yannina's confidence in fair trade: If the producing organization she observed could be "fair trade," first in name and then with an official certification, why does certification exist at all?[10]

In a later interview near the end of my fieldwork, Yannina reiterated these points, imploring:

> *¿Todos son ahora comercio justo, no? Ahora se ha puesto como una modalidad, como (se ha hecho) popular el comercio justo ¿no? Y entonces si tú eres de comercio justo, ¡ya!, te voy a comprar. Sin saber sinceramente si lo eres o no lo eres solo porque ya tienes la certificación y, ya, confías.*
>
> Everyone now is fair trade, right? Now it's become like a fad, like (it has become) popular, fair trade, no? And then if you are fair trade, yup! I'll buy from you. Without knowing really if you are or are not because you have the certification so, yeah, you trust [it].

Yannina feels like now "everyone" is involved in fair trade, and people are comfortable buying from any organization or shop with a fair-trade label from one of the certifying organizations. Thus, in this discussion, Yannina indicates that she does not consider those who are actually fairly trading to be necessarily aligned with those who have a certification; a label does not indicate fairness and fairness does not necessitate labels. Due to the costs of WFTO membership and certification, in fact, certified organizations seem to need to be fairly large and well established. My fieldwork has

[9] WFTO Principles mandate allowing for up to 50% of payment before delivery of completed orders, if requested by producers (WFTO 2017).

[10] There is no trademark of use for the words "fair trade" (except as one word, Fairtrade, which means that a product is certified by the Fairtrade International system / FLOCERT), so any organization can in theory use the words without consequence (Johnson 2003:29). The topic of certification will be addressed in Chapter 2.

given me insights that suggest that smaller, uncertified organizations like the small shops in which I conducted interviews in Cusco, can more easily maintain long-term interpersonal relationships between individual actors that larger-scale and certified organizations, including MA (which is still quite small), may have more trouble to manage effectively.

Yannina has experienced and heard about questionable business dealings by companies who do have the fair-trade certification. Even within her own organization, artisans with whom she works (or worked) may be involved with practices that go against fair-trade principles or make them more difficult to uphold. For example, artisans may hire temporary workers she does not know, outsource their production to other workshops if they become overburdened, hire youth under the legal working age, or misrepresent themselves as artisans when they are actually intermediaries. The WFTO audit process that "confirms" ethical practices for certification was not as stringent as Yannina and other staff members expected it to be (see Chapter 2), drawing into question the efficacy of the fair-trade label to transparently index fairness throughout the network. Despite other companies through the years being certified as, or calling themselves, fair trade, Yannina has been told or seen instances of corruption, children working when they should be in school, low or delayed payments, copying of product designs, and other unsavory practices. Yannina has become skeptical but seems resolved to her belief that trade can be "fair," whether labeled as such or not. As her sister-in-law, Samantha (Sam) told me, "In the States, the policy in retail is the client is always right. Here we [at MA] try- *try* to please the client, what they request. But we, we try as much as we can to

respect the artisan." Respect for the artisans involves accepting the fair pricing they predominantly set for themselves that will maintain their competitiveness, giving guidance if the price is too high or too low, honoring each artisan's designs as his or her own intellectual property, facilitating communication with clients, training them to improve product quality, and working with them to create internationally appealing products that will sell well through the fair-trade network.

Yannina's question of "what is fair trade?" that opens this chapter relates to how "fairness" in the fair-trade network can and should be understood—is certification the only way ethical production can be verified? How does ethical treatment of artisans and they of their hired workers become symbolized by a certification label on a product? And what are the contradictions complicit within the principles that fair-trade organizations purport to uphold? In this dissertation, I explore the negotiation of fair-trade principles and implementation from the perspective of distributors' linguistic practices through which values and ethics are translated between the Global North and Global South. I consider the complexities of fair-trade implementation by analyzing the ways that Peruvian organizations, certified and not, uphold moral and ethical values in handicraft production to varying degrees while working within constraints set on them by neoliberal capitalism, local and global competition, international communication, and consumer interests. Fair-trade principles must be flexibly interpreted if organizations wish to succeed in the global economy. Artisans must meet consumers' interests and needs and compete with international companies that make similar-looking products much more

cheaply, making their traditional products and artisanal techniques seem less important to maintain.

As a handicrafts-distributing organization, MA occupies an intermediary position in the fair-trade network. Because of this position, its employees carry the weight of complicated communication between clients and artisans that includes mediating their cultural and linguistic differences; this is further complicated by their misunderstandings and miscommunications within the organization. Despite fair trade having fewer intermediaries than conventional trade (Low and Davenport 2005b), this dissertation recognizes the important actions that occur at the remaining connections in the network as messages are relayed through various means and linguistic and cultural practices. As mediators between handicrafts producers in the Global South and consumers and certifiers like the WFTO in the Global North, distributing organizations like MA communicate between local and global levels of exportation and marketing. It is through these distributing organizations that world-wide mandates from the WFTO reach artisans, and consumer trends influence artisanal traditions as the discourses within them connect producers to consumers, South to North, and relatively rich to poor.

Despite this central position in the fair-trade network being of great importance for communication in fair trade, the majority of research in the context of fair trade has been conducted with producers or consumers. Fair trade, despite starting with handicrafts, now is commonly associated with agricultural products. Researchers, likewise, have predominantly focused on producers in the Global South: of coffee (e.g. Jaffee 2007; Linton 2012; Lyon 2007, 2011, 2013; Smith 2010), tea (e.g. Besky 2010, 2014; Dolan

2010a, 2010b), bananas (e.g. Moberg 2008, 2010, 2014, 2016; Shreck 2002), flowers (e.g. Ziegler 2007, 2010), and even wine, which is a fairly new product on the fair-trade market (e.g. Kleine 2008; Moseley 2008).[11] Although work with handicraft production has been completed (e.g. Grimes and Milgram 2000a; Littrell and Dickson 1999, 2010; M'Closkey 2010; Wilson 2010), it remains underrepresented in the overall body of literature on fair trade. When not focusing on producers, fair-trade research has sought to understand consumers' behaviors and perceptions in the Global North (e.g. Brown 2008, 2009, 2011, 2013; Varul 2008; Varul and Wilson-Kovacs 2008) or has taken non-ethnographic views of large-scale marketing or economic processes. My research, focusing on artisans' and clients' encounters with distributors, allows me to analyze communication at the midpoint of the fair-trade network as organization staff negotiate meanings between Southern producers and Northern consumers. It is in these interactions that fair-trade discourses are created and distributed, solidarity is formed, and the stories so essential to the trade of handicrafts are produced.

In recent years, consumers' growing interest in fair trade and other alternative market systems, increasing concern for ethical production and trade, and calls for corporate transparency have made research on fair trade and its relationship to conventional trade more necessary. As alternative-trade companies grow and have increased the size of their distribution networks with more consumers and higher rates of production, they may begin to make use of more conventional marketing practices, thus making transparency—one of the principles of fair trade that encourages clear

[11] For an extensive list of sources on a variety of products, see Linton (2012:16-17).

distribution of information throughout the fair-trade network—increasingly difficult to achieve. At the same time, demands for transparency spurred by sweatshop collapse and human-rights abuses, along with technologies that make global communications easier, encourage consumers to learn more about the processes of production and distribution. Companies utilize certifications to, at least superficially, increase transparency to consumers and improve their reputations. I examine how transparency and ethical consumerism in general impact artisans and MA employees, and how traditional processes of craft production change due to increasing global connectedness afforded to them through the fair-trade market and the resulting craft tourism. This dissertation helps to identify ways in which the goals of fair trade, including market transparency, could be more adequately achieved through greater understanding of discursively mediated connections occurring in the network through encounters and translators.

Fair trade has been called a neoliberal and developmentalist project (Besky 2010; Dolan 2010a, 2010b; Fridell 2004, 2006, 2007b; Hussey and Curnow 2013, 2016; Moberg and Lyon 2010) which I affirm and uphold in my own discussion. Through fair-trade certification, principle creation, and auditing, the Global North maintains control and influence over the Global South. Trends are established in the North with the expectation that Southern producers will follow them; their poverty, culture, and traditions are commodified through the fair-trade products they produce. At the same time, traditions and artisans' cultures are not quite satisfactory for commodification anymore. Handicrafts need to be trendy, due to the abundance of options consumers have in our globalized economy. Traditional artisanal techniques (or, those perceived to be

traditional) need to be sustainable in the face of quickly changing trends which artisans struggle to follow to compete with global and industrial producers. Product development that requires trends and traditions to be translated into sellable products can lead to traditions, authenticity, and "Peruvianness" falling by the wayside as victims to the same consumerism as in conventional trade. And, also as in conventional trade, transparency can be obscured by artisans, staff members, fair-trade auditors, or importing clients, as Yannina has found on countless occasions. Product designs are thus dictated by international trends, demands for high quality, and, increasingly, utility. They need to also be made quickly for a price that will allow for the final sales price to be reasonable to ask of consumers (after taxes and tariffs, retailer overhead and profit margins, packaging, advertising, distribution, and other costs are taken into account). Further complicating the process, products need to comply with exportation laws (that place limits on certain seeds and types of wood, for example), and be practical and sturdy enough to avoid becoming damaged in travel by sea or over land.

Fair trade, then, has similar difficulties as conventional trade such as lacking transparency and compromising culture for salability. It does not go far enough to subvert or change the problems found in conventional trading relationships. Situated within the global capitalist system that puts handcrafted cultural pieces in competition with mass-produced industrial products, and taking cues from neoliberal relationships, fair trade outwardly attempts to shorten supply chains, increase transparency, and pay higher prices for products. I will consider how fair trade could be more successful in reaching these goals as it, like all capitalistic ventures, has fallen victim to lacking transparency and

commodity fetishism, increasingly complex supply chains, corruption, and the reduction of heterogeneity through certifications and Northern standardization. I also share the stories of an organization whose members continue to work within the confines of this system to support artisanal practices and artisans' livelihoods while maintaining their high moral values and ethics.

Introducing Manos Amigas

Yannina founded Manos Amigas in 1991 with her brother; Javier, a pastor; and her mother, a now-retired art teacher, in what has become a central, expensive tourist district of Lima called Miraflores. At the time, she worked with a few ceramists who mainly lived in Chorrillos, a district of Lima then considered to be the outskirts of the city, but now due to the city's expansion around it, is fairly central. MA has belonged to the WFTO since 1999 and in 2002 they created the Manos Amigas Civil Association to provide legal backing, and provide funding to train artisans, grant scholarships, and give breakfasts to poor children in Lima on Sundays. After emergencies, the association funds can help artisans, or others in need throughout Peru, to rebuild homes, purchase food or supplies, or help in other ways. Additionally, MA-affiliated artisans have been helped by the funds when they or their family members require medical care or surgeries. The association receives 20% of MA's profits to complete these tasks.

MA seeks out, develops products with, and provides training and sales orders to Peruvian artisans to export handicrafts to international clients for resale in their stores, catalogs, and websites. The organization currently works with about 47 artisan groups, families, and individuals throughout southern Peru who mostly live in Lima but a few of

whom live in Junín, Ayacucho, Cusco, and Puno regions (see Illustration 2 below).[12] Throughout this dissertation, I refer to the owner of a workshop who is the contact person for MA as the "artisan," and people the artisans hire as either their "employees" or "workers"; most artisans work with family or a handful of hired workers. Main artisans are skilled in *artesanía* (handicraft production). They innovate the designs and are responsible for training their workers, some of whom are completely new to that type of work. When I visited workshops, I often had short conversations with workers, if the artisan employed any, but interviewed the lead artisan or their spouse, if he or she was also heavily involved in the operations of the workshop. In Lima, artisans mainly lived in the remoter districts such as Ate Vitarte, Lurín, San Juan de Lurigancho, Villa El Salvador, Puente Piedra, and Caraballo with some in Chorrillos (see Illustration 3 below).[13]

---

[12] Numbers of artisans that MA works with differ between sources and even between lists available through the organization itself. Serrv International, a fair-trade chain of stores in the U.S. for example, indicates on their webpage for the organization that MA works with 70 groups including 350 artisans (Serrv International, n.d.). I was given various lists including 43, 48, and 74 names of artisans or groups at different points in my fieldwork. MA staff told tourists that there are 47 artisan groups in their presentation, and that is the number I was most often told. These include four associations of between six and eleven members, three cooperatives of between 18 and 120 members, and 30 family workshops with between two and six members.

To compare size with other Peruvian fair-trade handicrafts organizations, Allpa's webpage claims they work with 80 artisanal families (Allpa n.d.-b) and Intercrafts / CIAP's page states that they work with 300 family workshops or 1450 artisans (Intercrafts Peru 2019).

I was unable to gain access to MA's order history to verify sales prices or see which artisans received orders, nor was I made aware of the organization's yearly revenue. I present these comparisons of numbers of artisans with which each organization works, though, as a means through which to indicate MA's relatively small size in comparison to other Peruvian fair-trade companies, although the number of artisans is not necessarily related to revenue.

[13] "Lima" refers to many geographical delineations. The region or department (*departamento*) of Lima is the largest (13,437 sq. mi), made up of ten provinces (*provincias*). The province called Lima (1,031.77 sq. mi.) is made up of 43 "districts" ("*distritos*") and is roughly the size of the U.S. state of Rhode Island (1212 sq. mi.). 30 of these 43 districts are currently considered to make

Illustration 2: Map of Peru: *Departamentos*, or Regions (The Only Peru Guide 2019, https://www.theonlyperuguide.com/peru-travel-information/maps/peru-map-regions/).

---

up the metropolitan center of the city of Lima (318.87 sq. mi.). Most artisans with whom I met lived in the distant, non-metropolitan districts listed in the text and even as far south as Pucusana, so I traveled extensively throughout the province to speak with them.

Illustration 3: Map of the Province of Lima Including Metropolitan Area and Outskirt Districts (*Blogspot* website, 2015, http://gianellapumapillog.blogspot.com/2015/07/mapa-bandera-y-escudo-de-lima.html).

MA exports handicrafts to about 25 certified and uncertified fair-trade stores and chains in the United States, Canada, various European countries including Germany, the United Kingdom, Austria, Switzerland, France, Spain, Italy, and Holland, and two fairly new connections of Australia and New Zealand. These foreign importing organizations, and their employees, are called "clients" in this dissertation. Some clients place a few large orders consistently each year but others order less frequently, perhaps once in a few years. Order frequency is impacted by MA's coverage of shipping expenses that exceed US$5000. In order to reach that minimum, smaller companies may place infrequent, larger orders, only every three years for some, or coordinate shared freight space to reach the US$5000 minimum. These consolidated shared orders create a challenge for MA and artisans for producing and packing different orders at the same time.

Yannina founded MA after having worked with another fair-trade organization in Peru and for a U.S.-based organization as a Latin American representative for which she sought and developed new products. Yannina is the paramount figure in the organization, the face or even "mother" of MA, and therefore she is highly present in this dissertation. Her official position is "marketing manager," but Yannina oversees nearly all operations of the business. Her responsibilities include conducting visits to the artisans and checking on the status of their orders, coordinating tourist visits, meeting with both international and local visitors, attending meetings and conferences for WFTO member organizations, designing and approving new products with artisans and clients, overseeing the creation of catalogs of new products, keeping an eye on international trends, filling in to help with packing when needed, and dealing with issues that arise for artisans or with customs,

ground transportation, or shipping companies.[14] Yannina speaks both Spanish and English fluently, as well as some Dutch, as encouraged by her work and her marriage to a Dutch man.[15] She has visited numerous European countries and the U.S. for fair-trade related work and on her own and, during my fieldwork, she traveled to India for the WFTO Biennial Conference in Delhi at which she presented about her experience as a peer auditor. Yannina's role requires her to maintain a global presence for MA, while keeping her finger on the pulse of various international and consumer trends.

Yannina's demanding work has surely been aided by her perseverance, a strict-but-caring motherly aura, sharp knowledge, and acumen. Over MA's 29-year history, she enlisted the full-time help of her husband, Isaak, and sister-in-law Sam, and the part-time work of her brother, Sam's husband, Javier, an evangelical pastor who keeps the books and writes the checks for the organization. Sam, the daughter of American missionaries, was born, and grew up, in Bolivia. She communicates with international clients, takes their orders, distributes orders to artisans, and makes the invoices. She welcomes visitors to the office and does the presentations for English-speaking visitors, as she is a native English-speaker. Yannina's husband, Isaak, predominantly works "behind the scenes" with packing and technological tasks such as formatting the catalogs and taking product photos. The only full-time employee who is not a member of the family is Clarice, who conducts quality control, communicates the need to fix the *fallas* (pieces with mistakes;

---

[14] The ability for even the administrators of the organization to fill in and contribute to things like quality control and packing appealed to artisans who appreciated MA staff's accessibility and hard work ethic in comparison to some of the other organizations with which they also worked.

[15] Yannina used Spanish almost exclusively with me except when English-speaking tourists or clients were visiting.

errors on products) to artisans, organizes the packing-room shelves according to client orders, keeps records of who delivers which products and how many were accepted for export, and wraps and packages those products. Clarice was an instrumental part of my participant-observation and orientation to MA's operations. She is extremely knowledgeable about the intricate relationships of artisans and their history with the organization. She also loves politics, telling jokes, and learning about the U.S. and English which all contributed to my participant-observation in the packing room being enjoyable and helpful for the overall improvement of this research.

MA has remained small, but Yannina is always thinking of ways to help the organization grow and increase orders to the artisans with whom she works.[16] The headquarters space has increased from being within the family's home to necessitating the purchase of a building across the street.[17] The family has since built a second floor for future office space, and a third for visitor accommodations. They hope to build yet another story for more accommodations as they wish to expand their tourism offerings, originally started in 2002, to host more fair-trade groups, voluntourists, and students. Growth in tourism will encourage sustainability of the business and diversify the organization's offerings, which helps to protect it during economic recessions. MA currently arranges tours throughout Peru including within Lima, Cusco, and to Lake Titicaca in the region of Puno. Tours stop at artisan workshops where tourists observe

---

[16] Another comparison for MA's size is by numbers of staff members. Allpa's website states that they employ 35 staff members (Allpa, n.d.-a) and Raymisa, another similar organization, has 25 (Raymisa 2019). MA has five regular employees and a few temporary seasonal hires.

[17] Javier, Sam, and their son live on a different floor of the same building as Isaak, Yannina, and their daughter.

demonstrations and university students can try their hand at craft production. In addition to arranging workshop visits, Yannina uses her network of contacts to arrange educational presentations and other tours according to the needs of the visiting group. During my fieldwork, Yannina was considering adding food and clothing products to their catalog of ceramics, musical instruments, knitted hats, retablos, stuffed alpaca figures, and carved gourd handicrafts.

A Collaborative Relationship

Throughout my continuous ten months of fieldwork, I contributed to MA's work by helping to process and package products; updating artisans' biographical stories (used for marketing and client inquiries), photos, and WFTO compliance forms; taking photographs for use on MA's social media; and conducting the organization's survey with artisans to determine its effectiveness in meeting their financial needs and expectations. These activities allowed me to meet artisans, begin to understand organization operations, and contribute to the workplace.

I began my 2017 fieldwork, which followed a one-month preliminary visit in 2015, with participant-observation in the office headquarters in the packing and processing areas. There, I worked alongside four Peruvian women, including Clarice, and one young man, to conduct quality-control procedures, package, tag, wrap, count, and box up products, and load trucks heading toward port for shipment. The packing room was the only place where I would have been able to hear and participate in consistent conversation because the other employees each work at a desk in two separate offices, communicating between the rooms through phone, text, or internet throughout the day as

well as in person during family events in non-work hours. Through my work in the headquarters, I was able to learn and take detailed notes on orders' size, contents, and clients; discuss Peruvian politics, religion, and current events; learn about the daily operations of the organization; meet artisans who delivered products or picked up paychecks; take photographs of the building; and clarify some of what I heard from other staff, or artisans during interviews. I learned, too, about fair-trade principle implementation, payment and artisans' product delivery procedures, quality control and product descriptions, communications in the headquarters, and perceptions of what makes artisans good or poor workers. Through this work, I was able to impact the company's daily operations while learning firsthand in some ways what it is like to be an employee.

Beyond volunteering with packing and processing, I continued the work I had observed during my preliminary fieldwork in Peru which occurred from July to August of 2015. I had accompanied a Peruvian woman who was then working for MA when she traveled to meet artisans to fill in WFTO forms. These forms were meant to be completed each year to ensure artisan compliance with the certifying organization's principles. In my 2017 fieldwork, the same woman, who had been a temporary employee or volunteer while completing her master's degree, trained me to take over the task. The WFTO paperwork, along with an internal organization questionnaire for MA, required visits to speak with artisans in person. This complicated my visits because completing the WFTO forms connected me more to the organization than I had expected I would be. Throughout the visits and while planning for them with artisans, I tried to remain transparent by explaining the mixed purpose for my visit, and that I would be interested in some of the

responses to the questions on the WFTO form and MA survey for my own dissertation, including those concerning traditions and cultural identities. Responses would be made anonymous for my own project as well as for a report I would give, at the end of my fieldwork, to Yannina. The recordings I made would be to help my project, would be used only by myself, and would not be shared with MA.[18]

The way in which I combined organization paperwork with my own project in visits to artisans is related to what Austin (2017:28) explains is a natural part of ethnography, the "secretive tactics to capture data." Specifically, my strategy falls under what he calls a "decoy"; anthropologists in their fieldsites become associated with free car rides, giving money, taking photos or, in my case, WFTO and MA paperwork that gave me a well-accepted reason to visit artisans, which, once there, gave me opportunities to request to discuss additional matters. By helping me to update MA's records, artisans were contributing to their relationships with a steadfast and ethical exporter and furthering their own handicrafts-production businesses. After completing these forms, we discussed my project and, despite having an opportunity to end our meeting at that point, artisans always consented to speaking with me about their language and self-identification practices, and cultural and personal backgrounds.

---

[18] At first, I tried very hard to not tell MA staff which artisans I was visiting to increase the artisans' potential for sharing their experiences with me. It became more apparent, however, that the organization works through opportunistic visits and sending messages through people in addition to phone calls and emails. Yannina wanted to know where I would visit so if she had a message or products to return, she could send them with me, or ask me to check on the status of an order. On numerous occasions, my visits involved returning *fallas*, picking up or paying for samples, and once even delivering an envelope to a scholarship recipient. As I saw no negative reasons for Yannina to know who I visited, and I did not share details from our discussions, I made this change to accommodate the norms of the organization.

Research Methods

This doctoral-dissertation research, carried out from March 2017 to January 2018, made use of multiple complementary ethnographic methods. These include semi-structured interviews with artisans, Yannina, and other fair traders in Peru; participant-observation of organization activities; library research; making audiovisual or audio recordings, and analyzing naturally occurring conversations. I recorded artisan encounters with clients and tourists, product-development meetings involving clients and staff, and meetings of the WFTO representatives of Peru and Latin America, presentations to the public in artisanal fairs, and presentations to artisans at the fairs, to which I was invited. I roughly transcribed and took notes when listening to recordings, usually within a few days of the interactions, and later transcribed and translated the key moments in more detail, either during fieldwork or while analyzing and writing.

Semi-structured interviews began with questions I had developed by conferring with both Yannina and my Lima-based Quechua teacher, Michael, a young man originally from Cusco. He was able to provide cultural commentary on the appropriate ways to formulate my inquiries. I asked about artisans' language practices and domains of usage, ideologies toward Quechua, and their ethnic self-identifications. I was interested in learning about the effects that involvement with fair-trade exporters had on artisans' ways of life, including production and marketing processes, financial security, cultural and linguistic maintenance, and access to education for themselves and their children. The prepared questions were a starting point for further conversation, and they enabled me to understand how participation in fair-trade business relationships may

affect the loss of cultural and linguistic practices. These interviews provide the basis for Chapter 3.

Interviews were conducted with the "main" artisan in the workshop; this is the man or woman who owns the workshop, may employ others, and with whom MA communicates to conduct business. As workers can be temporary, inexperienced, or merely helping the artisan, such as a family member there for the busy season, the main artisans are those who know about fair trade, *artesanía*, traditions, techniques, and MA's communication practices. There are also many workshops where artisans work alone or with a few family members or a partner; rarely, I was able to speak to a couple together. The short nature of my discussions with workers, when they were available, though, could have limited my understanding of "fair" payments, overtime or exploitative work, or other potential challenges, provided they would have explained these to me. In total, I visited 30 artisans' workshops, mostly within Lima but three in Cochas, Huancayo; one with two artisans present from an association in Juliaca, Puno; and one each in Chuquito, Juliaca, and Cusco. 28 of these interviews were audio-recorded.

Along with my participant-observation with artisans and staff members in the organization headquarters, I also visited artisan workshops with international clients or groups of tourists when they visited MA. These encounters were key interactions of my fieldwork. Tourist groups and fair-trade clients came from the United States, Canada, Italy, and the United Kingdom during those months to meet artisans, learn about fair trade and its implementation in Peru, and discuss new products in the case of clients. These visits were representative of larger fair-trade processes and relationships, so

observing the communication occurring therein was a way to understand how fair-trade communication between international actors, like through their email correspondence in the case of clients, functions. Visits are a key way that fair trade is set apart from conventional trade. From both the clients' and tourists' standpoints, the visit is an exciting possibility to meet the people who actually make the products they see in stores. Therefore, I see these encounters as key moments for all parties involved and they can have great impacts on people's, especially visitors', lives (Brown 2013). Clients may establish rapport at these meetings that amicably begins decades-long relationships and will help them to create products or improve communication in their future work together. Their future interactions, which occur predominantly through emails with MA staff members, can improve by clients understanding the conditions in which the artisans and staff work. Client–artisan encounters, then, are life- and work-changing events that gave me a glimpse into not only how but, I think *why*, fair trade works, to the extent that it does. Client visits provide the basis of my discussions in Chapters 4 and 5.

Client–artisan encounters encouraged my focus on the larger scale economic and fair-trade issues at work within them, and the broader concerns clients, staff, and artisans held. In Cusco, I was drawn by the multiple fair-trade shops in the very touristy city, much more prevalent and accessible than in Lima. While there, I conducted interviews with four fair-trade store owners and organization employees. In these discussions, I spoke with fair-trade participants about their understanding and implementation of fair trade, whether they were certified, how they had made the decision whether or not to get the certification, how they develop products, their current challenges, how their

organizations began, how fair trade differs from conventional trade, and what they think the future holds for their organizations and for fair trade more broadly. These interviews inform various chapters throughout the dissertation.

Beyond work specifically with MA and interviews in other fair-trade organizations, I pursued as many ways to interact with Peruvian *artesanía* as possible. I attended artisan fairs and presentations, visited pre-Columbian art museums to learn about the historical connections and artisanal traditions of the various cultures of Peru, conducted library research in three institutions, and visited artisan shops and marketplaces in order to gain understanding of the tourism market, recognize the designs and materials common to Peruvian handicrafts, and learn about sales techniques and pricing. I also attended a *Rueda de Negocios* (business circle) in Pucallpa on MA's behalf, where I learned about rainforest handicraft and food products, and I participated in WFTO meetings with representatives from the other Peruvian organizations, along with Yannina. Members predominantly discussed applications for funding to travel to the WFTO conference and expo in India. Aside from a focus on handicrafts, I extensively pursued experiences with Peruvian culture and that would increase my understanding of Quechua-speakers' lives and history. I attended a political march against the pardoning of Alberto Fujimori for his human-rights abuses against *quechuahablantes* (Quechua-speakers) during the time of terrorism.[19] I visited Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social (Place of Memory, Tolerance, and Social Inclusion; commonly shortened to "Lugar de la Memoria," or LUM) museums in Ayacucho and Lima which

[19] Fujimori was indeed pardoned on health grounds by President Kuczynski; this pardon was later reversed by the Supreme Court in 2018 under the new administration of President Vizcarra.

focus on the genocide and disappearings caused by *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), the violent events of the 1980s and 1990s that greatly impacted artisans' urban migration patterns and experiences of discrimination (which will be further explored in Chapter 3). On the summer solstice, I attended an *Inti Raymi* festival in Lima, and in Cusco, I participated in a *chocolatada* at Christmastime with my Quechua language school.[20] I immersed myself in Peruvian and Limeño culture, albeit with the privilege of a white, middle-class outsider's perspective.

Personal Background: Fair Trade, Previous Research, and Language Study

My life has been intertwined with fair trade from a young age due to my grandmother's church's connection to the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and Ten Thousand Villages, a national-scale nonprofit fair-trade handicrafts store chain.[21] The way she tells it, as soon as I was "old enough to put on a sticker" she brought me with her on Wednesday mornings to join her church group to volunteer for a few hours in the processing room of Ten Thousand Villages' warehouse near our homes in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. My grandmother recently told me that she personally knew the legendary Edna Ruth Byler, famed creator of fair trade itself who sold embroidery pieces she had purchased in Puerto Rico to friends in the U.S. out of the trunk of her car, starting in the 1940s (Ten Thousand Villages, U.S. n.d.-b).

---

[20] *Chocolatadas* are common in December, when people from lower elevations travel to highland communities with cars full of toys and provisions to make hot chocolate and play with the children. We traveled to a community more remote than Patacancha, high in the mountains (around 15,000ft.) in the Ollantaytambo District of Cusco.

[21] Ten Thousand Villages was owned by MCC until 2012 and they are now considered "partners" (Ten Thousand Villages and Mennonite Central Committee 2011).

There was something about the processing room, abuzz with activity, with its large wooden tables and high stools, a dusty and musty cardboard smell in the air, which kept me coming back to volunteer. The colorful, exotic text-laden, and sometimes damp, beaten, or broken boxes, worn from their seaward journey, intrigued me. As each new project would come to the worktable I shared with my grandmother and her friends, I was excited to see what was waiting for us inside: colorful beaded jewelry from India that we would count, tag, and put into plastic bags; carved wooden masks that we would have to clean of mold with toothbrushes; cloth napkins in bags that we would label and check "one in ten." This volunteer work contributed to my basic recognition at a young age of global connectivity, cultural and linguistic diversity, and economic inequality, for which I was already greatly concerned. I experienced firsthand the work involved as being one part of a globally spanning network and the good feeling created through camaraderie with others. My grandmother's church group and I were all devoted to a joint task that, although sometimes tedious, connected us to those in poverty who had touched the same materials in what seemed far-off lands that most rural Pennsylvanians never dreamed they would visit. We devoted our energies together for the promise that the artisans were getting paid fairly and empowering themselves through their business and art.

During and after college, I obtained paid positions with Ten Thousand Villages in warehouse and customer-service roles. I began to formulate the idea for this project upon entering graduate school fresh from working as a Customer Service Representative for the e-commerce department. I had needed to know a good deal about fair trade to be able to answer customer questions and create a training manual, so I had extensive knowledge

about fair trade but I had never experienced it from the artisans' or distributors' points of view. This was the starting point in formulating my dissertation research.

As a doctoral student at Temple University, I conducted fieldwork in a fair-trade retail store in the suburbs of Philadelphia (Krug 2014). I investigated the extent to which fair-trade-specific discourses were used in stores by customers and staff members by recording customer–staff member interactions. I aimed to analyze talk that was directed at educating customers about the goals of fair trade, but found that there was surprisingly little of such talk. This finding seems to be at odds with the goals of fair-trade marketing, which often emphasizes its difference from conventionally traded products through romanticized images of producers (Varul 2008) as well as by predominantly displaying fair-trade certifications or principles. Talk in the store was much more often centered on aesthetics, price, and other matters common in any retail setting. This finding was reiterated in another project (Krug 2015), in which I analyzed mass-distributed emails I had archived from two fair-trade retailers. The emails, too, utilized discourses that were more sales-forward than educational or ethical. This research indicates, as scholars have pointed out (e.g. Brown 2013; Hudson and Hudson 2003; Lyon 2006b), that the mission and processes of fair trade, despite its goals for market transparency, continue to elude consumers, or perhaps remain less important to them than other product attributes.

Prior to beginning fieldwork with MA, I conducted research with handicrafts producers, some of whom sold to a fair-trade gallery without a certification, in the indigenous community of Boruca, Costa Rica in May and June, 2014. There, I attended Boruca language classes for adults, observed and recorded language and culture classes

in the elementary school, and interviewed community members, particularly artisans. I investigated the ways in which the severely endangered Boruca language was taught in the community and used emblematically with tourists despite a near-total absence of fluent speakers (as far as I know, one elderly man). This fieldwork helped me to understand the connections among artisans' need to find a market for traditional crafts, their performance of an endangered language in interactions with tourists, and a fair-trade gallery's buying of art from only the most talented few artisans in the community, which perhaps set them apart as *artists* for their skill and financial gain. This project allowed me to clarify my research questions and goals, ultimately leading me to realize that my interests lie in larger fair-trade handicrafts organizations with an international scope that contend with the challenges of certification and compliance with fair-trade principles.

The projects described above gave me background in research with handicrafts producers, indigenous languages, artisan involvement with foreign visitors, and the discourses of fair-trade retail settings, all of which has been applicable to my doctoral-dissertation research in Peru. My history with fair trade began about 30 years ago, and I have had experiences from the standpoint of a volunteer, warehouse employee, customer-service representative, engaged consumer, anthropologist working in retail and virtual settings, and with producers and distributors in three countries.

Before fieldwork, I was a fully proficient speaker of Spanish, in which I conducted the vast majority of my fieldwork, and I was generally well understood and happily accommodated in Peru. All of my interlocutors spoke Spanish either as a first or second language and it is the language in which I conducted all of my participant-

observation and interviews, except a few done in English with fair-trade store owners and employees in Cusco. Spanish is also the medium through which I studied Quechua in Peru. I took one-on-one Quechua-language instruction in the Cusco variety during my preliminary fieldwork in 2015 and throughout my 2017 fieldwork with my Lima-based instructor, Michael.[22] Before fieldwork, in Philadelphia, I studied with Américo Mendoza-Mori at the University of Pennsylvania. My one month of intensive language study in Cusco with Indira at the Wiracocha Spanish School built on this training and was the highest level of Quechua that I achieved, but my abilities were never advanced or fluid. I was, however, able to use the language conversationally, albeit slowly and carefully. Quechua was important to my fieldwork for building rapport and demonstrating seriousness and camaraderie with artisans. Beyond Quechua language instruction, Michael and Indira were also an important research assistants as we discussed Andean and Peruvian culture, prejudice and discrimination of Andean peoples, politics, current and historical events, Peru's education system, media, and gender roles and rights. I also searched for a Quechua-language university class to take, but these were not common and did not work out for timing, location, or other reasons. I also sought youth organizations working to revitalize the cultures and languages of their parents or grandparents but my search did not turn up an active organization in Lima. Despite often positive sentiments expressed about Quechua by speakers and non-speakers alike, it was not used by MA staff, not often spoken with artisans' children, and had very limited

[22] Quechua is in fact a language family with two major branches and more minor divergences within branches (Adelaar 2012). I studied the variety of Cusco which was not mutually intelligible (at least for me) with artisans I met in Huancayo in the region of Junín, although I witnessed conversations between two speakers for whom they *were* mutually intelligible.

public presence in Lima due to stigma against it and the people who were originally from outside of Lima. As will be discussed further in Chapter 3, Andean peoples and speakers of indigenous languages remain marginalized in Peru, despite an overall explicitly expressed pride in the country's "multiculturalism."

As a white woman in my early 30s from the U.S., in Peru I occupied prestige categories by means of my English-speaking ability and skin color, but my perceived youthfulness and gender conferred less authority. Especially being perceived to be as young as in my teens to some downplayed my authority, confidence, and ability to establish rapport as a respectable scholar. As an outsider to the organization, I was often ignored in the headquarters by those who visited, or was generally treated as though my business there was my own and others would continue to do theirs, unbothered. This was not helped, perhaps, by Yannina's common introduction of me as a "*voluntaria*" (volunteer) working on my "*maestría*" (master's degree).[23] Volunteers or students who are seeking experience for their master's occasionally do spend weeks or months with MA. Although no one carrying out these roles was present during my fieldwork, previous volunteers from the U.S. and Germany practiced their Spanish and learned about *artesanía* while doing much of the same collaborative work I did, such as writing artisans' biographical stories and updating photos. I often felt that my perceived youth and ascribed volunteer status undermined participants' recognition of my seriousness and

---

[23] Reputations for higher education in Peru are hit-or-miss; the prestigious universities are extremely difficult to get into, but other schools are considered a waste of time and money. Getting a masters in Peru seemed fairly common to me. For these reasons, mentioning a "*maestría*" in Peru, especially when not also including the name of a prestigious Lima university like San Marcos or Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP), does not, I felt, give someone a high reputation as it may in the U.S.

abilities to conduct this research. At the same time, being perceived as harmless surely allowed those with whom I worked to view me and my intentions as more trustworthy than may have been the case for another researcher, opening up meetings and topics of conversation that may otherwise not have been possible.

Meeting Artisans

I was able to meet artisans in MA's headquarters and by making phone calls using contact information I was provided. Meeting them in the headquarters was difficult, as most stayed only briefly to discuss with Clarice where on the shelves to put the products they were delivering according to which client order it was, or, infrequently, receive chastisements for sloppy work on a previous delivery's products. Family members or employees of main artisans would deliver products, too, and MA was a hub of activity for church members, family members, and other visitors; I would often be confused as to who I should pursue to discuss the project. Artisan involvement fluctuates, and the list of artisans I first received seemed incomplete. Throughout fieldwork, I came to understand some of the complexities in considering artisans to be "currently" working with MA. These included such changes as splitting cooperatives, artisans who were new to the organization but continued to make a parents' products, family members that used to work together now working separately, and spouses who worked with MA who were not listed. I thus had to learn which artisans had started working with the organization but had not yet been added to the lists, and which artisans stopped exporting with MA because they had rarely received orders, had quit *artesanía*, retired, or only worked with the company for tourism visits but did not export handicrafts. My fieldwork was also

impacted by not being able to visit some artisans due to their living in restricted and dangerous *pueblos jóvenes* (young towns) or *invasiones* (invasions) whose residents do not welcome visitors, especially those with cameras, because they occupy land that does not legally belong to them.

I did not find a sense of interconnection between artisans, except family members, and even between most of the artisans and organization staff as I had expected. Most of the artisans with whom MA worked, especially the ceramists, were Quechua-speaking migrants from Ayacucho or other regions. They had migrated to Lima or regional capitals due to the violence during the time of terrorism in Peru occurring in the 1980s and 1990s. This time period involved the uprising of *Sendero Luminoso,* a Maoist Communist group, and, additionally traumatic, the political unrest and government counter-insurgency that targeted Quechua-speaking peoples as suspected terrorists. The artisans with whom I spoke were affected by this time period in their losses of family members, often in brutally violent ways, fear, and disruption of tourism to Ayacucho which impacted their livelihoods. Spurred by these hardships, artisans migrated to Lima at that time, and some of the artisans are more recent migrants who have come due to economic possibility.

The artisans in Lima who I met worked out of their home workshops and often were acquainted, especially if they lived close together, but they were not necessarily friends or spent time together.[24] In some ways, artisans are in fact in competition with each other for client interest and orders, which may have impeded their interests to form

[24] Artisans who had worked with MA over the course of many years may have only established connections through biannual luncheons and training sessions that MA arranges. Artisans may also see each other through other exporters and at artisan fairs, other ways through which they showcase and sell their work.

personal connections. *Artesanía* was an individual and family pursuit; even the few artisan associations that MA had worked with seemed to tend to separate. Lima's sprawl covers a huge geographical area and public transportation is not sufficient, so unnecessary travel is impeded by costs of money and time. Artisans are required by MA to spend their own money for visiting the office to deliver products and pick up their *fallas*; a factor that contributed to their short and infrequent time spent there as well as needing to oversee production in their workshops. Artisans were not well integrated personally with the organization or each other, and I also remained somewhat peripherally involved. As Moeran (2006:119) explains, "total social immersion and intimacy have depended very much on the type of fieldwork being conducted." Working in a Japanese advertising agency and "rarely put[ting] in the long hours of overtime that were customary for [his] informants" (ibid.), Moeran felt that establishing a certain kind of intimacy and knowing about many aspects of their lives was only possible in "frame-based fieldwork"—the kind that can occur in a rural village where individuals live and work closely together. His and my fieldwork, on the other hand, was "network-based fieldwork," focusing on a particular site where participants spend only brief periods (ibid.).

Contributions

This research has already contributed to MA's daily operations, as I have updated artisan stories used by clients, taken photographs of artisans and their workshops for MA's files, completed WFTO annual paperwork and a questionnaire for internal use, attended the *Rueda de Negocios* in Yannina's place, and volunteered many hours in the packing room.

At the end of my fieldwork, I also presented findings from my analysis of the internal questionnaire to Yannina with the intention of improving MA's engagement with artisans, predominantly to pass on their desire for more training (*capacitación*). I shared pertinent information about the ways in which artisans, made anonymous, felt that their experience with the organization has or has not worked for them. At the beginning of my fieldwork, Yannina wanted to understand whether artisans need additional employment in order to make ends meet or whether the orders for products from MA have been sufficient to provide for their families. The report included both quantitative data from the questionnaires' Likert-scale and qualitative open-ended questions. I also offered suggestions for new products that I assumed could be successful based on my observations, discussions with fair traders, and understanding as an American of current aesthetics. It is my hope that the report will contribute to MA's continued success in upholding the principles of fair trade while giving them information that may help them grow. I hope, too, that my research will encourage consumers to support their efforts.

MA is a well-established organization, and many artisans and staff members, including the management, have worked with the organization throughout its entire 29-year history. The organization now faces the pressing need to innovate new products to reach consumers in the Global North and remain viable while also experiencing turnover as artisans they began working with are nearing retirement ages. Many of the artisans' children who have had access to secondary and post-secondary education have moved to urban centers such as Lima, where they have pursued professional careers, turning away from their parents' careers. Although this underscores the potential for fair trade to

provide adequate income for artisans and to enable them to pay school fees and tuition, it also potentially challenges the less strongly emphasized fair-trade goal of supporting maintenance of cultural practices and artisanal techniques. In this time of transition, post-global economic recession, MA provided a setting for this research from which I could explore how staff members could uphold fair trade's guiding principles more effectively and to understand how their compliance influences the perception of traditional artisanal techniques and designs. This dissertation brings together artisans', clients', and staff members' interests and their roles in fair-trade implementation to make the assertion that fair-trade principles can create contradictions in practice and that fair trade does not go far enough to achieve its purported goals. As fair trade translates traditions and artisanal skills from Peru to the Global North, product attributes are lost; missing translation between international visitors and artisans also leads to uncommunicated information and their encounters benefit Northern visitors over Southern artisans. By using a detailed linguistic anthropological approach to fair-trade discourses, I have been able to analyze fair-trade implementation from a key, central position to understand how "doing" fair trade in small-scale encounters impacts participants' lives and work.

Overviews of Chapters

In this dissertation, I consider fair trade from a linguistic anthropological perspective; this approach has never been taken toward fair-trade ethnographic research. Much of the work on fair trade and ethical consumerism in general has been conducted by sociologists, cultural anthropologists, economists, and market researchers. I will add a linguistic anthropological viewpoint to this literature, which will allow for a more

nuanced understanding of how language functions within ethical economic systems. The chapters of this dissertation that focus most closely on the language-in-use of MA demonstrate the ways that translation practices further North–South divides, encourage positive affect but not artisan access to information, and how products are innovated using discourses of desirable product traits. I explore how Andean migrant artisans have experienced discrimination in their lives and what they indicate that fair trade has done, or not done, to support their cultural and linguistic maintenance.

In the next chapter, I will elaborate on fair trade's history, critiques, contemporary challenges, and purported principles broadly as well as incorporate data from Peru's context more specifically. The chapter gives initial context to the assertions of this dissertation such as how fair trade does not go far enough to radically push against capitalism, neoliberalism, commodity fetishism, or developmentalism as the movement was first established to do. In the next chapter, I set my discussion in motion that will be further explicated by examples in later chapters that fair trade continues the problems of capitalism in other contexts and thus, despite being an improvement over conventional trade, is not paradigm shifting.

In Chapter 3, I focus on the challenges artisans who work with MA have experienced including economic hardship, discrimination, fear of violence, and migration. I explore their experiences with working in fair trade and in *artesanía*, and how they assert different aspects of their identities (e.g. as Quechua-speakers, businesspeople, urban dwellers, and Andean migrants) to varying degrees in relation to the context with which they are engaging. I give voice to artisans' experiences of

discrimination, predominantly during the years of terrorism in which many were forced to migrate from the mountainous regions to Lima. The chapter demonstrates that fair trade does not do enough to allow artisans to have an easy life, but it allows for opportunities for their children, who typically pursue non-artisanal careers and with whom artisans have frequently not communicated in Quechua.

Chapter 4 delves more deeply into the encounters between international clients and Peruvian artisans that influence how artisans' identities are perceived and commodified as well as the way that their biographical stories are co-constructed with MA's marketing manager, Yannina. Through participants' orientation to client–artisan encounters as performances for clients' benefits that celebrate and (re)create fair trade, artisans are kept from the product-development and complimentary discourses used by clients that are not translated into Spanish by Yannina. I assert that her translations could be more transparent which would contribute to artisans learning more about the clients and consumers to whom they sell handicrafts.

In the last linguistic analytic chapter, Chapter 5, I explore product-development discourses between clients, Yannina, and sometimes artisans. Products are imbued with the characteristics of "Peruvianness," "tradition," and "authenticity," among others, and I attest that those involved with fair trade make use of these various characteristics, and their own interpretations of them, to ensure that they uphold fair-trade principles despite it being in contradictory ways. Competition and innovation necessitate knowing market trends of which artisans are often not well informed. The discourses around product

development and the complexity of the process draws into question the "radicalness" of fair trade and its potential to make change in the globalized economy.

Finally, my concluding chapter elucidates my assertion that fair trade is largely a cleaned-up version of conventional trade; much is still needed to reduce the problems in the fair-trade network. I consider fair trade as colonial legacy, and the future implications of fair-trade mainstreaming and negotiation of principles' meanings on sustainability—for the movement, the market, the organization, and the cultures, traditions, and languages of artisans. Ultimately, I suggest that although the global economy shows indications of a more ethical bent, capitalistic practices, even the offshoot "ethical" pieces of it like fair trade, are not sustainable, and will not solve the human and environmental challenges we currently face.

CHAPTER 2
FAIR-TRADE HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION AND CONTEMPORARY DEBATES

I spoke with a young North American woman named Joanna, who volunteered with Threads of Peru, a fair-trade textile company in Cusco.[25] In our conversation there, surrounded by handcrafted examples of their products, she and I considered the connections between the conventional and fair-trade markets, the influence of competition, and the potential of fair trade to continue or expand in the future. It is not possible to discuss fair trade without also discussing conventional trade, as the markets are interrelated and consumers purchase from both, sometimes indiscriminately. Recognizing that consumers' lack of knowledge is of paramount importance, Joanna explained her goals as foremost about education; she connected this mission to the interest that consumers have in ethical consumption venues:

> We try to change people's understanding and habits through the information that we put out on our website and other things. But that's so- it's really hard. And it's slow. I don't know how effective it is really but we kind of do what we can do and that's- and that's it. But and I don't know, I mean, like I said I already feel like there's some momentum there for people who want this kind of thing. People like handmade, people want fair trade, or people want, you know, so called sustainable or ethical and so you know, the more that that- the more that that grows, the better, the more like- the more people become aware of things and interested, the better it would be for everybody.

Here, Joanna connects consumers' lacking information with their well-intentioned interest in ethical products. Both of these important aspects of fair trade focus on the consumers—the key drivers of fair-trade demand, product development, principle compliance, and the reasons for certification. In this chapter, I analyze in greater detail

[25] Threads of Peru is the organization's real name, used with permission.

concepts introduced in the first chapter such as transparency, mainstreaming, and fair prices, ultimately to assert that fair trade is a somewhat “ethicalized” version of conventional trade and, as a capitalist endeavor, it cannot fully achieve its proposed original mission as a movement because of its position within the global market.

The “alternative” market system of fair trade works within the same neoliberal economy which it ostensibly seeks, or at least at one point sought, to undermine (Besky 2010; Fridell 2007b; Jaffee 2007, Moberg and Lyon 2010). Fair trade and free trade are thus “compatible” (Fridell 2014) and fair trade is no longer radical or progressive. Firmly embedded in global capitalism, elements of which the movement originally aspired to challenge, fair-trade networks are too complex to clearly convey much information to consumers about the products’ origins or producers’ conditions. Because of the confusion created by fair-trade products’ need to compete with increasing numbers of both “ethical” and conventionally traded products, fair trade has to overcome substantial hurdles in order to be able to educate consumers as to what they are purchasing and to clearly describe products’ trajectories. Thus, the “social life of things” (Appadurai 1986) continues to be obscured in fair trade as is true of conventional trade. As researchers’ critiques demonstrate, fair trade has been shown to have little ability to allow producers to completely overcome poverty, although involvement in fair trade does provide modest gains and social benefits (Barham and Weber 2012; DeCarlo 2005, 2007; Fridell 2014; Grimes 2005; Grimes and Milgram 2000a; Hudson et al. 2013; LeClair 2002; Littrell and Dickson 2010; Lyon 2006a, 2007; Moberg 2010; Raynolds and Bennett 2015; Ruben et

al. 2009).[26] For handicrafts producers, fair trade provides a market to which artisans may otherwise not have had access, and provides capacity-building training. For agricultural producers, fair trade offers a stable price guarantee in times of crisis, and a social premium that can be used for community-wide development projects. Fair-trade implementation additionally requires manipulation and flexible interpretations of the guiding principles to make ethicality work within capitalist constraints. Throughout the dissertation, I describe the strategies that fair-trade artisans, staff, and clients use to negotiate their compliance with fair-trade principles.

In this chapter, I lay out the reasoning that fair trade's certification systems, like other ethical consumerism labeling schemes, are meant to confer quality, ethical social practices, and high environmental production standards to consumers. However, certification systems obscure real experiences of producers and supply-chain trajectories, and continue the dependence of the Global South on the North. Despite a push for all trade to become more ethical and transparent, the fair-trade network, meanwhile, has expanded to include corporate involvement which many devotees to fair trade's original purpose and values have opposed. "Ethical" and "conventional" trade seem to be converging in a mediocre middle ground that will not "save" producers from poor earnings and conditions, environmental or human exploitation, lacking transparency in the commodity chains, or any of the problems that the original fair-trade movement sought to overcome. I agree with Marston (2013:167) when she writes, "Instead of radically reconfiguring the market, Fair Trade is drifting towards a slightly more socially

[26] Stoddart (2011:134), on the other hand, makes the uncited claim that 600 million people have gotten out of poverty through fair trade.

conscious version of the dominant trade system, from which it is distinguished only by a label and a higher price tag," and the latter condition is changing due to fair trade going mainstream. "Trade," in other words, has won over "fair."

To begin to get a handle on the complexities involved in fair-trade network connections, I first give a brief history of the movement and its conversion into a mainstreamed, or "market-driven" network (Fridell 2007a). I give an overview of fair trade in Peru and Manos Amigas' connections to other fair-trade distributors and to their certifying organization, the WFTO, as well as describe the auditing process they have undergone. I do this to bring my own assertions into conversation with scholars who have considered the auditing process as coming from neoliberal and Northern ideals, which ultimately work to encourage dominance over the South. As the chapter continues, I describe the process of mainstreaming, consider levels of transparency within fair-trade commodity networks, and discuss the ways in which artisans deal with infrequent orders. All of this contributes to the overarching assertion that fair trade does not do as much as it was created to do, nor *can* it since the challenges are also present within conventional trade, as they are inherent to capitalism. This is to say, capital can never *be* totally fair, whether products are certified as such or not. Capital "has been deepening income inequalities and poverty in order to sustain itself" (Harvey 2014:176; 2010).

Fair Trade's Origins

According to Ten Thousand Villages, U.S. (n.d.-b), a project of Mennonite Central Committee until 2012, a Mennonite woman named Edna Ruth Byler, struck by the poverty she saw during a trip to Puerto Rico with her husband, an MCC administrator, in

the 1940s, bought a large amount of handicrafts and began selling them in the United States out of her car's trunk (Hudson et al. 2013:28).[27] It was in this way that fair trade began and became official when MCC established SELFHELP Crafts of the World, later to become Ten Thousand Villages in 1996 (Low and Davenport 2005b). Serrv International, (originally an acronym of "Sales Exchange for Refugee Rehabilitation and Vocation") was another early adopter of fair trade's ideology from a religious standpoint; that organization started their work in 1949 and Oxfam, also with religious origins, began selling handicrafts around the same time (Low and Davenport 2005b; Moberg and Lyon 2010).

In the early years of fair trade, including "solidarity" coffee, one needed to be personally connected to someone who could obtain the products, and they were purchased "largely as an act of charity," often despite their low quality at the time (Hudson et al. 2013:30; Smith 2010).[28] Charitable World Shops became popular in Europe in the 1950s, but the boom of popularity for fair trade occurred in the 1970s and 1980s as Alternative Trade Organizations (ATOs), still being led by SELFHELP and SERRV, got their start and gained sales momentum (Jaffee 2007; Low and Davenport 2005b). Handicraft sales slowed by the end of the 1980s, as fair trade became more associated with food commodities when they were first certified and promoted in

---

[27] These authors incorrectly claim Ms. Byler was from Akron, Ohio instead of Akron, Pennsylvania.

[28] Quality of fair-trade coffee used to be poor. Maintaining good quality remains a concern today so that producers can differentiate themselves from that past. A product should not look "too" fair, then, in advertising or packaging so as to avoid the association with poor-quality coffee of the past (Goodman and Herman 2015:144).

supermarkets (Low and Davenport 2005b; Moberg and Lyon 2010). Always a miniscule portion of overall global trade, fair trade had an upswing in the 1990s. The coffee crisis hit in 2001 and prices reached record lows by a few years later, falling from $1.20 per pound to between $.45 and $.75, leading to bankruptcy, hunger, and migrations (Bacon 2005; Fridell 2006; Smith 2010). In the face of these low prices, fair trade offered a stable and better-paying market for coffee producers. By 2007, Murray and Raynolds (2007:8) reported broad growth and fair-trade sales topping $1.6 billion globally. Moberg (2016:681) explains that fair-trade growth recently has been due to expansion into new markets, but that for the first time, the market fell in Britain and that it is saturated with goods which reduces their demand. Murray et al. (2006:180) echo this, having predicted that sales would reach a "ceiling" in the North American market "at some point."

"Alternative" to "Fair"

Fair trade worked through religious groups and as a political movement until 1988, when the first labeling scheme for coffee, called Max Havelaar, began to certify coffee. Certifying was a major factor that moved "alternative" trade toward "fair" trade (Low and Davenport 2005b, 2006). As fair trade became more associated with a fair price than with progressive politics, and the distribution of certified products grew large enough to break from its religious and political origins, large-scale retailers and certification organizations rebranded to drop the "alternative" and make their companies more universally appealing. SELFHELP Crafts became Ten Thousand Villages, SERRV discontinued use of the full name behind the acronym to become Serrv International, and the International Federation for Alternative Trade (IFAT) became the International Fair

Trade Association (later to change its name once again to the World Fair Trade Organization, WFTO) (Low and Davenport 2005b). "Fair" appealed more to consumers than "alternative," and the more inclusive name change shifted focus away from political solidarity with producers to favor instead the prices of products (ibid.). The inception of the Max Havelaar certification scheme "was also the point at which the movement's center of gravity shifted away from crafts toward agricultural products" (Jaffee 2007:13).

Other fair-trade certifications cropped up and later consolidated in the 1990s, but the current fair-trade era has shifted further from the radical "alternative" origins to become increasingly mainstreamed. Products are now marketed more for their qualities than the ethical production processes behind them. Instead of "consumer-citizens," who exercised a political choice by purchasing fair-trade goods spurred by the connections they felt to producers, consumers have become corporate-citizens who may not even have a choice when buying fair trade nor realize when they are doing so, as these products have become common on supermarket shelves (Goodman and Herman 2015). This expansion has led to fair trade, specifically Fairtrade International (also called Fair Trade Labelling Organization, FLO), now certifying a great variety of products. These include coffee, tea, wine, cocoa, sugar, honey, cooking oils, nuts, herbs, spices, fresh fruits and vegetables (of which bananas are especially important), dried fruits, rice, flowers, cotton, quinoa, handicrafts, and sports balls (Hudson et al. 2013:34; Murray and Raynolds 2007:9). Although some of the growth of the fair-trade market is related to the diversification of offered products and increased consumer attention, much of the growth comes through the involvement of large-scale corporations (Raynolds and Long 2007).

This is a controversial practice called mainstreaming that will be discussed in more detail in a later section of this chapter. Clearly the history of fair trade demonstrates that it is not a homogeneous movement. It has become increasingly diverse and diffuse over time, too, as differences of opinion on what fair trade should be proliferate.[29]

Fair Trade in Peru

Fair trade grew in Peru starting in the late 1970s with handicrafts and church organizations (Romero Reyes 2009). Allpa—a similar organization to Manos Amigas albeit larger—opened its doors in 1982 and experienced sizable growth from 1986 to 1991 (Caselli et al. 2006). Perhaps related to their slower growth after these years, Manos Amigas was founded in 1991. The first fair-trade certified Peruvian product was coffee, but mangos, honey, chocolate, sugar, bananas, and Andean cereals have since been added and 50,000 families worked with fair-trade markets when Caselli et al. (2006) reported. The worldwide recession started to be felt in 2008 (Romero Reyes 2009) and has caused Peruvian fair-trade organizations to experience financial difficulty with smaller orders from clients, leading to some having to close down. Minka Fair Trade was one such organization, founded in 1978. Minka's mission was based on the Andean concept also called minka referring to reciprocal collective labor (Cotera Fretel 2009). This organization was founded by four *campesino* (peasant) communities for their own and future generations' benefits (Caselli et al. 2006). Much of Minka Fair Trade's sales were local and nation-wide in Peru and only five percent of sales were through exports (ibid.:62). Minka's fairly recent disbandment left artisans without connections to

[29] More thorough historical overviews of fair trade can be found in many of the sources cited in this dissertation.

exporters or orders so Manos Amigas took over many of their relationships with artisans and clients.[30]

Although fair trade in Latin America experienced growth from 2001 to 2008, this was concentrated, as much of commerce is, on the cities of the coastal regions, especially Lima (Romero Reyes 2009). The Latin American branch of the WFTO now has 59 member organizations, 16 of which are in Peru (WFTO n.d.-c). Only one Peruvian exporter works in coffee and one other exports food products. The rest are handicrafts and textile producers, predominantly working with alpaca wool (ibid.). The WFTO, as an international certification organization based in the Netherlands, makes use of regional-level meetings to communicate more localized concerns, while their worldwide Biennial Conference aims to spread the fair-trade mission, energize member organizations, and work out problems. Yannina told me that:

> *La reunión es más para ponerse de acuerdo entre exportador e importador y sacar mejores conclusiones y mejorar lo que es WFTO. ¿Cómo podemos mejorar al nivel mundial nuestra organización y ser más fuerte? ¿Cómo guerrear contra la pobreza? […] ¡Misión, todo! ¡Misión! ¡Misión! Qué futuro tiene esa organización. ¡No están pensando en ese momento en comprar!*
>
> The meeting is more about coming to an agreement between exporter and importer and forming the best conclusions in improving the WFTO. How can we improve our organization at the global level and be stronger? How do we fight against poverty? […] Mission, everything! Mission! Mission! What future does that organization have. They aren't thinking in that moment about buying!

---

[30] Minka's disbanding occurred between 2011 (when their website stopped being updated) and 2014 (Mosaic 2014). Even though they were out of business for at least three years before my fieldwork, MA staff discussed these partnerships as new and in transition.

As Yannina recounted this information a few weeks before she set off for the conference, she seemed somewhat distraught that sales were not more at the forefront of what she could expect from attending the conference. Dwelling on what the conference is and is not, she referenced that it is geared in a lot of ways toward people and organizations new to fair trade as there are always workshops to help newcomers learn what to expect as they prepare for their audits and to explain the messages of fair trade. Northern clients also benefit from discussing the theoretical, or "mission," aspects of fair trade because they can brainstorm ways to compete in the markets, educate consumers, and make more sales. Yannina's frustration about the conference is perhaps indicative of a challenge in fair trade. Despite explicit aims to empower producers and organizations of the Global South, fair trade is based on and perpetuates the priorities and values of the Global North such as consumer tastes, Western business practices, and high, consistent product quality. As a distributor from the Global South, Yannina had to pay her own (very expensive) way to attend and present at the conference in India. The conference represents an area in which fair trade may be better able to support producers from the Global South and their organizations, and to bring them more fully into the conversation about fair-trade mission and implementation. Producers' voices, as will be explored in this dissertation, are quieted through fair-trade implementation and the WFTO conference represents a potential area for improvement and inclusion. Furthermore, fair-trade mission-driven discourses and conferences take place in dominant world languages; Yannina had the added pressure of presenting about her experiences in English.

During my fieldwork, I attended two meetings of the WFTO with Peruvian representatives and one for the Latin American region. Yannina and some of the other representatives from Lima-based companies got together to attend the web conference from the same physical space and allowed me to listen in and take notes. I also attended a smaller meeting with only Peruvian representatives centered on a presentation from a Peruvian government representative about an opportunity for funding to travel to the aforementioned WFTO Biennial Conference in Delhi. As a globally reaching certification body, the WFTO hierarchical structure helps to distribute information from the top in the Global North (the certifying organization based in the Netherlands) to regional (Latin American) and national (Peruvian representatives) levels, where the responsibilities of implementing the fair-trade principles fall. Despite the fair-trade reduction of intermediaries in some, not all, supply chains, fair trade brings in additional participants in the form of the fair-trade certifying organization.[31] Although not an economic intermediary that requires payment, the communicative intermediaries add to the potential for confusion as information flows globally. As Brown (2013:12) explains, "In essence, the exploitative middleman has been replaced by the do-gooder middleman." This intermediary, too, creates additional work for distributing and producer organizations to maintain updated records for biennial peer reviews, and continuously

[31] Agricultural products tend to have short supply chains due to the need for efficiency to reduce rot and wastage, although the less perishable commodities like coffee and cocoa are shipped from small producers to larger ones for export in larger quantities (Raynolds 2004). As Shreck (2002) explains, fair-trade banana commodity chains follow similar patterns to conventionally traded bananas and are not shorter, but Moberg's (2010) St. Lucian participants shipped bananas from the same fields with various labels, both fair-trade and not. Smith (2010), though, states that specialty and fair-trade coffees have shorter commodity chains because importers roast green coffee themselves and purchase directly from producers.

works to ensure artisan compliance with the most updated forms of the WFTO's Principles and Northern bureaucracy. Some of this work—filling in the WFTO annual paperwork with artisans—ended up, in the case of Manos Amigas, falling to myself and a temporary employee before me. This brings up questions of accountability since I am a cultural outsider to Peru and the temporary employee did not have a long history of working within fair-trade organizations.

To Seek Certification, or Not?

There are a variety of responses to the question posed above for (mostly Northern) importers and vendors, and Southern exporting organizations like MA. In our discussion of the WFTO conference, Yannina explains,

> *Muchos piensan que el el- ser miembros de de comercio justo te abre muchas oportunidades para conseguir clientes. Pero no es así […] te va contra un- una pared porque que pasa, eh, un ejemplo. [Un importador] ya trabaja con Allpa, trabaja con Manos Amigas, e Intercraft. Entonces, ellos ya no quieren otro exportador. Porque ya estos tres ya les suplen suficiente.*
>
> Many think that the the- being members of of fair trade is going to open up many opportunities for you to get clients. But that's not so […] you're up against a- a wall because what happens, eh, an example. [An importer] already works with Allpa, they work with Manos Amigas, and Intercrafts. So, they don't want another exporter. Because those three already supply enough.

Importers in North America and Europe cannot always enter into new buying relationships, if doing so would spread their resources too thin across exporters. Yannina explained that, in spite of the conference not being for sales, she would still participate in the exposition with a table to display handicrafts, but these would not lead to large orders. She would connect with her clients who might see something new that they may order

later, or she may sell one item at a time as souvenirs of the conference to attendees. The conference, despite its high costs of attendance for producer organizations, is for "misión" (mission) and connection. Although fair-trade importers in the Global North may have the funds and interest to attend a conference with the predominant goals of discussing theoretical issues, exporters in the Global South may be disinterested in attending, because creating new purchasing relationships and making direct sales are not made priorities.

Organizations can be identified as fair trade without being certified as such and the reasons for doing so are numerous. In the city of Cusco, I spoke with representatives from three such organizations as well as one small-scale store with certified products. The three uncertified organizations upheld fair-trade standards and marketed themselves as fair trade, but remained unofficial and without a label, thus saving time with the bureaucratic steps, payments, and stress of auditing for certification. Rob, originally from the United Kingdom, is the founder of one of these non-certified fair-trade organizations, Artesanía de Alegría. He said that he has not looked into getting certified, but seems to be deterred in part by his knowledge that there is "money involved." Continuing, he said:

> I don't think I need to prove myself, I'm so confident what we're doing's the right thing. Feedback I get is all good. I don't think at the moment there's any need to go along this route of being official fair trade. It's completely transparent, every project, everything we do is (   ). People can ask anything they want and I can tell them the truth.

Rob knows producers of some indigenous groups personally, but he prefers to work through associations for those who live more remotely, which improves communication and cultural translation when he is not able to spend much time with

them himself to build rapport. He hopes in the future, though, to visit each of the six groups with whom he purchases and spend one month in each locale to make shareable films for the company website and YouTube about artisanal practices, language use, and cultural meanings of the art they produce. The Artesanía de Alegría gallery in Cusco holds events, educates the public about the tribes and their art through their store signs, and elevates one-of-a-kind indigenous art purchased directly from its creators. For Rob, the sales are not the reason for his work. Instead, he values his opportunity to share knowledge of these groups (mostly with tourists), and to provide means for them to maintain their livelihoods, cultures, and languages, and not have to move to cities, which he says most do not want to do. Fair trade should not be about certification, according to Rob. He upholds high moral standards which he described to me as, "Really simple: buy art, fair price, pay upfront." "I don't know if that's the right definition of fair trade," he told me, "but that's how I see it."

Joanna, the volunteer from Threads of Peru introduced at the beginning of this chapter, felt similarly about official certifications, stating:

> Certifications are good um for- what's the word. For consumer confidence? So if it's something, if it's a known trademark or certification mark, then it's helpful to have it because consumers will see that and be like 'oh, I know what that is and I know that that means it's trustworthy' so that's a big (help). Especially if they're comparing two things that are um you know that maybe they both say that they're natural? Or whatever, but one's certified, some people will choose that one over the other because they feel like someone's been there and like confirmed that that's the way it is.

In referencing how consumers may feel more comfortable buying from a certified fair-trade company, one where "someone's been there" to audit fair practices, Joanna

eludes to a major concern that mission-driven participants have about the current trajectory of fair trade. They feel that the surveillance of Southern producers by Northern-based certification organizations using Northern standards of "fairness" are paternalistic and neoliberal.

The Auditing Process

As demonstrated by the cases of Artesanía de Alegría and Threads of Peru, there is potential for fair-trade ethics to be maintained without certification. The symbolic value of a label still appeals, however, to those organizations who seek to capitalize and better compete with conventional products by making their ethical treatment of producers well known. In order to be able to use their own label, organizations must undergo an audit for the WFTO or other certifying organization to verify ethical comportment to their standards. Auditing has been criticized as a neoliberal requirement that reduces complexity in ethical trade to homogeneous standards created in the Global North, reducing morality to a "*Northern* morality" (Luetchford 2012:61, my emphasis), and allowing for buyers to surveil and regulate producers (Dolan 2010b:39). These "universal" ethics use "a neoliberal form of indirect rule" to continue the assertion of dominance from developed countries over developing ones, as does conventional trade (ibid.:39). Hussey and Curnow (2016: sec. 3, para. 4) consider auditing as an element of the "neocolonial worldview" that replaces solidarity and trust with belief in an unbiased, "objective" auditor.

Fairness is ultimately culturally constructed and contextual (Luetchford 2005; Suranovic 2015) and the certification standards set in the North can be difficult to

maintain under conditions in which Southern producers live (Moberg 2010; Raynolds 2004). What counts as "ethical" in Peru will be different from those practices taken for granted in Europe or the United States with the same description.[32] For example, a Northern consumer would most likely be horrified to discover if a ten-year-old would work full time, but if this were a choice between attending school or helping to make money so the family can eat, forbidding children from working is not a straightforwardly fair or ethical one. Fair trade, though, necessitates that children have time to go to school, complete their schoolwork, and play. Play can involve being in the workshop, and mimicking or practicing the artisanal practices they see their parents performing. Older children may work a few hours a day or on the weekend, especially when the family has a large or urgent order to fill, but this cannot be forced labor. Many of the ceramists I worked with encouraged neighborhood children to play with the clay after school or on the weekends with the goal of keeping them off the streets, providing some training in a trade, and building community. The age of full employment in Peru is 18 and before that time, fair-trade companies cannot employ them full-time even in dire circumstances such as to cover the wages of a sick parent. Without having the option of safe employment, though, children may work in informal sectors; selling candies on public buses, busking on the street, or other informal or even illicit activities to make money.[33] Within the

---

[32] These are the kinds of considerations that are potentially problematic in my completion of WFTO paperwork, despite my training for an afternoon, observations of these meetings in 2015 fieldwork, and familiarity with fair trade.

[33] I noticed many more children working in the streets in these ways during my preliminary fieldwork in 2015 than in long-term fieldwork in 2017. Technically, minimum age for work is 14 and for hazardous work is 18 (Bureau of International Labor Affairs n.d.), but I was told to ask

constraints of the certifying organizations' Northern morality, complications like these are further reason that fair-trade implementation requires flexibility and case-by-case interpretation of the principles for the appropriate kinds of "fairness."[34]

Auditing may do the opposite of its supposed goal which is to improve transparency and accountability in the fair-trade network. For example, Dolan (2010b) contends that because audits are planned in advance, they could allow for changes in behavior that could hide unethical treatments of workers or child labor.[35] A fair-trade distributor would be hard pressed to know each relationship and all the ways that products arrive to the organization headquarters, even though they live in the same country, so an auditor just visiting for a day or two would certainly not understand all of the complexities. Poor labor conditions could potentially be hidden from auditors because some workers, especially women with children, work from home, and artisans may also outsource their orders to family members in other regions or subcontract other artisans. Another unexpected source of labor for at least one artisan I met was to employ women at the nearby prison in exchange for soaps, toilet paper, feminine hygiene products, and other necessities because they were not provided by the prison.[36] Labor practices are

---

artisans if children were over 18 because no one younger should be employed full-time in workshops.

[34] Grimes (2005) finds this flexibility to be a strength of fair trade. She purports the converse claim to Luetchford (2012) and Dolan (2010b), that it is *not* a one-sized-fits-all approach to poverty reduction.

[35] Yannina told me and client visitors to be suspicious of empty chairs, especially small ones, in workshops, as perhaps child workers were told to stay home on the days of visits and audits.

[36] Family members would need to provide these items to prisoners as well as any food beyond very meager and undesirable meals and even a mattress (because only a concrete slab is provided), I was told.

therefore complex even at the local level, and exporters cannot ensure that all of these exchanges are carried out ethically, if they are even aware of them occurring. Furthermore, although in handicrafts it is most common for the importers to be certified and incur these costs. For food systems, producer groups pay for the certifications which can be prohibitively expensive; they very often cannot make use of the certification to its highest capacity because they must sell a large percentage of their crops through conventional-trade channels due to inability to find buyers at the higher fair-trade prices or stringent requirements for exportation (Bacon 2005; Berlan 2012; Brown 2013; Fridell 2014; Moberg 2010; Shreck 2002; Ziegler 2010). Poor treatment like paying workers late or very little, or not keeping track of hours (or products completed if they are paid *por destajo*, by the piece) would not be highly apparent for auditors while visiting workshops, either.

Much of what I observed during my fieldwork drew into question the need for the auditing process and certification in mission-driven businesses as they can be quite successful and ethical without the symbolic capital of a label. Yannina and representatives of other fair-trade organizations in Peru were put off by the costs for certification and I heard that these costs would be US$2000 each year for MA, an anxiety-inducing sum.[37] Raynolds (2004:738-9), exploring this challenge in "agro-food"

[37] Now, WFTO membership fees are based on yearly sales. The base annual membership fee in 2019 was 400 Euros, roughly equal to US$448 at the time of writing plus ".003 x turnover" if an organization makes more than 135,000 Euros a year. Membership to the Latin American regional branch costs 50 Euros (WFTO 2019). With a base, then of $448 (conversion rates may have differed since fieldwork), MA's "turnover," or net sales, would have to be $517,333 to make up the difference of their fee totaling $2000/year. I am unable to verify MA's annual net sales figures. I was not granted access to that number nor sales orders, despite claims to fair-trade

markets including organic and fair-trade, suggests that "barriers to entry […] should be reduced by shifting certification costs downstream and empowering local producers to fulfill monitoring tasks." Uncertified fair-trade organizations often weigh the pros with the cons about the time and effort for bureaucratic forms and audits, and money needed for certification fees. These can disallow producers who are in the most severe need to be unable to participate in "official" or certified fair trade (Marston 2013), but certification may not be worth the cost.

Karla, a North American employee of a different Cusco-based textile organization, Hecho con Cariño, puts it this way:

> We do not have a fair-trade certificate. Why. We have tried to apply for it, and it's just been too bureaucratic. It's just too much of a pain in the butt to go through all of the process of getting the fair-trade certificate. And, we'd rather spend our time and resources doing something else than going through that process!

The application paperwork for fair-trade certification is extensive and off-putting. Yannina explained, "No sabíamos que tan engorroso era todos los trámites" (We didn't know how tricky all the formalities would be), but the audit itself was not as rigorous as the MA staff expected. Yannina, having the utmost confidence in her knowledge of fair trade and MA's compliance, bypassed the optional initial peer review and called for the full audit, which occurred the year before my fieldwork. The auditor, according to MA staff, was poorly prepared, and he only superficially glanced through the binder that Sam had painstakingly compiled which included artisans' biographical stories, workshop locations and directions, payment information, safety of the workshops, other

---

tourists of open sharing when requested. Smith (2007) also cites the cost as $2000. Changes to WFTO structure may have changed the cost for MA in recent years.

organizations who export their products, and signed forms of fair-trade principles. Instead, the auditor requested to know which workshops had the highest sales and visited only the six top-earning artisans as exemplars to validate all of the artisans' ethical values. Due to these artisans' high incomes, they could more easily pay for safety equipment, pay workers fairly, and hire enough of-age workers, so by visiting only the well-earning workshops, the auditor would not have uncovered problems if they existed. Visiting only the top earners would not give a representative view of MA's artisan partners, nor does it seem to compute with fair-trade principles encouraging help for marginalized producers. Noncompliance throughout the product-distribution network from different geographical regions, artisanal products, demographics of artisans, or years working with the organization mattered less to the auditor than their incomes. Having passed their audit though, MA is now certified as a "Guaranteed Member" by the WFTO and will incur, as others of their status, a Peer Visit with paperwork overview every two years and a full Monitoring Audit every four years (WFTO n.d.-b).

Despite their certification, MA is unable to use their label because their clients have their own labels that they use for the ordered products to be distributed into their stores in the Global North. Yannina explains:

> *Y hemos logrado aprobar a esta auditoría, pero sinceramente ninguno de nuestros clientes nos permite usar esa etiqueta. ¡Ninguno! Hasta ahora no estamos usando la etiqueta porque ninguno lo está pidiendo […] Porque ¡cada uno tiene su etiqueta!*
>
> And we had just accomplished being approved for this audit but sincerely none of our clients allow us to use that label. Not one! Up until now we aren't using the label because no one is asking for it […] because every one [of the clients] has their own label!

Since clients also have fair-trade certifications and as such have their own labels that they send to Peru for MA to attach to the products they order (see left and middle photos in Illustration 4 below), MA may have paid for their certification unnecessarily (their own tag is on the right below). Yannina is considering letting MA's certification lapse for this reason, but is unsure how her clients would react (even though they are mostly certified themselves), especially considering that one client encouraged them to get certified in the first place. Up until certification, though, MA had worked with fair-trade certified importers without issue and have been affiliated with the WFTO since 1999. This discussion challenges the validity of and need for certification for producer organizations, and alludes to a potential over-certification of the fair-trade network.

Illustration 4: Two of MA's Clients' Labels and MA's Own Label (Photos by Author).

When organizations are large enough to be able to afford certification, they may also be less ethical (sustainable, transparent, well-paying, etc.) due to their size and scope. Small organizations can raise awareness and know their workers personally, as they work to "shorten the 'distance' between producer and consumer" (Fridell 2007a:92).

As Joanna of Threads of Peru, continuing from the moment quoted above, explains,

> But on the other hand, certifications are so expensive that it's really out of the reach for a lot of small organizations and it's the small organizations that are the most already doing whatever it is - like the most fair trade or the most like eco- whatever they're after? It's when you get to that certain level that you lose that direct connection with your producers or- or- or whatever that you need someone to oversee what you're doing to make sure you're complying? But someone who's small like they're kind of doing internal compliance already because, in a way, but communicating that to the customer, again, is hard and the only thing that we can do like again is show as much as we can like how directly involved we are with people ((chuckles)) so that they know that we're not- uh or that we're being really honest and forthright about what we do and who we work with and how, that we don't maybe need the certification, like that's the idea. That people would feel like it wouldn't add to anything because they can already see how closely we work with or closely related we are or whatever. Because certifications are way too expensive for us ((chuckles)). For sure.

Beyond costs, the bureaucratic labor is a barrier. Joanna continues,

> Small organizations don't have time to do that kind of work. Don't have the manpower to do that. So, it's really difficult. Again, I feel like it's set up for the bigger organizations who already can compete better than small ones. ((laughing))

Discounting herself since she is a volunteer, Joanna tells me that Threads of Peru has "one and a half" employees, a number that would make the fair-trade certification requirements very hard to achieve and maintain.

MA is well-positioned to maintain a fair-trade certification from the standpoint of their ethical practices. But, with five permanent employees and limited capacity, the benefits of retaining the certification have to be weighed against the expenses and potential to lose some clients' and consumers' trust without it. Because MA's clients utilize their own fair-trade label, this decision is even more difficult.

Mainstreaming, Commodity Fetishism, and the Certification Revolution

Consumers surely know very little of these auditing and certification processes, the differences in certification for food compared to handicrafts, or the difference in certification standards between the WFTO and other certifying organizations such as Fairtrade International (FLO), Fair Trade Federation (FTF), and the European Fair Trade Association (EFTA).[38] In fact, many people who buy fair-trade products do not know much about fair trade but make the purchases for quality, utility, price, or aesthetic reasons (Brown 2013; De Pelsmacker et al. 2005; Doherty et al. 2013; Littrell and Dickson 1999). They make use of "multiattribute decision making" in their purchases and products' non-ethical attributes—such as the above, ease of care, fit, and comfort for clothing and flavor or brand for coffee—are more significant for some consumers than ethical origins (De Pelsmacker et al. 2005:365; Brown 2008; Littrell and Dickson 1999). The majority of those who purchase fair-trade goods are called "conscientious consumers" by Brown (2011, 2013) who conducted research in coffee shops and a Ten Thousand Villages handicrafts store. Conscientious consumers and those with even less knowledge or preference for fair trade, called "purchasers," do not typically discuss their ethical reasoning for making purchases, unlike "promotors" who are well educated and outspoken about their consumption habits. Conscientious consumers make up the majority of people and they weigh multiple factors when making purchases, creating contradictory buying patterns with mixed "ethical" and conventional products. For

[38] Fair traders recognize this confusion and there are webpages to help consumers navigate the ethical attributes of their purchases. See Fair Trade Winds' (n.d.), a fair-trade retailer's, "Guide to Fair Trade Labels."

example, shopping for clothing at Walmart allows consumers to save money that can be put toward more expensive groceries at Whole Foods (Brown 2013:26-27).

Even the most steadfast "promotors," though, surely find it difficult to navigate, remember, and evaluate the differences in certification standards between various fair-trade labels as well as between (and within) organic, Rainforest Alliance, World Wildlife Fund, Forest Stewardship Council, Child Labor Free, non-GMO, recycled, upcycled, family-farmed raised, cage free, and a huge array of other "values-based" certification schemes (Barham 2002). Large-scale corporations including Starbucks, Dunkin' Donuts, Nestlé, Pottery Barn, McDonald's, Sam's Club, and Walmart have increasingly put forth fair-trade products and sell them in non-specialty venues like grocery stores in a process fair-trade researchers call "mainstreaming" and "co-optation" (Hudson et al. 2013; Jaffee 2012).[39] Supermarkets and big corporations can adjust prices of more expensive fair-trade products using their conventionally traded products' profit margins, making consumers' decisions to buy from smaller-scale and more ethical retailers more difficult and expensive. Proponents of mainstreaming claim its increased ability to reach consumers and spread the word of fair trade are worth the compromises of bringing in large-scale corporations. Mainstreaming, like auditing, is based on neoliberal values and Northern dominance, because it encourages market action to "improve" upon fair trade (Doane 2010): Increased access to consumers has taken precedence over maintaining strict compliance of standards, long-term relationships within the network, and the integrity of

[39] These sources, it is important to point out, are certified as fair trade through certifying bodies like FLOCERT for Fairtrade America / Fairtrade International (also called the Fair Trade Labelling Organization, FLO), and Fair Trade USA (formerly Transfair USA). The WFTO certifies enterprises that are "mission-led" (WFTO n.d.-d).

the original social movement and goals of fair trade. There is, therefore, a mass mediocretization of the market. As fair trade's revolutionary mission is diluted through subjective interpretation of the principles along with mainstreaming and other processes, conventional-trade companies also seek to meet consumer demands to offer more "ethical" solutions. Conventional trade is becoming less exploitative in some ways at the same time as ethical trade is undergoing profit-driven pressures like mainstreaming, and becoming less radical. Consumers are confused by the multitude of seemingly equally ethical purchase options, and the overall effect is meeting in the mediocre middle.[40]

Corporations have increasingly added certified products, or products with some certified ingredients, to their product lines.[41] New certifications have also been created, and some companies even self-certify their brand in a proliferation of certification schemes that has been called the "certification revolution" (Conroy 2007) and "label clutter" (Hudson et al. 2013:41). These are all examples of the processes of "fair-washing," "green-washing," or "clean-washing" (Low and Davenport 2005a), in which corporations use ethical and ecologically friendly imagery and marketing to improve their brand's overall image. Adding some ethically certified products to their lines improves consumers' perceptions of the company without requiring a large commitment. It may

[40] Consider, too, companies like Tyson Foods, now getting involved with plant-based "meat" products, or mining and gas companies sponsoring environmental groups. In the effort to remain viable, large companies are expanding their reach and occasionally working with and for their once-competitors. This further complicates and confuses the consumers who seek to be ethical but, despite the "ethical" and "green" products exploding onto the market, have seemingly fewer and fewer real options.

[41] For example, Fairtrade International (FLO) certifies cocoa, sugar, vanilla, bananas, and coffee used in Ben & Jerry's ice creams (Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc. 2015).

then be possible, too, to hide less ethical behaviors and keep them from impacting the public's perceptions. Starbucks has been frequently accused of green-washing, as fair-trade certified coffee made up just one to two percent of Starbucks' coffee when the company first gave in to protests to add a certified product (Fridell 2004:423; echoed by Brown 2013; Jaffee 2012:106 (although he claims it is more like "well below 1 percent"); Jaffee and Howard 2010; Linton 2012; Low and Davenport 2005b; Lyon 2011; Nicholls and Opal 2005). Lowering the bar for Starbucks from the five percent minimum required by the certifier (at that time called TransfairUSA, now Fair Trade USA) has allowed for other corporations to obtain fair-trade certification without compliance to the original standards (Jaffee 2012). Starbucks' critics maintained that the corporation only added this small percentage of fair-trade coffee to appease protesters and that its brand image benefitted, although it only had to make a minor investment.[42] The situation is complex, however, because Starbucks' prices have sometimes been higher than the fair-trade price and, along with Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, it is one of the largest buyers for fair-trade coffee in the United States (Howard and Jaffee 2013). Smith (2010) cautions, though, that Starbucks' prices include paying the importer and buying agent as well as

[42] In 2012, 8.1% of the company's coffee was fair-trade certified (Fridell 2014; Howard and Jaffee (2013), write 8% in 2011). Despite some indications of unsavory social conditions (Fridell (2007a:92) reports that Starbucks' "fair-trade" coffee could have been packaged by underpaid prison laborers and sold in stores by non-unionized and underpaid workers, the company has apparently devoted much attention to their social and environmental impacts and is now seemingly transparent and forthright about a lot of projects that empower small farmers such as providing loans, training programs, and donating coffee trees (Starbucks 2017).

shipping costs.[43,44] Other non-fair-trade companies benefit from the green-washing of using small amounts of certified coffee beans to bring up the entire line's brand image. Selling fair-trade Green Mountain coffee in their gas stations, for example, may help to make Exxon-Mobil appear more ethical (Lyon 2006b).

Corporations seek to benefit from certifications but often use less strict standards in order to do so. Starbucks, again for example, now uses standards it created with Conservation International (CI), and boasts that 99% of their coffee has been "verified" as "ethically sourced" (SCS Global Services n.d.) under these standards, which the website claims seek to ensure sustainability, among other concerns. Fridell (2007a:92) asserts, though, that CI and Starbucks' C.A.F.E. standards offer less strict guidelines and that CI has been accused of "biocolonialism" by helping pharmaceutical companies collect indigenous knowledge in order to be appropriated and patented.

Corporations are not alone in their self-certifications, either. Some fair-trade and organic organizations have their own labels to go against the dilution of fair-trade standards. These certifications, like "fairer than fair trade," "direct trade," and "beyond fair trade," have come about to distinguish mission-driven from profit-driven pursuits. The WFTO and the Fair Trade Federation (FTF) assert that fair-trade standards have been weakened through other certifiers' collaborations with mainstream suppliers. The "fairer

[43] The fair-trade price stayed the same from 1989 to May 2008 when it was set to $1.25 with $.10 per pound premium. Starbucks paid $1.42 per pound on average in 2006 (Smith 2010), and their minimum price was $2.38 per pound in 2011 (Starbucks 2019). Fair-trade minimum prices are currently only set at $1.40 with $.20 per pound premium (Kettler 2019).

[44] It is also true that a small percentage of Starbucks' sales is far larger than 100% of some other companies' sales, so proponents assert that mainstreaming such as this helps more farmers and spreads the message of fair trade more widely.

than fair trade" specialty and small-scale coffee brands hope to re-create a niche market that they used to hold before fair trade went mainstream (Smith 2010). Hudson and Hudson (2003:428) caution that "the competition between more and less ambitious fair-trade alternatives could result in the crowding out of the more progressive projects, as consumers may not fully appreciate the distinction between the various alternative trade labels, lumping them all under the homogeneous banner of progressive production." Overall, the certification revolution of proliferating labels, whether "fair*er*" or not, does more harm than good. As labeling schemes are introduced and the markets become more complex, consumers unfortunately become more confused, rather than empowered (Brown 2013, 2015; Hudson et al. 2013; Ziegler 2010). This "confusion can lead to disenchantment or simply opting for the least expensive" fair-trade products (Ziegler 2010:89).

As fair-trade products have entered into new markets on conventional supermarket shelves and are sold by corporations, many scholars (e.g. Dolan 2010b; Hudson and Hudson 2003; Low and Davenport 2005a, 2005b, 2006) are concerned that the radical message of the fair-trade movement is being weakened and that consumers' dollars, instead of going to impoverished producers and mission-driven fair-trade organizations, will go to multi-national corporations that do not contribute to investments in more ethically-sourced products, since only a small percentage of these corporations' sales are of ethically certified products. They worry that less progressive alternative trade could undermine the more radical parts of the movement, now made up of the "fairer than fair trade" (Smith 2010) or the "100-percenters" (Grodnik and Conroy 2007). Low and

Davenport (2005a; 2005b; 2006) claim, though, that mainstreaming could bring more benefit than detriment if it is critically engaged because large-scale corporations have the potential to bring fair-trade messages to the masses but, overall, this is not happening. The "radical edge" (2005b) of the original fair-trade movement is predominantly being appropriated by dominant capitalism (2005a, 2006). Meanwhile, small producers and distributors come into direct competition with transnational corporations and may be put out of business as these huge corporations benefit (Fridell 2007a). Mainstreaming, having seemed encouraging for the potential to bring fair trade to increased numbers of consumers and make the market less marginal "beyond its previous confines of educated, middle-class, ethical shoppers" (Lyon 2006b:256; Goodman 2004), now has become "diluted," ushering in an era of "passive" fair-trade consumption because consumers may not even be aware of buying a certified product (Doherty et al. 2013).[45]

Commodity Fetishism

The above discussions of mainstreaming, increased numbers of certifications, and the complexities of auditing draw into question the expectation that fair-trade certification clearly points to supply chains entailing only ethical processes. Mainstreaming complexifies supply chains and makes transparency and accountability, those traits that auditing seeks to increase, more elusive. Surely if Low's and Davenport's (2005a:500; 2006) claim that "consumers do not absorb the complexity of the fair trade message but rather focus on 'fair price' and 'taste,'" was true over a decade ago, it goes without

[45] Another major concern of mainstreaming is that Fair Trade USA has now allowed for certification of plantations, bringing further critique of fair trade as a neocolonial project (see, for example, Besky 2014; Hudson et al. 2013; Hussey and Curnow 2013; 2016; Jaffee 2007).

question now. Consumers do not end up benefiting from an increased knowledge and trust in the supply-chain trajectory through fair-trade or other certifications.

Despite fair-trade principles to increase transparency and reduce commodity fetishism of its products, their "social lives" (Appadurai 1986) remain hidden. A commodity is fetishized when the human labor imbued within it is obscured through the product's commodification and distribution. The "social, environmental, and historical relations that go into the production of a commodity are hidden" as the commodities take on a life of their own (Hudson and Hudson 2003:417; Marx 1992), and complex market systems make it nearly impossible to know where commodities have come from and the conditions within which they were produced (Harvey 2010). The value of a commodity does not become apparent until the act of exchange, which, before the money-form standardized all trade, was done on a person-to-person level; the producer and consumer had to meet at the act of exchange (Harvey 2010; Marx 1992). The market allowed this to no longer be the case and producers and consumers now do not need to interact directly. Harvey (2010:39-40) provides an example using lettuce as the commodity in question:

> Hidden within this market exchange of things is a relation between you, the consumer, and the direct producers—those who labored to produce the lettuce. Not only do you not have to know anything about that labor or the laborers who congealed value in the lettuce in order to buy it; in highly complicated systems of exchange it is impossible to know anything about the labor or the laborers, which is why fetishism is inevitable in the world market.

Joanna at Threads of Peru referenced this kind of situation in regards to consumers' general lack of understanding for the value for her company's high-quality textile products. The labor is obscured in the products, and consumers are disconnected to

"value" and unaware of what things *should* cost because of how often they can find items that cost far less. I asked her how the fast-fashion industry influences fair trade. She responded,

> If they [consumers] don't stop to think about why it costs so little? Um they will find it hard to see something in a totally different price range as as reasonable you know um. Yeah, I think that's the biggest thing is that people lose touch. It's like with the food too, right, like how people lose touch about where their food comes from? So, it's hard for them to value like a salad or whatever cuz they don't see the difference between you know real food and manufactured food? ((chuckling)) I don't know what to call it, like fast food? And in the same way I think people find it- b- they are getting disconnected with you know natural fibers and- and just quality products that they can't even understand it anymore. It seems to me. Going in that way. […] Someone's not willing to spend money on clothes now, maybe, because they don't value, you know, dressing themselves anymore because you can get it for so cheap.

Fair-trade companies, then, need to increase the transparency in their own supply chains, but they also suffer from the commodity fetishism of other markets where the obstruction of labor processes leads to expectations for unattainably low prices.

Fair-Trade Marketing: Seeking Transparency?

Fair-trade organizations seek to open communication as to production processes and producers' lives through marketing, story-telling, and sharing of business operations. The WFTO's second principle states that "the organization is transparent in its management and commercial relations. […] The communication channels are good and open at all levels of the supply chain" (WFTO 2017). In the effort to reduce fetishism, fair-trade marketing techniques put forth images and information about producers on marketing materials and webpages, fair traders speak to consumers about the producers, and artisans are either brought to fair-trade shops or visited in their own countries. Fair-trade retail

workers and buyers share the personal stories of the producers, through word of mouth or on product packaging. The final way that fair trade conveys "fairness" is by making use of the fair-trade certification label (Marston 2013), discussed above. Through these processes, a consumer can only learn a limited amount about the products' origins, producers, materials, costs, and other information they may wish to know, and so fetishism continues (ibid.).

Marketing discourses have highlighted producer groups and images to formulate a "connection" between consumers and producers' families, children, and communities which "encourages the purchaser to link the coffee [or other fair-trade product] with things that commonly embody affective, harmonious social relationships, as opposed to impersonal, self-interested economic ones" (Luetchford 2012:67). These images evoke romantic, exotic, and "authentic" producers and make use of the colonial ideology of producers being primitive, simple, and suffering (Varul 2008:660-61). Despite helping consumers to "meet" producers, they are based on common perceptions of indigeneity and small producers, commodifying difference and "re-working" the fetish (Goodman 2004:902).

Manos Amigas' photos are fairly straightforward representations of artisans in their workshops but are posed to hide clutter, dangerous electric wires, or other such considerations. Artisans are photographed "at work" on a product or with a completed product, and photos are taken on-the-spot, in work clothing, not staged in a lengthy way involving planning or manipulation of personal appearance. An outstanding photograph remains in circulation of a gourd-carving couple who now only work in a tourism

capacity with the organization. They may look indigenous to Northern viewers; she wears a wide-brimmed hat and cape, and he wears a fedora. The depicted man is a master carver who taught many others the craft. The photo may continue in circulation for many reasons: its quality; the artisan's fame; the artisans' broad smiles and great talent seen in the gourds they hold; the couple's perceived indigeneity; the years they spent working with MA; or because the importing organizations involved do not know that these artisans are mostly retired. In spite of the one example, MA does not commodify indigeneity on their own or clients' websites.[46] I also did not see the "staged authenticity" of hiding electrical devices or performing otherness reported by Little (2004a) to perpetuate tourists' stereotypes of their hosts remaining in the past. MA's photos still represent what Wright (2004:671) has called the "one-way consumption of lives" because consumers obtain information of producers but artisans know little about consumers, even collectively. The processes behind marketing photographs, too, represent power dynamics of the fair-trade network: A visiting member of the organization (or a volunteer or anthropologist) who disrupts productive artisanal work and may cause stress, especially if also there to ask questions about WFTO compliance; the encouragement of a forced smile in a posed position such as with a finished product or in front of the kiln; and the frequent lack of explanation for how the photos will be used are examples of these power disparities.[47]

---

[46] See Chapter 3 for a description of Peru's complex ethno-racial classifications.

[47] I tried to be as transparent with artisans as possible as to the purpose of photos and that I took them for the research and the organization, not for my own personal use as a tourist would. Artisans and workers seem to be quite used to the process of having clients, tourists, or other visitors pose them and take photographs of them, their workshops, and their products.

As fair trade grew and products reached mainstream markets, certification labels were required because specialty-store employees could no longer share the ethical message of fair trade directly with consumers. Some products maintain closer connections between retailers and consumers, though, such as in handicrafts stores like Ten Thousand Villages. In that company, employees can opt to go on “learning tours” to visit artisans and occasionally artisans visit the Pennsylvania headquarters or stores (see Rasmussen 2010 for a description of one such visit), allowing for increased personal experiences and the ability to share stories with consumers. Marketing strategies like personal stories and images in stores, on websites, and on packaging work toward transparency to make producers’ living conditions known, make products feel more personal, share the benefits producers have gained through fair trade, and give added value to the products (Brown 2013:112). MA, like most fair-trade distributors, shares biographical stories of affiliated artisans with clients who can post them on their websites and share them in their stores. These printed stories include photographs of artisans and information about their places of birth or hometowns; whether they have migrated and why (often related to economic need or escaping violence); previous jobs they have held; how they learned to produce handicrafts; what kinds of crafts and designs they make and whether they are traditional; processual steps their production takes; how many individuals they employ (and in some cases, the number of men and women); other exporters and venues to which they sell; information about their families and children, interests, hobbies, and community involvement; what fair trade means to them; and how they have benefited from it; and future plans for their work or goals for their workshops.

Marketing stories were originally written to a large extent by volunteers, in English, and I worked on updating them for the organization. Updates included taking new photographs and questioning artisans about current aspects of their workshops and family lives such as how old their children were and what they did if they were adults, the number of exporters with whom they worked, how they were impacted by slower orders, upgrades they had made to their workshops, and progress on goals they had mentioned in previous visits. Although Yannina knows many of the artisans and their families quite well after having worked with them for many years or even decades, the task of writing these formulaic stories was given to foreigners like myself, outsiders of the local context and organization. Representing artisans' stories in this way may lose something in cultural translation, and the processes through which they are created are obscured to consumers. Additionally, Yannina's outsourcing of story-creation to foreigners may indicate to artisans that she cannot be bothered, or that the stories are not important, but they do the important task of "introducing" consumers to producers. Finally, allowing visitors from the Global North to update the stories seems to give them the power to discursively manipulate artisans' words into expected structures that consumers in the North would expect to read, translating Southern stories into more commodifiable Northern ones.

Consumer education and product origin information is extremely important and can indeed help to improve some aspects of transparency over conventional trade, but most authors (e.g. Doane 2010; Fisher 2007; Fridell 2006, 2007a; Goodman 2004; Gunderson 2013; Hudson and Hudson 2003; Lyon 2006a, 2011; Marston 2013; Pratt 2007; Varul 2008) agree, with varying degrees of optimism, that although fair-trade

certifying organizations claim to increase transparency, there are serious limitations to their ability to do that within the capitalist system. They focus upon a variety of challenges to transparency that arise in fair-trade implementation. For some, the issue is found in the extent to which consumers can understand the lives of producers. Producers in fair-trade networks continue to be obscured from consumers (Pratt 2007). Information flows in only one direction, toward consumers, whereas producers are not aware of the difference between fair trade and conventional trade (Lyon 2006a). Moreover, consumers do not have a stake in their purchasing decisions besides putting forth their own ethical identities; the effects on producers is unknown to them and does not affect them personally (Fridell 2007a). In other critiques, the difficulties of obtaining transparency fall in the inability of fair-trade marketing to convey information to potential consumers. Lyon (2013) explains that the sources used in making an app for ethical consumers were not made available. So, instead of needing to trust fair-trade certifiers, consumers then need to trust the app creators, still without being sure of the processes that are involved in the products they consume. This is similar, of course, to the process of auditing, in which consumers need to trust the certifying organization over artisans and exporters themselves. Even with technologies that aim to make supply chains more transparent, it remains unclear within what kinds of conditions producers work and how much they are paid, for example.

Ultimately, in fair trade, consumers get a false sense of understanding the product's origins and trajectory without being made to recognize complexities, difficulties, and challenges to ethicality and implementation in what have become much

more complicated supply chains than in the original movement. They are lured into a false sense of security because the product has ethical labels, reflecting Doane's (2010:230) discussion that fair trade might "refetishize" goods, by "hiding the social relations of the fair trade system even as we try to reveal them through our discourse." Goods within the global system take on social lives of their own as lines between consumers and producers are distorted unavoidably. Fair trade is merely a "symbolic challenge to commodification […] strictly limited by the network's market-driven approach" (Fridell 2007a:80), and defetishization is not possible because all of the steps of the commodity can never be traced and known to consumers. As Doane (2010:244) writes, "the power differences between producers and […] consumers are too great to allow for meaningful negotiation."

At the same time as all these conditions obscure product trajectories, it is encouraging that consumers do want to know what is happening "behind the scenes" of the products they buy (Adams 2014; Barham 2002; Berlan 2012) and the "ethical turn" (Brown 2015:157) has increased the availability of socially and environmentally friendly products. Small shifts *can* lead to big changes,[48] and Barham (2002:350) encourages a "conscious effort to reappropriate or rehumanize the market mechanism itself" as people come together through the market. Consumers of fair trade believe that they do have some sort of connection with producers and can have a positive impact on their lives by purchasing their produce or handicrafts (Brown 2008). Oftentimes, consumers perceive

[48] Buying habits of the millennial generation, for example, differ greatly from those of their parents and their reduction of meat consumption, as one example, has influenced a "global shift away from meat in recent years" (Rowland 2018), as is also true of fast fashion and other industries (Anagnos 2019).

an inflated potential for positive impact from their purchases, reflecting a lacking understanding of how fair trade functions. After an earthquake in Nepal, for example, customers to a fair-trade store where I was conducting fieldwork in 2014 wished to purchase something from that country so as to benefit those affected. They did not consider that producers were already paid in full when products were ordered, perhaps years ago, or that the producers may not have been personally affected. Natural disasters encourage consumers' desire to help, provide a sense of connection between producers and consumers, and encourage the mentality of shopping for a cause (Brown 2013:112).

Fair trade allows consumers to think that they have a choice in the market and also can make an impact and create change through their market activity—even that they may help to end global poverty. In this way "the consumer is consistently helped to believe that he or she is an actor, where in fact he or she is at best a chooser" (Appadurai 1990:307). I saw a striking example of this marketing encouraging consumers to think they can make a difference in a mass-distributed email from a large-scale fair-trade retailer. In the email flyer (sent Oct. 12, 2017), consumers are encouraged to "support Africa with Chocolate from Ghana: 5% of October sales of Divine Chocolate will be donated to famine relief in East Africa." Putting aside the homogeneity of the entire African continent and disregard for the extreme differences from eastern to western (the location of Ghana) Africa, clearly consumers are taught through these discourses that they make a difference. Unlike those consumers who can buy luxury chocolates as an extra treat in their complete and healthful diets, those supposedly standing to benefit have nothing at all to eat. Trade is so prioritized over "aid" that even in the most extreme

human hardships, consumers are expected to be politically involved and charitable only through market actions. A fair-trade client who visited MA from the United States called this the "white savior complex," the same as is seen by Northern tourists who spend thousands of dollars on a luxurious safari tour in Kenya and speak about the poverty they saw as though they experienced hardships themselves. Despite consumers having some potential for activism (Marston 2013), fair trade is increasingly corporatized, making it the powerful corporations and Northern organizations that decide what is made available on the market (Roseberry 1996).[49] Despite producer-focused marketing techniques, sharing of photos and personal stories, and tourism efforts like "learning tours" that bring international clients and consumers into contact with producers, difficulties in transparency in fair trade perpetuate the expectation that one can make a difference by making purchases.

Fair but Not Completely Transparent Prices

One reason that commodity fetishism continues in the fair-trade network is that the price producers are paid, especially for handicrafts, is not well known or easily found by consumers. For food products, fair-trade certifiers set established minimum prices with a social premium that goes toward community-level projects such as improving roads, lighting, electricity, sanitation, and access to water; providing youth vocational training; maintaining sports fields; supporting community institutions like health clinics and hospitals; and buying school equipment (McArdle and Thomas 2012; Moberg 2010). The fair-trade minimum price, according to Kevin Knox, a coffee consultant in the *New York*

[49] Chapter 5 will explore how the process of developing and choosing products for the market occurs for Peruvian handicrafts producers who attempt to follow Northern trends.

Times, can be a "fortune," or "barely enough to justify doing it," depending on a farmer's location (quoted in DeCarlo 2007:89). Moberg (2016:682) explains that customers wonder why they should pay more in the grocery store for fair-trade certified Windward Island bananas when bananas with the same certification from Colombia or Ecuador are cheaper. They expect that they are just as "fair," and so wonder why prices differ, not recognizing the ecological and social conditions behind the prices. Unlike these agricultural examples, handicrafts artisans set their own culturally-appropriate and competitive prices. The focus of fair trade has become centered on the price as opposed to its alternative nature or social justice goals (Low and Davenport 2005b). Fair price is the most well recognized aspect of fair trade by consumers (Low and Davenport 2005a), and it was also the element most mentioned by the artisans with whom I spoke for what constitutes fair trade. Scholars have repeatedly found, however, that guaranteed prices of fair-trade goods only lead to moderate gains.[50]

Despite having fewer intermediaries than in conventional trade, businesses still have to cover the expenses of the producer country's distributing organization and the consumer country's overhead as well as international tariffs, shipping, packaging, processing, and storage costs. Fridell (2004:419) states that "while prices must be high enough to ensure fair trade's objectives, they cannot be so high as to scare off ethical consumers in the North," most of whom would be alienated by too-high prices because the ethical qualities of the products are not the predominant draw (Fridell 2006). Artisans need to set prices that are fair to themselves and sustainable over time so that prices offset

[50] See Hudson et al.'s (2013) review of the literature in their third chapter.

production costs. They need to cover the costs of paying their workers often more than minimum wage, especially if paying by the piece (*por destajo*). Each year, artisans working with MA are able to make modifications to their prices. MA put artisans' prices into their catalogs which locks them in for the year, unless clients bargain.

There are many hidden challenges that are unknown to consumers in setting a price and consistently obtaining orders, and therefore income, for handicrafts producers. Bargaining by some clients, whether for every order or just for large quantities, remains a problem, in spite of artisans setting their own prices. Difficulties of part-time work also complexify what constitutes the WFTO's definition of a "fair payment." The principle of the same name claims that organizations support "a fair payment […] to the producers [that] can also be sustained by the market" and includes the payment of a Local Living Wage which involves paying an artisan for a "standard working week (no more than 48 hours)" (WFTO 2017). But artisans with whom I spoke often did not have steady hours throughout their weeks and months.

The slow season (*la estación baja*) was especially trying for artisans affiliated with MA. Lasting roughly from October through March, but perhaps even longer, the slow season caused some artisans to need to seek other employment or more clients. Slow seasons and the frequency and size of orders in general have worsened for artisans since the global economic recession, which, during my fieldwork, was still influencing European, especially Italian, markets. In busy periods, artisans may feel pressured to work all day and into the night, but in times with few orders they seek new markets, work on new designs, find other work, participate in artisanal fairs, or pursue other interests.

Small family farms (*chacras*) in some cases contributed to their families' sustenance in times when there were few orders, but also drew them away from handicraft production even if there were orders. Other pursuits outside of *artesanía* that artisans pursued or thought about pursuing included starting businesses like a small general store, working in construction and carpentry, teaching art or handicraft production, and renting out rooms. Some MA artisans were paid to give tours and demonstrations to tourists and students for the organization. Another consideration is that artisans who receive very minimal orders with fair-trade exporters, either throughout the year or for a few months, sell handicrafts to local markets. Artisans may not be able to support their hired workers, who may need to seek work instead in grocery stores, factories (for women), construction (for men), or other workshops. The fact that artisans lack steady hours and consistent orders throughout the year indicates that complying with the fair-trade principle of Fair Payment is more complicated than just paying a fair price for products. The principle seems to inadequately recognize the price-setting challenges of individual artisans and to homogenize their experiences to those of full-time, consistently working producers. Consumers are not made aware of these complexities behind a "fair payment" for handicraft products, and so transparency is lacking even in the most widely discussed aspect of fair trade.

In summary, complexities of fair and living wages and mainstreaming obscure the struggles of producers in the fair-trade network in ways that consumers do not understand, keeping commodity fetishism present despite the increased transparency of fair trade over conventional trade. Fair-trade pricing and long-term buying relationships

offer some benefit to artisans, but handicrafts sales are not as predictable and continuous as food sales, as they depend on the whims of consumers (Low and Davenport 2006:321; see Chapter 5 for how products are designed to conform to these whims). With the volatile market now leaving many artisans seeking other means of income, fair-trade handicrafts sales could prove to be unsustainable beyond the immediate future.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed key theoretical discussions of fair-trade research including auditing, certification, mainstreaming, commodity fetishism, and fair prices. Fair trade maintains elements of commodity fetishism, especially in mainstreamed markets like supermarkets, large corporate stores, and the internet, and despite labels and certifications, consumers remain unaware of processes in production and producers' ways of life. Although there is more that consumers could do to be educated of the practices along their purchased products' supply chains, fair-trade certification audits are minimally demanding, announced in advance, involve only top earners, and are carried out by companies with the financial stability to be able to afford them—usually relatively large-scale companies whose staff may not know the producers well. Fair trade, then, is an "ethicalized" version of conventional trade, increasingly connected to it and indistinguishable from other similar types of products as these have all coalesced with the "certification revolution" and boom of ethical consumerism trends, making fair trade just one of the many ways to shop for a cause. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) departments, concerns over climate change, and generational change has influenced

conventional market trends, but capital continues to seek profit (Harvey 2014); "ethical" and "conventional" markets may be meeting in the mediocre middle.

Although I critique fair trade and, along with it, other ethical certifications, I recognize gradients of ethicality occurring within, and outside of, the fair-trade network. As this chapter and the rest of the dissertation will elucidate, MA and many other fair-trade organizations, certified and uncertified, are doing great work to positively influence artisans' lives. Consumers drive the market and can demand more and more ethically produced products. Rather than supporting huge corporations like McDonalds and Walmart which are involved in mainstreaming and "fair-washing," consumers can purchase from mission-driven fair-trade organizations. This can be a step in the right direction, along with recognizing that not all certifications (within and outside of fair trade) are alike; some have stronger requirements or even go "beyond fair trade." Consumers, too, should be aware that differing conditions of the market like shipping distance, tariffs, and costs of living will impact final prices, so higher or lower prices do not necessarily imply producers earned more or less for their work. There is no "right" way to go about being a consumer in this time of extreme interconnection and wealth disparity but consumers should seek deeper answers than the surface certification or lack thereof.

CHAPTER 3
“ME SIENTO FELIZ DE MIS ORÍGENES”: MIGRANT ARTISANS’ EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION, LANGUAGE SHIFT, AND FAIR-TRADE SUPPORT

I sat with Dolores for our interview in a dusty, noisy room above her home in one of the poorer neighborhoods of Lima. She continued to paint her ceramics as we spoke, our conversation impeded by the sounds of traffic outside and interruptions from her cat jumping onto the table. Like many of the artisans with whom Manos Amigas works, Dolores and her husband migrated to Lima from Ayacucho, to flee the violence of the *Sendero Luminoso* insurgency, and government’s counterinsurgency, of the 1980s and 1990s. She recounted the story of her migration:

> *Nosotros venimos de allá porque:- (.) en uno momento u otro cuando hubo los terroristas. Entonces ya:: prácticamente nosotros ah (dedicamos) de la artesanía de los turistas allí entonces no? Y ya no hay trabajo, y además uh (pause) no sé porque: nos perseguía también los terroristas~(Así que) prohibido prohibido entraba?(entonces) nos obligaba también. Entonces sí:: era de los dos, no? Tanto militares de los tanto los terroristas. No había (una confianza ordinaria). Los terroristas venían? nos obligaba también >(ellos apoyaban a los militares).< Los militares venían? y también nos acaba muy muy- a veces uh uh diciendo que ustedes apoyan a los terroristas diciendo entonces (.) prácticamente era, un- (.) fatal para nosotros, no.*[51]
>
> We came from there becau:se-(.) in one moment or another when there were terrorists. Then yeah, we were practically we had (dedicated ourselves) to *artesanía* for the tourists there then there isn’t work, and also uh (pause) I don’t know why: the terrorists persecuted us too~(So that) prohibited prohibited they came in? (then) they forced us too. So yeah:: it was both of them, right? Both the military and the terrorists. There wasn’t (the usual trust). The terrorists came? and forced us too >(they were helping the military)<. The military came? and also it turned out for us very very- sometimes uh uh they were saying that you all were helping the terrorists they said so (.) it was practically, a- (.) fatal for us, right.

[51] This chapter, and Chapters 4 and 5, utilize more detailed transcription conventions found in Appendix A.

Dolores explained her experience of the violence and murders happening in those times, around 1987 through 1990. Finally she, her husband, and children came to Lima in 1992.

> *A mi esposo también perseguía los militaa:res perseguía los terrori:stas nos amenaza:ban […] Prácticamente somos desplazados.*

> My husband too he was persecuted by the mi:litary and persecuted by the te:rrorists they threa:tened us […] We are basically displaced people.

More than 600,000 people were displaced from their home regions during "la violencia," as it was often called, and many of these people made their new homes in Lima. Being "desplazados" (displaced persons) in Lima was a "muy triste" (very sad) time period for Dolores because she did not speak any Spanish at first; "era muy difícil para mi" (it was very hard for me), she said. She did not know anyone besides her family and the language difficulty at first contributed to her loneliness. Eventually, though, Dolores and her husband found MA and other exporters and they began to teach *artesanía* to others who had suffered similar experiences. Despite becoming comfortable speaking Spanish and being urban dwellers, she told me that now, "entre paisanos hablamos quichua" (with our countryfolk we speak Quechua). At the time of their migration, she had thought about organizing a group with other displaced people to work directly with clients. Instead, they became involved with exporters like MA and others, who take a mandatory price for themselves. Having a direct relationship with clients, though, "sería una ayuda" (would be a help), she thought. Although fair trade has provided important income for her and her husband, Dolores finds additional work through selling health products and she wanted me to understand that direct purchases would be a better benefit to artisans than having an organization take a cut. Even with its

improved practices over other exporters, fair trade in many cases leaves artisans wishing for more help and higher pay. Dolores has managed to make a living with *artesanía* in Lima, though, and her children have grown up there. "Yo me acostumbrí a acá," (I am accustomed to being here) she told me. She said that she sometimes thinks about going back to Ayacucho but that there are too many places that would spark painful memories from wartime if she returned, so she concluded that "no pienso de regresar" ("I won't go back"). She has raised her children and established herself in Lima.

Dolores' story is similar to many of the stories of artisans with whom I spoke. Many of those living in Lima and other cities are migrants from more rural areas. Ceramic artisans in Lima, like Dolores, particularly come from the town of Quinua, near Ayacucho, famous for its ceramics. Migrant artisans have often faced extreme hardships, financial insecurity, fear, pain, and discrimination, and have lost family members to murders or disappearances during Peru's violent internal conflict. They have had to leave family behind to migrate, worked long hours, sought education, learned Spanish, and struggled in other ways to make their living once in the city. Despite fair-trade exportation providing them an outlet for their handicrafts, the life of an artisan is not easy, and artisans in many cases draw on their resiliency to find side or alternative work and help their children succeed in education and seek professional careers. In this chapter, I consider the ways in which fair trade aligns with different aspects of artisans' identities in different contexts with the outcome of supporting the artisans' urban lifestyles more than their ethno-racial heritage as *quechuahablantes* and Andean migrants. Benefits of fair trade come to artisans who best assert their skills in handicraft

production and business acumen, even as their “hardship-to-success” story—often incorporating mountain-region and Quechua-speaking origins, familial loss or abuses, independence, courage, and economic struggle—contributes to successful encounters with tourists and clients. These latter stories, shared as part of clients’ and tourists’ visits to artisans’ workshops, help to demonstrate artisans’ poverty and need, but also fair trade’s effectiveness in helping them to advance (these stories are described further in Chapter 4). Traditional handicraft designs are also foregrounded in artisans’ visits with tourists and clients. At the same time, though, advancements like new bathrooms, safe electric wiring, large workshops, renovated homes, and improved kilns or other specialized equipment give indications to visitors of fair trade’s ability to improve artisans’ lives and working conditions. Artisans need to varyingly put forth their identities as Andean and poor in some contexts such as with clients, tourists, and in the stories for fair-trade marketing, but also acknowledge their economic growth, advancements, and business savvy as urban producers.

For most migrant artisans with whom I spoke, Quechua was their first language or was spoken to them or around them by relatives or community members when they were children. Some told me that their first introduction to Spanish was in school, whether in their hometowns or in Lima. Quechua is not specifically supported by MA, and WFTO principles do not make mention of endangered or indigenous languages. Fair trade could do more to support artisans’ linguistic and cultural heritages, but I contend that instead, as artisans working with MA are mostly urban-dwelling, full-time artisans who speak Quechua in limited domains, fair trade contributes to a trend of language shift and weak

Quechua self-identification for migrants. Artisans' Quechua-language use or workshops with Quechua names, experiences of hardships, urban migrations and the reasons for those migrations, however, become important elements of the personal stories they tell to MA staff, clients, tourists, and in my interviews with me. These stories compartmentalize the past from the present that is improved by fair-trade involvement. They also draw on expectations of artisans as indigenous, making these aspects of artisans' identities implicitly present in ways that help to commodify indigeneity in those stories. In other aspects of their work with the organization, though, artisans undermine their indigenous heritage and language use to highlight their artisanal abilities and modern urban livelihoods instead. Their urban lifestyles and decreased alignment with indigenous identity are not only encouraged by fair-trade involvement but also by the artisans' experiences of discrimination, violence, fear, and loss during Peru's internal conflict.

I consider ways that artisans maintain Quechua-language use, positive attitudes toward the language, and cultural affiliation to their homelands and ethnic heritage, but are also Andean migrants who now live urbanized lives. Globally, indigenous peoples are incorporating indigenous cultural elements into urban lifestyles as indigeneity is being revalorized and reconstructed (Clifford 2013). It is in this dynamic, urbanized space that Manos Amigas operates, helping to preserve indigeneity in its reinvigorated—but some may say essentialized—form. The *Sendero Luminoso* insurgency co-opted indigenous identity, increasing anti-indigenous sentiments in Lima and throughout Peru. Migrant artisans formulate identities that reflect their varied experiences and dual sense of belonging to both rural and urban, indigenous and non-indigenous worlds. They put forth

their identities as *quechuahablantes* in limited ways, which are commodified and valued in some fair-trade contexts, while also embodying urban migrant livelihoods. Artisans need to be, or appear to remain "marginalized" as well, in order to fit the criteria of fair-trade certification, and this tends to be judged by the physical appearance of their homes, and abilities to work with other exporters.

In this chapter, I share the stories of artisans who migrated to Lima and in some cases other cities like Juliaca from more rural areas. I convey their experiences of discrimination and their self-identification practices in the context of ethno-racial and gender inequalities and the violent conflict they endured. I also consider MA's role in supporting artisans as members of various marginalized categories including as speakers of indigenous languages, women, migrants, and urban poor. I discuss the benefits of fair-trade involvement and the struggles artisans come up against by making handicraft production their livelihood. By considering the future of *artesanía*, I suggest that fair-trade involvement helps the second generation more than the first, but only supports indigenous artisanal traditions for the first generation. Support of indigenous-language use is minimal for this particular organization. To begin, I review the position of indigeneity in Latin American contexts more broadly, focusing on ways in which indigenous (or perceived indigenous) identifiers are used in strategic ways in contexts in which sales of products or personas occur, such as tourism and handicraft vending. Explicitly drawing on indigenous identifications has been a strategy that various groups throughout Latin America have found effective to exemplify marginalized status, need, and preservation of traditional cultures. Due to a lack of pan-indigenous sentiment in

Peru, and the specific targetting of indigenous people for violent acts and murders during the internal conflict, artisans adopt indigenous identifiers in limited ways; this impacts the ways in which they are passing on their language and culture to their children and, most likely, how fair-trade organizations orient to the best ways to support them.

Indigenous Identities in Latin America

Identity is constructed, dialogic, and relational; the "self" is an ongoing process (Jackson and Warren 2005; Weismantel 2005; Wortham 2001). Members of indigenous groups often construct their identities using the semiotic resources of language, art, dress, and (at least perceived) tradition associated with indigeneity in various contexts. Some of these representations and performances strategically portray indigeneity and indigenous identities, such as in contexts of tourism (e.g. Babb 2011; Brulotte 2009; Bunten 2008, 2015; Chibnik 2003; Faudree 2013; Greathouse-Amador 2005; Little 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2008; Logan 2009; Smith 2016; Tiffany 2004; Wherry 2008a; Zorn 2004), political movements (Jackson and Warren 2005), conflicts over rights to natural resources (Dove 2006; Hogue and Rau 2008), and attracting support from NGOs (Wilson 2010) in order to secure access, rights, income, or other advantages. In other cases, as we will see for urbanized Andean Peruvians, indigeneity can be downplayed or relegated to domestic, familial domains. The same individual can strategically employ indigenous markers or downplay them in different contexts. Race and indigeneity throughout Latin America are fluid and transient and being "indigenous" is not dichotomously opposed to being "nonindigenous" (Jackson and Warren 2005).

Indigeneity is often strategically utilized in the contexts of marketplaces in which indigenous artisans sell and communicate directly with tourists. Kistler asserts that "Maya vendors sell their wares *and their Maya culture* to tourists" through their style of dress and use of Q'eqchi' language (2014:12-13, emphasis added). Kaqchikel Maya women, too, use their language with each other while selling handicraft products, apologized to customers for lacking Spanish-language skills, and worked on weaving projects so as to "confirm [tourists'] beliefs about the exotic, different Other" who "want to see and experience someone and something contrary to themselves" (Little 2004a:216). In the tourism industry, then, enacting difference and performing indigeneity and authenticity are important factors in achieving success (Brulotte 2009; Bunten 2008, 2015; Chibnik 2003; Greathouse-Amador 2005; Little 2004b, 2008; Logan 2009; Tiffany 2004; Wherry 2008a; Zorn 2004). Wilson (2010:191) also explains how indigenous groups who "perform indigeneity in expected ways" such as those who can "speak and act like an 'Indian'" may be more appealing to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), leading to those who perform indigenous identity in ways that conform to the dominant, or Western, expectations having increased access to development projects and programs. These are examples of what has been referred to by numerous names—"reconstructed ethnicity" (MacCannell 1984), "re-ethnification" (Logan 2009), "reindianization" (Jackson and Warren 2005:549), "resurgence" (Kistler 2014:26), and "rearticulation" (Clifford 2013:16), among others—and indicate a revalorization of indigenous cultural indicators, albeit often essentialized, reduced, and/or otherwise changed from their original contexts, in many cases due to indigenous peoples' migration to cities and the

discrimination they face in those contexts. As Clifford (2013:7) explains, indigenous peoples were once "destined to disappear," but now, "many have held on, adapting and recombining the remnants of an interrupted way of life. They reach back selectively to deeply rooted, adaptive traditions: creating new pathways in a complex postmodernity. Cultural endurance is a process of becoming."

Clothing is an outward indication of one's culture that indigenous peoples may feel pressure to change in urban contexts. Locally, the particular designs and textiles that one wears convey information to others as to the wearer's community of origin (Falconi 2016; Faudree 2013; Zorn 2004). Outside of local contexts, the same garments may index an entire country or indigeneity in general (Faudree 2013). Women continue to wear indigenous dress with much more frequency (Allen 2002:185; Kistler 2014:34; Little 2004a:227; Zorn 2004:68) and they appear "more Indian" than men (de la Cadena 1995; 2000; Babb 2011), making it more difficult for male vendors in tourist contexts to sell goods (Little 2008). Therefore, women also face much of the pressure of cultural continuity and the perpetuation of tradition. Their involvement with tourist and handicraft markets and their increased access to the cash economy have given women in many indigenous communities new sources of power, prestige, mobility, and ability to control money and loans. These changes, though, are constrained by limited access to sales networks, education, dominant language, and opportunities to travel outside of the home community (Grimes and Milgram 2000a; Kistler 2014; Littrell and Dickson 2010; Lyon 2010, 2011; Stephen 2005; Zorn 2004).

Although women may face pressure as culture bearers, the "reindianization" movement, constituted by "shifts in ethnoracial, political, and cultural indigenous discourses," has been occurring in Latin America for at least the last few decades (Jackson and Warren 2005:549). Markers of identity such as language, clothing, and traditions like crafting techniques are used in these efforts to demonstrate cultural continuity—often necessary for state-defined indigeneity—and an indigenous identity, and directed either toward state and local officials directly (Dove 2006; Jackson and Warren 2005; Muehlmann 2008; Viatori 2007), or toward tourists who sign petitions to help their cause (Little 2005). Some groups are unable to demonstrate a continuous history, due either to colonial-induced cultural oppression or the domination they faced even before Spanish conquest from the Inca Empire; such is the case of the Huarpes in Argentina. Now, spurred by tourism and the increased market for art products, the Huarpes are undergoing "re-ethnification," and currently make use of reconstructed artisanal traditions that draw from their language, Milcayac, and other Andean groups' histories and rituals (Logan 2009). For governmental recognition, indigenous groups have found it most beneficial to perform indigeneity in ways that show their "authenticity" to officials, especially through indigenous languages, "one of the most tangible emblems of Indians' cultural distinctiveness" (Viatori 2007:106). Even direct insults and swearing at government or NGO officials in an indigenous language can represent indigenous identity for the purpose of obtaining particular rights, even if very few people are fluent (Muelhmann 2008). For the Zápara in Ecuador, emblems of cultural distinctiveness that demonstrate indigenous authenticity include leaders giving greetings in Zápara (in which

they are not fluent) to begin political speeches, wearing headdresses and necklaces, and carrying spears, none of which is part of their everyday lives but instead function as performative elements of expected indigeneity (Viatori 2007; Smith 2016 presents a similar example). For *campesinos* in highland Combapata in the department of Cusco, Peru, defending land and water rights required "the instrumental use of ethnicity as a tool to organize and resist dominant government and corporate forces" (Hogue and Rau 2008:319).

Indigenous people construct their identities to negotiate between the state- and tourist-defined need to be "sufficiently 'indigenous'" or have "accessible" and "'acceptable' indigeneities" (Muehlmann 2016:55; Lyon 2013:132; Wilson 2010). They also consider the ways in which the same identity traits lead to racial, economic, and ecological disenfranchisement, stigmatization, and othering. Beyond governmental recognition—which is of lesser importance in Peru than in other Andean nations due to the country's lack of indigenous social movements and sentiment of pan-indigenous identity (de la Cadena 2000)—indigenous peoples strategically create "commodified personas" or perform indigeneity in contexts of tourism, handicraft sales, and through fair-trade networks (Bunten 2008). For example, in San Juan, Guatemala, the Tz'utujil Maya people with whom Lyon worked recognized that their fair-trade and organic-coffee clients expected to see indigenous farmers when visiting. They performed their "Mayaness" when the clients visited by wearing traditional clothing, which some had to borrow for the occasion. The coffee producers wanted to confirm their indigeneity to play off of the "northern fantasies of their innate naturalism," making their coffee seem more

high-quality and drawing from such stereotypes as the noble savage to convey that organic processes were upheld (Lyon 2011:149, 194-198).

The artisans with whom I worked in Peru did not frequently perform their indigeneity explicitly in their visits with tourists and clients such as by wearing non-Western clothing or foregrounding Quechua-language use, but it was asserted in ways that draw on expectations visitors have of handicrafts indexing indigenous producers (Wilson 2010). Their oral autobiographical stories to visitors, and the written versions of these stories dictated to myself and to other volunteers who were responsible for recording them assert their migration stories and rural, Andean pasts that were greatly impacted by the violence of the internal conflict that targeted Quechua-speakers. The written stories, which are shared with clients who request them for their websites or catalogs, feature photos of artisans and workshops, and autobiographical information about their families, workshops, current and past clients and sales venues, migrations, and future goals. The written stories also explore personal details about artisans, such as their interests or hobbies, and description of their products and artisanal processes. In them, artisans (and the authors who have recorded them), as in the reviewed literature, make strategic use of various aspects of their identities. In these contexts, marginalized peoples in industries that bring them into contact with others from around the world convey the complexity of their identity construction across cultures.

There were instances in which the *perception* of Peruvian artisans as indigenous or at least "other" conferred a sense of respect, as well as their financial need, to visitors. A white Northern visitor in a tourist group looked into an artisan's brown face and said

that “the faces [here] are…so full of character.” In my fieldnotes, I recorded that “[t]he hesitation in the middle was long, as though she was trying to think of a way to say ‘Indian’ without being racist.” Yannina was nearby and did not translate this sentiment to the artisan, which may be telling as to how she felt about it, or this utterance may be taken as somewhat complimentary, and fall into a genre that she frequently does not translate for artisans’ benefits (see Chapter 4).

Andean Ethno-Racial Categorization and Language Use

Although individuals in some contexts and locations strategically perform indigeneity to obtain rights to natural resources and to economic, symbolic, social, or cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977), at other times it is beneficial to conceal markers of indigeneity to favor dominant urban cultural elements as individuals seek to reduce the discrimination they face. Discrimination of Quechua-speakers was especially strong during and following Peru’s internal conflict. The goal of *Sendero Luminoso* was to instill an indigenous narrative to create a Peruvian nationalism that would highlight the role and history of peasants (Maynard 2015). Quechua-speakers, then, were targeted both by insurgent groups and later by the armed forces, resulting in urban migrations and discrimination in the cities, which will be discussed in later sections.

As in other parts of Latin America, such as in the cases reviewed above, indigeneity in Peru is a transient and fluid classification that one may utilize to different extents at different points in one’s life. Race is conflated with social class, level of education, footwear and clothing (such as a knit hat, or *pollera* for women), hairstyle (such as braids for women), chewing of coca, food and music preferences, being a

Quechua-speaker or having an indigenous-sounding name, darker skin color, living in rural areas, having a long "Inca" nose, and even one's posture (Allen 2002; Babb 2018, 2019; de la Cadena 1995; Hornberger 2014; Sinervo and Hill 2011:137 n.2; Swinehart 2012a; Zorn 2004). This conflation allows for Peru's discriminatory practices to be about *culture*—bodily comportment, cleanliness, behaviors—and thus not be "racist" (de la Cadena 2000; Weismantel and Eisenman 1998:122). As de la Cadena (2000:330) explains, "Moving away from biological notions of race has provided for a comfortable self-absolution of racist guilt, without eradicating culturalist notions of race, which now cohabit with gender, class, ethnic, and geographic discrimination."

I use the term "ethno-racial" categories, following Moreno and Oropesa (2012) and Planas et al. (2016) with recognition of the complex historical, social, cultural, and linguistic processes that have shaped and continue to shape ethnic and racial classifications. Over the course of one's life in Peru, one may hold, reject, and reclaim markers of indigenous identity to varying degrees in different times and places. For example, one who moves from a rural area to a city and sheds indices of indigeneity such as clothing, language, and cultural practices will no longer be ascribed the statuses of "indigenous" or *quechuahablante* by strangers.

Even as one's identity can fluctuate over time and space, Peru's racial imaginary establishes a binary between coastal *limeños* (people of Lima) and residents of the mountains, sometimes called *serranos* (from *sierra,* or mountain chain), a term that can be used derogatorily (Weismantel and Eisenman 1998). To add further complexity, there is a hierarchy within the mountainous regions as well: the higher in the mountains one

lives, the poorer, less educated, dirtier, and more indigenous one is considered to be.[52] De la Cadena (2000:21) characterizes this historically grounded imaginary as a "racialization of geography." Someone from Cusco city may *cholear* (basically, discriminate against) someone from the higher surrounding mountains, but that same person could be the victim of *choleando* by someone from Lima. Relatedly, Berg (2015:16) refers to a "spatialization of race" in Peru: an imaginary separation of white, mestizo, and coastal peoples from Andean and indigenous peoples, who are expected to live in the mountainous regions. In Lima, intellectual elites are considered "socially white," mestizo, or *trigüeño* (wheat-colored) because higher class and education levels whiten (de la Cadena 2000:11,14).

In 1968, during a period of agrarian reform and encouragement of *mestizaje* or "mixing," the state renamed "indigenous" people or *indios* (Indians) as *campesinos* (peasants) (Huarcaya 2018). Highland Quechua-speaking agriculturalists referred to themselves as such, and still do in some cases; but *campesinos,* having taken on the same racist connotations of the derogatory *indios*, were understood to be illiterate, rural, Quechua-speaking, and wearers of traditional clothing (de la Cadena 2000; Hogue and Rau 2008; Huarcaya 2018; Huayhua 2018; Zorn 2004).

Despite the re-naming of *indios* to *campesinos,* the negative connotations clung to highland *quechuahablantes,* and identifying as such continues to be stigmatized, leading

[52] Indigenous people in the rainforest regions or *selva* were divided in the 2017 census into multiple groups: "nativo" or from "Amazonía," "Ashaninka," "Shipibo Konibo," "Awajún," or from "otro Pueblo Indígena u Originario." Combined, these groups make up about 1.1% of Peru's population (INEI 2018:214). They are often referred to as "nativos," "comunidades nativas," or "indígenas." Afrodescendants make up 3.6% of the Peruvian population (ibid.). People who identify in any of these ways certainly face discrimination as well.

to what de la Cadena (2000) refers to as "de-Indianization." Evidence of this can be seen in a survey project (Planas et al. 2016) that allowed for multiple terms of self-identification by women throughout Peru; it demonstrated that, in a sample of women who identified in some way as Quechua, only 37% identified strongly as Quechua and 63% identified weakly as Quechua. Most (64%) of those with strong Quechua affiliation were called "navigators" in the study because they affiliated with at least one other ethno-racial identification. Of the "navigators" in the survey, 69% were predominantly Quechua–mestizo and 41% Quechua–white (Planas et al. 2016:77-78). This is indicative of de-Indianization because "[w]ithin this process, a de-Indianizing individual can be mestizo and indigenous at the same time" (de la Cadena 2000:30).

De-Indianizing individuals, those whom Planas et al. (2016) call "navigators," who self-identify with multiple ethno-racial categories, may also be referred to (often derogatorily) as *cholos/as*. Berg (2015:1) defines a *cholo/a* as one who had indigenous origins, moved to the city, and began living a typical urban lifestyle. They continue to wear traditional clothing and occupy an intermediary space between urban and rural or between mestizo and indigenous (Babb 2011:90, 2019:141). The term can also be used in the diminutive form, *cholita*, as a "derogatory and patronizing name for Quechua and Spanish-speaking women of mixed lineage and clothing style in Peru" (Henrici 2007:149). The term has changed somewhat, though, and is now also a term of endearment (Babb 2019); I have heard it used for friends and significant others. Clarice, an urban-dwelling woman who comes to work at MA in jeans and T-shirts for performing quality control and packing, referred to herself as a *chola*. She is from "*provincias*,"

shorthand for anywhere outside of Lima. Explaining her statement, she went on to say that all Peruvians are *cholos* because of their mixed descent due to their colonial heritage which has included Amerindian, Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants, and Afrodescendants, among other groups.[53]

The ideology of *mestizaje*, mixture of at least two cultures, was established as an alternative to racism in assimilationist policies before the 1980s (Jackson and Warren 2005). These policies sought blending and reduction of indigeneity rather than embracing multiculturalism. In discussions with Peruvians now, it is clear that that ideology of mixture and sameness is still common. The glorification of mixture erases the experiences of discrimination faced by Andean peoples, but is also a revalorization of pan-Peruvian heritage and experience. Quechua is now part of that ideology; Clarice called the language part of "nuestra cultura" (our culture) as Peruvians and bemoaned her inability to speak it herself. Even as Peruvians are homogenized by these discourses, they have not eliminated discrimination. In fact, discrimination is still oppressive for *quechuahablantes* and Andean peoples, especially those who visit or move to Lima, the "cultural," economic, financial, and governmental center of the country.

Despite the severity of racism in Peru, overtly racist terms are not used in interactions between Spanish-speaking urban dwellers and Quechua-speaking villagers. Huayhua (2014) describes what one could call a "covert racist discourse" (Hill 2008) among *combi* riders in a Southern Peru highland town near Cusco in which Quechua-speakers are called *comunero* (commoner) and *campesino,* compared to animals, and

---

[53] Berg (2015:18) explores a similar example of claiming to be a *cholo,* and I heard others discuss how everyone in Peru is of mixed heritage, very few are "purely" of any race.

spoken about in Spanish that they cannot understand. These linguistic forms of racism accompany behaviors like staring, glaring, sneering, and refusing to stand close to or touch Quechua-speaking villagers even during rush hours when, in Peru, personal space is unheard of if not a laughable expectation. The Quechua-speakers, on the other hand, display subservient linguistic and physical behaviors such as sitting on the floor, avoiding eye contact, referring to mestizo urban dwellers with honorifics like *profesor* (teacher, the occupation of many of these passengers) and *don* (sir), and giving up their seats to them (Huayhua 2014).

Elsewhere in her writing, Huayhua (2018) explores the effect of buccal aperture (openness of the mouth) on racist reactions to speaking in both Spanish and Quechua. The three vowels of Quechua and five vowels of Spanish do not align and first-language Quechua-speakers employ a different bodily hexis of vowel pronunciation than do first-language Spanish-speakers (Bourdieu 1991). Regardless of which language someone spoke, listeners in a matched-guise test could distinguish which language was their first. Forming vowels when speaking either language with a wide aperture (as used in Spanish vowels) was perceived to indicate that speakers were more highly educated and urban. Those using narrow-aperture vowels were discriminated against as “motoso” (dull, as in not sharp) even when speaking Spanish (Huayhua 2018; Kvietok Dueñas 2019).

Quechua-language use is perceived as strongly related to Quechua identification. In fact, the Census of Peru has conflated language use with indigeneity, considering that if one’s mother tongue were an indigenous language, the speaker would also be

indigenous (Moreno and Oropesa 2012).[54] Prior to 2017, the Census did not directly ask about race or ethnicity.[55] That year, 60.2% of people identified as mestizo, 22.3% as "de origen Quechua" (of Quechua origin), 5.9% as white, 3.6% as Afrodescendant and 2.4% as Aymara (INEI 2018:214).[56] Moreno and Oropesa's (2012:1220) "nationally representative survey," along with other statistics, demonstrates that a large Peruvian majority considers themselves mestizos and that the number of individuals referring to themselves as indigenous is smaller than would be predicted by mother-tongue classifications alone. In Planas et al.'s (2016:79-80) survey research, which allowed for selection of multiple ethno-racial categorizations, women who were Quechua-speakers (74%), had lower levels of education (54%), and were of lower socioeconomic classes (54%) felt a strong Quechua affiliation. But the study showed that, of all of those who identified, whether weakly or strongly, as Quechua, "the typical Quechua woman is an educated urban limeña, Quechua or recent-Spanish speaker, who visits sporadically her rural place of origin and has frequently experienced discrimination. We do not know if she wears or not the traditional Andean dress" (ibid.:84). This description sounds much

[54] I draw on the Census throughout this chapter, but in my conversations and on the news were many indications that it was conducted problematically. Census-takers were poorly trained (Torres 2017), not provided with enough materials or time (Yrigoyen 2017), did not reach all of the homes, and were not provided with questions in, let alone training to speak in, multiple languages. The Census asked questions as to the household possessions a family had, like a microwave, blender, refrigerator, color television, and washing machine, presumably as a proxy for understanding their socioeconomic class (INEI 2018).

[55] Ethno-racial self-identification is not indicative of language use and the Census only asked about "lengua materna," not the languages that one currently speaks.

[56] The Census phrased the question this way: "Por sus costumbres y sus antepasados, ¿usted se siente o considera […]?" (By your customs and your ancestors, do you feel or consider yourself […]?), followed by a list, of which respondents were able to choose only one (INEI 2018:637).

like the artisans, both men and women, I met as well. The authors of this study suggest that the Quechua identity could be in some ways considered resilient, if also fragile; and that Quechua does not map on to a clear ethnic category, as it is predominantly considered to refer to a language, not a people (ibid.:88-89).

In their survey, Moreno and Oropesa (2012:1235), allowing for only one ethno-racial identifier, found that those who identified as indigenous had had less education and were more likely to be from the highlands than coastal regions. Taken together, the two survey projects indicate that Quechua identification is likely to be a secondary ethno-racial category, especially for the more educated and socially mobile; Moreno and Oropesa consider this to be indicative of "de-Indianization" (de la Cadena 2000). Both studies also indicate that projects allowing choice of only one ethno-racial classification or conflating linguistic knowledge with ethno-racial classification are reductive of the complex identity processes occurring for people on a moment-by-moment basis.

"De-Indianization" and secondary ethno-racial category identification are ways that scholars are recognizing complex forms of identity construction. Individuals do not need to either highlight or hide indigenous identity across all contexts. The Bolivian youth with whom Swinehart (2012b) works, for example, use Aymara in hip-hop videos they put onto YouTube and Facebook. These videos incorporate traditional Andean instruments and musical themes demonstrating that urbanization does not necessarily lead to self-identification as mestizo or rejection of all aspects of indigenous cultures. In some instances, moving to urban areas and obtaining formal education and professional identities can even allow an individual the means to access a greater sense of their

indigeneity (Hornberger 2014; Hornberger and Swinehart 2012). In Peru, to overcome stigmatization and achieve upward mobility, *quechuahablantes* shed outward markers of indigenous identity: they leave the countryside, speak Spanish, dress in Western style store-bought apparel, and formulate "indigenous mestizo" identities (Allen 2002; de la Cadena 2000; Hill 2013). Some migrants find, however, that "indigeneity comes to be defined less by traditional ethnic markers (like subsistence strategies, daily dress, or language use) and more by the conscious and selective performance of indigenous identity through presentations of self in important political and cultural contexts" (Hill 2013:394). They may feel an increased valorization of their heritage identity and the ways that access to indigenous cultural practices and linguistic skills can grant them cosmopolitan opportunities (Hill 2013; Hornberger 2014; Hornberger and Swinehart 2012).

Peru did not have a strong indigenous movement like Bolivia and Ecuador, so indigenous rights are especially fraught in Peru, where the ideology of *mestizaje* dominates (Huarcaya 2018). The country is multicultural, though, and ethno-racial categorizations are not even fixed for individuals, as in different contexts and times they could be indigenous, mestizo, or otherwise. Those from Andean regions, such as the artisans with whom I worked, are "negotiating indigeneity" (Hornberger 2014:291; Sánchez and Mayer 2018), especially in urban contexts where discrimination is still strongly felt.

Quechua Language Endangerment

As part of de-Indianization processes and negotiating self-identification, language shift from Quechua to Spanish is underway or nearly complete for many communities.[57] Allen (2002) describes one such case of language shift in her study of a small highland community in Peru. This community transitioned from being a subsistence-based Quechua-speaking community to using a cash-based system and having modern housing and technology. Christianity prevailed and the young people were less and less comfortable using Quechua. There are some indications that Quechua is relatively "safe" such as the high number of speakers—eight to twelve million in the Andean region (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004) and 3.5 million in Peru alone (Adelaar 2014). These numbers, though, are unreliable and misleading because there are multiple Quechuan languages, some of which have been better documented and studied than others (Adelaar 2014; Mannheim 2018:508).

Quechua is one of the three official languages of Peru and should in theory be taught in schools, but resources are lacking (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004). My cusqueña Quechua instructor informed me that schools teach two hours of Quechua and two hours of English per week. In Kvietok Dueñas's (2019) fieldsite, five hours of instruction were devoted to English but only one hour per week was devoted to Quechua. The state's support of Quechua is largely symbolic. According to my instructor, teachers do not have to pass an oral examination for certification and may not have had

[57] This is true, of course, for other indigenous languages of Peru such as Shipibo-Konibo. A substantial Shipibo population have moved to Lima. Sánchez and Mayer (2018) demonstrate through the use of surveys in 2002 and 2017 that positive attitudes for the language continue and parents are in favor of their children speaking it, but are not themselves passing on the language.

conversations with native speakers. Kvietok Dueñas's (2019) research shows that many Quechua teachers did not have formal training, a consistent schedule, or prior experience teaching the language. As could be expected, students' linguistic competence upon graduation was minimal. Quechua is less often taught in urban schools than Spanish is taught in Quechua-dominant regions, a demonstration of "one-way interculturality" that establishes Spanish as the preferred and more important language (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004:46; Sumida Huaman 2014).

Many languages in the Quechua language family were categorized in the range from "vulnerable" to "critically endangered," according to the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010), and official status as a national language of Peru has done little to change this (Hornberger 1998). Further indication of language shift across Peru comes through historical figures. An estimated 36% of Peru's population spoke Quechua in 1947; today, the number is down to about 12% (Adelaar 2014). Quechua-speakers are increasingly bilingual and the Quechua languages are losing domains of use to Spanish (Hornberger and King 2001). Despite evidence that the most recent wave of young migrants to the city are making and using media, music, and technology to promote and revitalize the language (Coronel-Molina 2015:71), most varieties remain vulnerable to shift, some more so than others. The 2017 Census asked respondents about their "lengua materna aprendida en la niñez" (mother tongue learned in childhood). The numbers of people learning Quechua as a mother tongue has fallen from 16.6% in the 1993 Census to 13.9% in 2017 (INEI 2018:198).

Discrimination is discouraging public usage of Quechua, especially in the city of Lima, where, along with Callao (a neighboring city where the airport is located), 500,000 Quechua-speakers reside (Adelaar 2014). I was told on at least a few occasions that there are more Quechua-speakers within the city of Lima than anywhere else in Peru. Adelaar (2014:5) claims, "For many decades Quechua speakers have migrated to Lima and other coastal cities in environments that are predominantly Spanish-speaking and highly unfavorable for the retention of indigenous languages (see Marr 2011)." Quechua-speakers in Lima have tended to hide their use of Quechua, restricting it to joking and home registers, except for the elderly, who are most likely to continue to speak the language (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004). Different languages in the Quechua language family, too, have different levels of prestige and acceptability. The variety used in Cusco tends to be perceived as superior or more legitimate because the city was the center of the Inca Empire. The Ayacuchan variety is considered a "simpler" form of Quechua and more pleasant-sounding to Spanish-speakers. It has been adopted by the state and is utilized for the Peruvian Quechua-language news program *Noqanchik*. In some urban settings, such as Cusco, speaking Quechua or Aymara is considered a benefit for educated urban dwellers (Hornberger 2014).[58] Quechua's "elite" form is described by Huayhua (2018:422) as a

> particular variety of Quechua spoken and written within the framework of Spanish. Their [urban elites'] Quechua is reorganized according to Spanish grammatical structure, facilitating the use of Spanish lexicon with

[58] This mirrors the positive social statuses conferred to bilingual Americans who learned Spanish as a second language over bilingual native Spanish-speakers in the U.S. whose English is influenced by Spanish. For example, Urciuoli (1996:38) writes, "Speaking a second language is legitimate only when it leaves no trace in one's English."

> Quechua inflections, with the entire package produced within the Spanish articulatory style.

Mannheim (2018) calls this the “overlay register,” the elite form of Quechua used in urban settings, especially Cusco, that emerged from the colonial influence of Spanish settlers on Quechua.

As we have seen, Quechua spoken with Spanish-like vowels ideologically positions a speaker as well-educated and urban (Huayhua 2018); this is the work of the elite overlay register. It is now used by first-language Spanish-speakers such as NGO workers, traders, politicians—and, I expect, this anthropologist—particularly in cities and for bilingual education (Mannheim 2018). The overlay gained prestige and a perception as being “expressive,” “emotional,” and “dulce” (sweet) because elites used it to write poetry and perform theatrical works (Huayhua 2018:422). In general, the Quechua of monolingual speakers is much different from that learned by outsiders who have forced a mapping of Quechua onto Spanish, which reduces cultural difference and surely presents challenges to efforts to preserve Quechua languages.[59] Mannheim (2015:206) cautions, “The takeaway lesson is that the common practice that ethnographers and archaeologists have of citing Quechua expressions accompanied by denotationally equivalent translations are misleading culturally and ontologically, and needs to be replaced by

[59] This is of course discouraging in light of linguistic relativity research, as place-based indigenous languages used in rural and ecologically diverse settings for hundreds of years hold great richness and diversity. Ecuadorian Quichua, too, maintains an urban standardized form called United Kichwa that is taught in urban settings and conveys one’s modernity and education level (Wroblewski 2014). Although sometimes appearing as though its speaker is denying indigenous roots, this standardized language is continually being “indigenized,” blurring the lines between “indigenous” and non-indigenous languages (Wroblewski 2012; 2014).

something closer to radical translation." The nuance and richness of native-speaker rural varieties of Quechua are being lost to the elite register and to the dominance of Spanish.

Peru's Internal Violent Conflict and Resulting Urban Migration

Urban migration from rural Andean regions has been occurring steadily since the mid-twentieth century to the present, especially impacting the capital city of Lima, making it "Andeanized"; other Andean cities and regional capitals, such as Cusco, Arequipa, Ayacucho, and Huancayo have also experienced much growth (Babb 2019; Berg 2015; Hirsch and Jones 2018:555). Indeed, the trend of urbanization is continuing; the 2017 Census of Peru reports a change from 72.5% urban population in 2007 to 79.3% in 2017 (INEI 2018:16). Since the colonial period, though, indigenous people are considered out of place in cities and those who have migrated as "inauthentic" (Gagné and Trépid 2016; Berg 2015). As Berg (2015:15) explains, in this imaginary, "Indians belonged in the mountains unless hidden as invisibilized labor in the kitchens or bedrooms of elite households."

In the last few decades, the district of Chorrillos—neighboring Miraflores, where MA is located—went from being "outside" of Lima to being centrally located in the sprawling city. Many migrants have come to create enclaves that start out as "invasiones" in which people set up scrap-metal or cane homes with cardboard roofs during the night. They live like this without legal ownership, water, or electricity until they can bring or buy more permanent materials. At first, water must be trucked in to fill tanks and electricity requires generators. Over time, the "invasion" becomes more permanent and eventually electricity and plumbing are installed along with transportation throughout

(often *mototaxis*, basically a golf-cart body on a motorcycle) as they become established. At this point, the settlements are referred to as "pueblos jóvenes" (young towns). Lima has squatter settlements interspersed with high-rise condominium buildings, making the inequality directly visible in many areas. Other neighborhoods are dominated by cinder-block buildings, often with rebar coming from the tops to indicate plans for another floor when there is money, and addresses only as "lote" (lot) numbers because there are no named streets.

Much of the appeal of migrating to Lima is for economic and educational possibilities, but another major driver of migration was the internal conflict spanning the decades of the 1980s and 1990s. Between 1981 and 1993, according to the Lugar de la Memoria museum in Lima, Ayacucho city grew 65.2% and Lima grew 34.7%. Meanwhile, the rural population of the Ayacucho region fell 23% in the same span. The violence of the internal conflict was most strongly felt in mountainous Andean regions, particularly Ayacucho, where Abimael Guzmán established the Maoist Communist group, *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), in 1980 (Sullivan 2018). Guzmán was a philosophy professor and he recruited young men at the universities, making the victims of the conflict disproportionately the well-educated, although farmers and cattle ranchers were much affected as well. This time period was a major impetus for fleeing the Andean region; "internally displaced persons" migrated to cities (Jackson and Warren 2005:552), as *Sendero Luminoso* resorted to violence against the community members, and later the armed forces tortured anyone considered suspect to obtain names of people who were involved with the terrorist group. The conflict also included the Movimiento

Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA) guerrillas, who saw themselves as democratic, against government agents like police and military, militias of civilians, and paramilitaries (La Serna 2018). 75% of victims in Ayacucho were Quechua-speakers (Del Pino and Agüero 2014:192) and 75% of the more than 69,000 victims across Peru were Quechua-speakers or of Quechua origin; these included women and children and many individuals who had never fought in the conflict (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, in Molinié 2018:377 and La Serna 2018:341). People, especially poor, Andean, illiterate, and Quechua-speaking people, were displaced, disappeared, kidnapped, threatened, raped, and murdered by the terrorist organization as well as by military personnel who captured, tortured, and executed suspected guerrilla fighters or sympathizers (La Serna 2018). Students and professors were suspected to be working with the terrorists and thus targeted by the government. They captured people from their homes and tortured them for names of those working with the insurgents. Carrying books by José Carlos Mariátegui, the Marxist philosopher, was enough to draw expectations that one was a *senderista*. I was even told during my fieldwork that young people who support progressive politics continue to feel pressure to hide these feelings, as progressive leftist groups and candidates, like Bernie Sanders for those who follow the politics of the United States, evoke fears still present from Peru's time of Communist violence.

In 1992, then-president Alberto Fujimori dissolved Congress and enacted an autogolpe (self-coup), which gave him the power of a dictator until 2000. Currently serving a 25-year prison sentence, Fujimori was responsible for many murders, especially

of professors and students (who had been recruited by Guzmán, himself a professor), as he sought to neutralize the terrorist threat.[60] Fujimori also implemented sterilizations of indigenous women for "family planning" (Babb 2018:410).[61] Despite Guzmán's capture in 1992, followed by imprisonment, Sendero Luminoso remained active during the entire decade of the 1990s. The internal conflict was extremely influential for Peru's current social, demographic, racial, and even economic conditions and it continues to be very present in discourses and current events of the country. Some fear that *Sendero Luminoso* is hiding out and that history could repeat itself, worsened by lacking school curriculum covering the violent time period. Clarice, the processing and packaging manager of MA, told me that her parents had seen beheadings where they lived. She had been one of the children to hear these stories, but other parents chose to not talk about this time period. Parents and widows who lived through it are afraid that it will be forgotten and repeated (Del Pino and Agüero 2014; Portocarrero 2017).[62] I was told that people do not like to talk about the time of terrorism, that teachers and government officials deny that these types of events occurred, and that neither private nor public schools teach about it. The majority of the artisans whom I met, however, know of these events firsthand and

[60] In Peru, all lesser sentences are absolved if someone is tried for multiple offenses, so this 25-year sentence is just one of, but the longest of, the sentences for which Fujimori was tried.

[61] In July, 2017, I attended a protest called "Marcha Contra el Indulto," a march against a medical pardon proposed for Fujimori which would allow him to leave prison to seek medical attention. Individuals who had lost loved ones during the insurgency held portraits of them as they marched.

[62] The *Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia, y la Inclusión Social* (Place of Memory, Tolerance, and Social Inclusion, referred to simply as Lugar de la Memoria, or LUM) museums in Lima and Ayacucho seek to educate visitors about the time period. They promote the slogan "para que no se repita" (so that it is not repeated).

migrated to the city in search of safety and opportunity. Their autobiographical stories explicitly, or, more often implicitly, revolve around their experiences during this time period, as it propelled their emigrations from dangerous regions.

Clifford refers to urban migration by indigenous peoples as "indigenous diasporas," pointing out that many native people (particularly, for him, in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia) now reside in cities (2013:70; Gagné and Trépid 2016). Diasporic belonging, Clifford explains, allows "[p]eople [to] make a place here by keeping alive a strong feeling of attachment elsewhere" and it is not an either-or process (77). They maintain a sense of connection to homeland and family there, as do other immigrants, and they may return for general visits, specific celebrations, or to help during harvests or planting (ibid.). Now that the threat of terrorism has abated, artisans frequently visit their hometowns (Quinua in Ayacucho, for many), especially at Christmas or to help with their family's or their own *chacras* (family farms). Many feel as though Lima or other cities are now home and that they could not move back, but others want to move back someday, perhaps after their children are grown and self-sufficient. A knitter from Juliaca (in Puno, southern Peru), Milagros, told me how she missed the "campo" and only needing to worry about the "chacra." Although she still maintains a *chacra*, of which she proudly speaks, she and her family migrated to the more urban area in order for her children to get an education. Some of them now are attending universities. Milagros's parents and grandparents were monolingual Quechua-speakers, she is bilingual, and her children are semi-speakers. Milagros told me that she does not like Juliaca because it is too loud, even on the outskirts where she lives, and

people play music at all hours. She prefers the peace, quiet, and fresh air of the countryside.

Many artisans discussed their connections and visits to their hometown with a sense of joy and nostalgia. They told me about going home to serve their communities by sharing what they had gained through fair-trade involvement. For example, Alejandro told me about returning for a visit to Quinua every December and hoping to move back someday. He shared with me and Chiara, a visiting Italian fair-trade client, his experiences of giving students toys as rewards for high grades or for giving correct answers in a quiz game. He also participated each year in *chocolatadas* to provide Christmas gifts. Most migrants with whom I spoke, in and outside of the organization, considered living in Lima a necessary, if perhaps undesirable, choice that provided opportunities and, during the time of terrorism, increased safety.

Artisans' Ethno-Racial Self-Identification Practices

Being indigenous is still stigmatized in Lima, and identifiers like clothing, hair styles, and posture are conflated with rurality and mountainous regions, backwardness, and speaking Quechua. In contrast, "modernity" and speaking Spanish are perceived to be traits of urban populations. These dichotomous views are especially strong in Lima (de la Cadena 2000; Hornberger 2014; Sumida Huaman 2014) and artisans and others told me that discrimination is less oppressive in Cusco or other Andean cities. Indeed, in Cusco, with its more Andean cultural context, women in *polleras* sell goods on the streets and Quechua can be spoken openly in public; this was an uncommon for me to hear in Lima.

The 2017 Census indicates that a far higher percentage of people self-identify as being of Quechua origin in Andean regions than in Lima (INEI 2018:222).[63]

In my fieldwork, I asked artisans "¿Cómo se identifica usted étnicamente y/o culturalmente?" (How do you self-identify ethnically and/or culturally?) The question was meant to be open-ended and to spark thoughtful consideration and conversation, but it may have been uncomfortable for artisans, considering that we were not close with each other nor of the same background. I did not put limits on the numbers of answers that artisans could give me but some did ask for examples of what I sought. A few artisans responded to the question by identifying as *quechuahablantes*. Many identified as being from a region—predominantly, "provinciano" (from *provincias*), "ayacuchano" (from Ayacucho), or "de la sierra" (from the mountains). Others identified as being from a particular town—"de Quinua" or "de Cochas" (from Quinua, a town in Ayacucho region, or from Cochas, a town outside of Huancayo), or "huacaíno" (from Huancayo). These are common practices for self-identification (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004).

A few of my respondents connected to indigenous ancestors and heritage by saying that they were ethnically Huari, Huanca, or "autóctono."[64] After some close

[63] In giving their one response to ethno-racial classification, 67.7% of respondents in Lima self-identified as mestizo, with 16.4% identifying as "de origen quechua" (of Quechua origin) (INEI 2018:222). Those claiming Quechua origin in the region of Ayacucho are 81.2%, 74.7% in Cusco, and 57% in Puno (where another 33.7% self-identified as Aymara) (222). My Lima-based Quechua teacher referred to himself as mestizo. He was from Cusco and his grandmother spoke little Spanish. She taught him Quechua when he asked her to do so, around the age of eight.

[64] Huari, also spelled Wari, was a large urban center just to the north of Ayacucho near the town of Quinua where Huarpa style ceramics were found (Knobloch 2019). The Quechua II linguistic

consideration and some discussion of the question, one artisan whom I was interviewing, Luis, got some help from his brother, Paulo, to answer the difficult question. After first reading the question aloud, trying to disambiguate its wording, and then giving his own opinions, he said:

> *Como- quechua. Quechua, Aymara, Huari- >Quechua nosotros somos.< Quechuas. Porque acá en el Perú hay- está dividido. Al sur hay el Aymara, (casi al centro) es quechua, un poco al centro también es Huancas. Chimús y los, este, Chachapo:yas. Entonces nosotros étnicamente debemos [decir] quechuas. Huari Quechua. Entre Huari y quechua estamos. Pero más es quechua, de los Incas? Es quechua.*
>
> Like- Quechua. Quechua, Aymara, Huari- >We are Quechua.< Quechuas. Because here in Peru there- it's divided. To the south there's the Aymara, (almost in the middle) is Quechua, a little at the center too is Huancas. Chimús and the, um, Chachapo:yas. Then we ethnically should [say] Quechuas. Huari Quechua. We're between Huari and Quechua. But more Quechua, from the Incas? It's Quechua.

Paulo's response seems to indicate that by his being a Quechua-speaker, something I already knew about Luis and him, he had to respond about his culture as being descended from pre-Columbian people. In other words, by referring to themselves as "quechuahablantes" or even as "de Quinua," or from another Andean town, perhaps they felt they had already told me enough to limit this response to his given possible answers: "Quechua, Aymara, Huari," or other pre-Columbian groups. Speaking Quechua, then, might be enough to imply one's belonging to the broader category of "indigenous." "Quechua" is not a clear ethnic category and most people consider the term to refer to a language, not a people (Planas et al. 2016); "quechuahablante" instead may have subsumed "Quechua" as an ethno-racial categorization. Paulo's response could also point

family branch in its early stages is associated with the Huari state, which was in place from about 500 to 900 AD (Adelaar 2012).

toward a perception that it is only indigenous people that have a "culture," as it is often only the minorities of a country that are discussed as being "cultured" or "ethnic" (Shankar 2008).

After the response quoted above, Paulo continued to tell me that the culture of the Huari was situated in Quinua and the Incas invaded them. Drawing on historical and geographical knowledge of his hometown and Peru's ancient cultures, Paulo seemed to come to his response of "Huari Quechua" (as opposed to Chachapoyas, Chimú, and other pre-Columbian cultures) through logic, as opposed to feeling a sense of cultural affiliation. This respondent drew on a historical interpretation of the question of culture and was the only one to call himself and his family "Quechua" outright, but a few considered themselves "quechuahablantes." In the next example from Juan, "quechuahablante" is directly related to "autóctono," and although he mentions the connection to the past through his ancestors, Juan clearly positions these self-identifications in the present along with his political party affiliation and other categories:

> *Me identifico, pues, este (pause) quechuahabla:nte:. Este, autóctono. (   ) me identifico nacionali:sta. Así:, peruano de los andes. Sí, me identifico normal. Antes quizá tenía (.) un poquito de (pause) vergüe:nza, así no? Pero después- ahora conociendo (más este valoro, más bien mis orígenes) valoro (.) aprecio (.) de donde vengo no. Me imagino mis antepasa:dos, como e:ran, como han vivi:do. Y así me identifico me siento orgulloso me siento (feliz). Me siento normal. Me siento (.) feliz de mis orígenes.*
>
> I identify, well, um (pause) *quechuahabla:nte:.* Um, *autóctono*. (   ) I identify as na:tionalist [party affiliation]. Like tha:t, Peruvian from the Andes. Yeah, I identify normal[ly]. Before maybe I had(.) a little bit of (pause) sha:me, something like that, right? But after- now knowing (more this value (.) better [about] my origins) I value (.) appreciate (.) where I came from right. I imagine my a:ncestors, what they were li:ke, how they had li:ved. And that's how I identify I feel proud I feel (happy). I feel normal. I feel (.) happy about my origins.

None of the respondents called themselves *mestizo* to me, although that response could be predicted by the work of de la Cadena (2000), Moreno and Oropesa (2012), and Planas et al. (2016) reviewed above if these artisans were interested in "de-Indianizing," or disassociating from their Andean Quechua-speaking origins. The artisans also did not use the terms *indígena*, *indio*, or *cholo* for self-identification, but these terms are derogatory in Peru (Planas et al. 2016).[65] Those interviewed may not identify as "indigenous" also due to the lack of pan-indigenous sentiment in Peru—unlike in Bolivia and Ecuador, where indigenous movements were more successful and currently have a greater presence—and the lasting effects of identifying in that way during the war.

Peru is often considered to be divided between coastal, mountainous, and rainforest areas. Only Juan above, and one other respondent (also a Quechua-speaker) called himself "peruano"; this respondent wrote "peruano con toda mi cultura" (Peruvian with all of my culture) on the survey. He was the only artisan who considered his own identity as indiscriminate from others in his country (compared to Juan, for example, who said he was "peruano de los andes" (Peruvian from the Andes). The question of one's self-identification is of course fraught, as it is not fixed, and I did not give a context to

[65] It is also common for indigenous-language speakers or indigenous people to refer to local towns and villages. The Guelavians with whom Falconi (2016) worked called themselves "people of the village" and not "Zapotecs," as did outsiders, in referring to both their ethnicity and language (which they called "idioma" or "dialect"). For another example, see Brulotte (2009) who worked with an artisanal community in which indigenous cultural practices continued but indigenous language and self-identification did not. Although allowing tourists to refer to them as Maya to make use of romantic notions related to that term, Little's (2004a, 2004b) participants used linguistic groupings like Mam, K'iche', and Kaqchikel for self-identification; they had been taught in schools that "Mayas" no longer existed. The wood carvers and painters with whom Chibnik (2003) worked did not refer to themselves as indígena or Zapotec except when selling handicrafts in touristy locales like archaeological ruins.

guide interviewees in answering my question. Hill (2013:392-4) describes the complex identification practices that changed in different contexts for a woman named Gina. She became more mestiza through church and educational affiliations but now needs to prove Quechua-ness when returning to the highlands, at the same time as those institutions that made her more mestiza emphasize her Quechua background. In short, Gina calls herself both mestiza and Quechua but does not feel completely accepted as either.

As I continue to better understand the structures of ethno-racial self-identification (as well as ascribed statuses from others), I recognize the complexity of my question and how discussing Quechua-language use before asking about cultural and ethnic self-identification could have influenced the responses I received. Artisans knew that I would not discriminate against a *quechuahablante* identification, and that I myself was studying the language. Since the time of terrorism has passed, most *quechuahablantes* with whom I spoke seemed to feel open to self-identification as such or as being from regions that also index their "autochthonous" origins. Through their migrations, though, they are firmly situated in urban contexts. For example, Alejandro told me, "Yo me identifico tal como soy. Este (pause) no pierdo mi raíz" (I identify myself just as I am. Um (pause) I don't forget my roots).

Artisans' Stories of Discrimination and Migration

As previously discussed, language use and indigenous-language influence in Spanish such as *mote*, or narrow buccal aperture, are major sources of discrimination that expose one's origins regardless of self-identification and outward physical appearance (Huayhua

2014, 2018; Mannheim 2015).[66] Migrants may find it difficult, or at least time-consuming, to overcome this linguistic influence and many of the artisans with whom I spoke indicated that their accented Spanish was a point of discrimination upon first arriving in Lima. Swinehart (2012a) describes use of stereotypes in comedy performances in Bolivia. Performers make use of emblems of indigeneity like chewing coca and wearing knit hats, along with the stereotypes of being dirty, missing teeth, and making "errors" in written and spoken Spanish, to mock and denigrate Aymara- and Quechua-speakers. In this way, language and appearance come together as a means to perpetuate the stereotypes that Bolivians already hold about Andean populations.

Self-identification practices of artisans have been influenced by their experiences of discrimination, spurred by the association of indigenous identity to ties with terrorist organizations during the war. Most artisans with whom I spoke told me that they felt discrimination most strongly during their early years in Lima or as children in school and that it has since abated. They have become established in their communities, speak Spanish that is accepted in dominant spaces, often with wide buccal aperture, and live urban lifestyles. When I asked them about the discrimination they have faced in their lives, responses distinguished between Lima and Andean regions, and youth and adulthood. The stories they told me in response to specific inquiry about discrimination go further and more explicitly into experiences about the time of terrorism than do stories that artisans tend to tell to MA staff, clients, and tourists, where discrimination and the

---

[66] Swinehart (2012b) discusses stigmatization of Aymara-influenced Spanish. Kvietok Dueñas (2019) explores children's use of "mock Quechua" using *mote* to make fun of Quechua-speaking children.

war are sometimes implicit motivations for their migration stories. In the excerpts from my interviews in this chapter, though, discrimination is directly discussed. Artisans position it as an experience set in the past, when first arriving in Lima. Mateo's description of discrimination, for example, predominantly positions it in the 1990s; this was a time when tensions surrounding indigeneity were still especially high because of the association of indigenous identity with *Sendero Luminoso* and other violent insurgents.

> Melissa: *Ha experimentado discriminación en su vida?*
> Mateo: *<Discrim- en los últimos- en una vida simple, sí.> Cuando los, por ejemplo en los (   ) años de dos mil, (tal vez) noventa y siete. Porque cuando venías acá en Lima y venías de- es provinciano, "quien es eso," no? "Cho::lo!" o sea, siempre había eso no? Pero, últimamente no, ya eso (   ) Lima por provincianos (por lo cual)*
> Melissa: *Ok, ahora ha mejorado.*
> Mateo: *En ésta área, sí. No no, no podemos que [decir]- discriminación en los últimos años, no. Pero en los años noventa, en esos años, sí, un provinciano (   ) que decía "Cho::lo!" "Campesi::no!" (   )* ((gruff, mocking voice))
> […]
> Melissa: *Cuál cree que era la causa, por qué-*
> Mateo: *El causa es que a veces cuando vienes acá en Lima no:: hablas °correctamente pues° el castella:no, el costu:mbre, todo eso, no?*
>
> Melissa: Have you experienced discrimination in your life?
> Mateo: <Discrim- in the last- simply in life, yes.> When the, for example in the ( ) years of two thousand, (maybe) ninety-seven. Because when you came here to Lima and you came from- you are *provinciano,* "who is that," right? "Cho::lo!" or, there was always that, right? But, lately no, that was   (   ) Lima for *provincianos* (like that)
> Melissa: Ok, now it's gotten better.
> Mateo: In that area, yeah. We can't [say]- discrimination in the last few years, no. But in the nineties, in those years, yes, a *provinciano* (   ) they would say "cho::lo! Campesi::no!" (   ) ((gruff, mocking voice))
> […]

Melissa: What do you think was the cause, why-
Mateo: The cause is that sometimes when you come here to Lima you do::n't speak °correctly you know° Spa:nish, the cu:stom, all that, right?

Mateo then expanded upon why Lima was this way, saying that everyone at that time wanted to come to the capital city because it was a symbol of progress. He related Lima's past to the United States' present, one involving much immigration and discrimination. In his accounts of discrimination, Mateo infers that migrants' ways of speaking Spanish were "incorrect." He removes himself from the response, even though I asked directly of his own experiences with discrimination, by using *tú* (informal *you*) forms of the verbs. He generalizes all *provincianos* under the same umbrella for receiving discriminatory name-calling like "cholo" and "campesino," which he conveys in a lowered, gruff voice with drawn-out vowels, as though they are shouted or used disparagingly to one's face. To him, it was not so much the discrimination that had changed, but the migrants themselves, who had to learn "correct" Spanish and customs of the city to ameliorate their situation.

José also told me that there was discrimination in Lima but not in Quinua, his hometown. His experiences of discrimination occurred when he was thirteen and fourteen years old, in school. Like Mateo, José feels that discrimination of the past has now lightened, in some part due to the migrants' doing well economically in the city.

José: *Lamentablemente simple en- en todo lugar creo que simple de eso de que- cuando uno (pause) va de repente pues de un lugar a otro de repente conoces- no estás al tanto con todo[s] los conocimientos que tiene otro provi- [...] y como que usted viene acá en Perú, le pregunta, hay muchas cosas de repente no sabe, no, entonces hay gente de repente le pregunta entonces(.) hay muchas personas que intentan forma de burla. Y piensa entonces trata de- de de de: que pasa de acá de de: (pause) imaginación siempre simple (.) de personas de Lima? Siempre ellos se concebían*

arriba y los de la sierra o de la selva siempre abaja. Siempre hay esa discriminación. Sí.
Melissa: *Todavía existe?*
José: *Existe todavía, sí, sí. Aún existe sí. Sigue existe. Pero lo lo bueno, lo bueno es(.) mucha gente han venido de la sierra, de la selva, a la costa (.) y mucha muchas personas han progresado de verdad económicamente. Han progresado económicamente más que la persona de la costa. Entonces con eso, este, han ganado mucho respecto (.) de que (pause) persona de la costa se creía mucho más superior en conocimi~en todo pero no es así.*

José: Unfortunately just in- everywhere I think that it's just that- when someone (pause) goes maybe from one place to another maybe you know- you're not aware of all of the knowledge that they have in another provin- […] and like you came here to Peru, I'll ask you, there are a lot of things maybe that you don't know, right, then there are people maybe that ask you then(.) there are lot of people that try to make fun. And they think then try to- to to to: that it goes through their their: imagination always just (.) of people in Lima? They were always considering themselves higher and those from the *sierra* or from the rainforest always lower. There's always that discrimination. Yes.
Melissa: That still exists?
José: It still exists, yes, yes. It still exists yes. Continues to exist. But the the good, the good is(.) a lot of people have come from the mountains and rainforest to the coast (.) and many many people have progressed actually economically. They have progressed economically more than the person from the coast. So with that, um, they have gained a lot of respect (.) so that (pause) the person from the coast can believe themselves to be superior in their knowled~in everything but that's not how it is.

José continues by explaining how, despite their hard work and businesses, people from *provincias* have continued to face discrimination, as is the case for immigrants to the United States. Unlike Mateo, José did not mention derogatory phrases, but, like Mateo, he also did not discuss any personal accounts. Twice relating the Peruvian experiences to my own as an international visitor in Peru, and that of the United States as a place where immigrants can succeed, he implicitly made Lima out to be almost like a different country from Quinua. Early in this response, the fault of not fitting in in Lima was related

to not knowing the customs of the city. Later, though, migrants from the mountains and the rainforest were discussed as having succeeded due to economic gain—gain that surpassed that of persons originally from the coast. Like in Mateo's description, the way out of discrimination for José has been through migrants' own efforts.

Indeed, the resilience of the artisans with whom I spoke was impressive. They shared stories of having experienced great loss and trauma like losing their parents to terrorist acts, and of their ability to get an education and work hard to overcome these experiences. Liliana's story brings together her experiences of discrimination, terrorism, and language skills. In response to the question about discrimination, Liliana replied:

> *Podría ser cuando era niña, no? […] a veces por el idioma que uno hablaba, no. Yo hablo desde mi niñez quechua. Entonces sí a veces, de eso, recibía [discriminación] no? […] Cuando vienes de provincia al capital y eres quechuahabla:nte* ((chuckles)) *(.) no?*
>
> It could have been when I was a girl, right? […] Sometimes because of the language that one spoke, right. Since childhood I speak Quechua. Then yes sometimes, because of that, I have gotten [discrimination] you know? […] When you come from *provincia* to the capital and you are a *quechuahabla:nte* ((chuckles)) (.) you know?

After I let her know that I was interested in this process of migration, Liliana divulged more of her story.

> *Nosotros- consecuencias que hubo e:n (.) el año 80? Lo que es este: (pause) mm: (pause) socio- como se llama política que hubo con terrorismo? Entonces, en el año ochenta y nueve: lo asesinó a mi papá. Los terroristas. Y éramos cinco hermanos menores. Y: eso fue el motivo yo para venirme acá a Lima, no. Y: yo llegué (   ) cuando tenía diez años a Lima. Bueno, sin poder hablar (.) ni una palabra en, en el castellano! ((Melissa: Wow. Liliana: Chuckles)). Era terrible, no?~Y: y: y volver a:: es- ya- porque (.) e:n Huamanga [Ayacucho] mis clases pues será en lo que es el Que:chua, los profesores nos enseñaban [en quechua]. Llegar al capital y escuchar en otro idioma pues será (.) terrible no? Sin saber entender, que vas a hace:r. Y un año descansé para (hacer) continuar mis*

estudios. Y terminé mi primaria? pero ya la secundaria hice: (.), como el trato de mi [pariente] era también poquito (pause) mm: °un poquito (podría decir) no me trató bien?° ((Chuckles))

We- consequences that happened i:n (.) 1980? That is um: (pause) mm: (pause) socio- how do you say it politics that was occurring with terrorism? Then, in the year eighty-ni:ne they assassinated my dad. The terrorists. And we were five young siblings. A:nd that was the motivation for me to come here to Lima, right. A:nd I came (   ) when I was ten years old to Lima. Well, without being able to speak (.) not even a word in, in Spanish! ((Melissa: Wow. Llilana: Chuckles)). It was terrible, right?~A:nd a:nd and to return to:: it's- already- because (.) i:n Huamanga [Ayacucho] my classes like will be in Quechua, the teachers taught us [in Quechua]. To arrive at the capital and listen in another language well that will be (.) terrible right? Without knowing how, understanding, what are you going to do: And for a year I rested to (make it) so I could continue my studies. And I finished my primary school? but I di:d the secondary (.), like my [relative]'s treatment of me was a little (pause) mm: °a little (I could say) they didn't treat me well?° ((Chuckles))

Driven by her father's assassination, Liliana migrated to Lima when she was ten years old without knowing "even a word" of Spanish. Later, when Liliana was sixteen, she worked in a relative's workshop. She continued on to tell me that in one place where she was able to live, she would have good education but poor treatment from a relative, and, in the other, she would receive the opposite. She chose to be treated well and have lower-quality education in which she was only able to study in high school one day a week; she worked in the handicrafts workshop the other days. Fourteen years after finishing high school in this way, she told me, she decided to go to university to study business administration, which now helps her with her own business.

In another example of artisans' experiences of discrimination in the time of terrorism, Juan told me:

Melissa: *Me parece que: (pause) durante los años de (pause) terrorismo era más difícil decir que 'soy quechuahablante:' o 'soy de sierra,' no?*

> Juan: *Ah, sí. Sí sí era un poco más complicado porque. te podía entender de sospecho:sos, de terrori:sta. Sí es- sí sí sí. Sí, te: (pause) sí te (capturaron.)*
>
> Melissa: It seems li:ke (pause) during the years of (pause) terrorism that it was more difficult to say that 'I'm a *quechuahablante:*' or 'I'm from the *sierra,*' right?
> Juan: Ah, yes. Yes yes it was a little more complicated because. they could think you were suspe:cts, a terrori:st. Yes it is- yes yes yes. Yes, you: (pause) they (captured you.)

He told me that there were murders and that the marines were not accepting new recruits from Ayacucho becuase they thought perhaps they would get infiltrated, as members of those communities were feared to be *Sendero Luminoso* sympathizers or part of the insurgent groups. Continuing, I asked,

> Melissa: *Ahora en Lima no es- no hay mucha discriminación ahora?*
> Juan: *Eh (.) Sí hay, no? Pero: (pause). Sí hay, pero (   ) no tanto como antes, pero siempre hay. Se escucha, se. Se se (respira), ves. Cierto. No (   ) no este (.) explícitamente. Pero, uno capta. Uno puede. Uno la da cuenta que, no (deberan así) de frente pero sí hay, sí hay.*
>
> Melissa: Now in Lima it's not- there isn't much discrimination now?
> Juan: Eh (.) It's there, right? But: (pause). Yes there is, but (   ) not as much as before, but it's always there. Someone hears, it. It it (breathes), you see it. Sure. Not (   ) not um (.) explicitly. But, one catches it. One can. One realizes that, they (shouldn't [do it] like that) out front but yes it's there, it's there.

Discrimination now in Lima is more hidden and less explicit, he says, but it is still there beneath the surface. Juan, like the other artisans, had experienced the worst discrimination in school. He spoke Quechua as a child but now, even though he lives with his siblings, he only uses it when he travels back to visit other family.

Another artisan, Valentino, shared his stories of discrimination, but for him, his hometown was not an oasis where this behavior did not occur. Just like in Lima,

Valentino had experienced discrimination even in his small town of Cochas, outside of Huancayo. Overall in his life, he said, this had occurred "muchas veces" (many times). I asked why he thought this was the case, and he responded,

> *Quizás por la- por la forma de nuestra vida. Por la forma de (pause). Quizás no- no puede (asuciar bien la prenda de vestir). Cosas así, no. Sí hay, sí, siempre. Quizás por algo rencor. (.) Alg- alguno rencor puede causar una persona contra alguien.*
>
> Maybe for the- for our lifestyle. For the way (pause). Maybe one couldn't (assume the right clothing). Things like that, right. It's there, yes, always. Maybe for some resentment. (.) Some- some resentment could cause a person to go against another.

Discrimination currently does not plague most artisans where they live. Repeatedly, I was told that artisans in Lima had been discriminated against in the city in the past but that now that had improved. They adapted aspects of their "forma de vida" (lifestyle), such as speaking Quechua and wearing Andean clothing, to avoid notice. Those who do not live in Lima also do not experience discrimination often in their hometowns. It is when Andean people travel to Lima that discrimination is most strongly felt. Milagros, a woman from Juliaca, explained that, yes, in Lima there was discrimination:

> *Hasta de nuestros (   ) nos critican en Lima. ((higher-pitched voice, mocking)) "Los (empleados)," "paisanos, son paisanos, campesinos" [...] Aquí no (pause). Porque la mayoría son quichuas. (Pause). Más: habl(a) de quichua.*
>
> Even our (   ) criticize us in Lima. ((higher-pitched voice, mocking)) "The (workers)," "countryfolk, you are *paisanos, campesinos*." [...] Here no (pause). Because the majority are *quichuas*. (Pause). Mostly (.) Quichua is spoken.

This example corroborates the discussion of how people in higher altitudes are berated when they go to Lima, but those living in Lima are able to belong by asserting their

identities predominantly as urban and speakers of unaccented Spanish, but as having indigenous pasts and speaking indigenous languages, in limited domains.

Fair Trade's Benefits to, and Challenges for, Artisans

Having migrated to Lima and faced discrimination that encouraged their de-Indianization, urbanization, and decreased use of Quechua language in public spaces, artisans had overcome a lot before beginning to work with Yannina and MA. Artisans' homes and living conditions belie their low socioeconomic positions, making them fit the criteria in the WFTO's (2017) first principle, "Creating Opportunities for Economically Disadvantaged Producers," to support "marginalized small producers, whether these are independent family businesses, or grouped in associations or co-operatives." MA's staff have various strategies to ensure that they work with artisans who are economically marginalized. On the drive to visit an artisan in Lima with a group of fair-trade tourists, Yannina explained proudly that artisans with whom she works had started out in the lowest level of poverty in *invasiones* without running water or electricity. They now have permanent homes, some with second-story additions; have built more rooms onto their workshops; have indoor plumbing, electricity, and safer working conditions; and are able to have work year-round, and even to employ workers, in some cases. A benefit of fair trade, in Yannina's opinion, can be seen in this material growth of artisans' homes and workshops (often in the same building). Fair trade had given artisans long-term market connections, education in price-setting and production processes, and help with product design that had allowed them to be successful and enjoy more comforts in life.

The importance of the long-term relationships that MA establishes with artisans cannot be underestimated. In response to MA's questionnaire that I utilized in my meetings with artisans, the majority of them (20 of the 29 questionnaire respondents) had worked with this exporter for over ten years. In fact, seven of these had worked with MA for over 20 years. These relationships led to Yannina being called "mom" by some (see Chapter 4), and many artisans' children had known her for their entire lives. But the buying relationships must come to an end if artisans stop fitting the description of "marginal." In her presentation to British tourists, Sam, an MA employee, explained,

> Once an artisan can sustain himself without us, we let them go. We we want to help those that need help, that need um a little extra push to get their products out. Once a company grows big enough and- that's when (we) let several of them (.) leave our our our list because they're economically established and they don't need our help anymore (pause) so we'll take on new groups that need this help.

Indeed, most artisans do not depend solely on MA for exportation or sales in general. Of the 29 respondents to the questionnaire, ten artisans, the largest group, claimed to sell about 40 to 59 percent with MA (whether by price, number of orders, or numbers of items was not made clear in their survey question, so the interpretation of the question differed by artisan). Only two had no other clients at the time. When artisans have reached a point at which MA felt the organization's help was no longer needed, or if artisans have turned predominantly to other sources of income outside of handicrafts, they phased out orders for their products and stopped promoting that artisan. Over time, the products of their own design from old catalogs would get fewer orders and, if MA owned the rights to the products, they could request that these items be made by someone else. This phasing-out process was done gradually, I was told, and because those artisans

were already self-sufficient, they would not suffer from MA no longer ordering from them. Some artisans who had been phased out by the organization remained on their lists as people to visit during tours, at which time tourists could purchase directly. These kinds of dependable and long-term relationships are not typical in conventional trade and are aspects of fair trade that artisans greatly appreciate.

Artisans are very grateful that MA pays fair prices, pays on time, and is dependable. In discussions of the questionnaire, 15 responded that MA's treatment of them was "very good" and 13 said "good." No one said that it was "regular," or "bad" (and one did not answer). Fair-trade involvement has numerous benefits for artisans and agricultural producers. Payment for their work is higher in some cases, less aggressively bargained down, and payment, at least from what I have heard about MA, is on time, with 50% being upfront if requested. Artisans called MA "transparente," "justo," and a "buena empresa" (transparent, fair, a good company), called Yannina "patient" and "empathetic," and said that working with the company was "tratable" (easy to deal with). They appreciated that staff listened to them, and it was seen as admirable that staff could jump into any role as needed. One artisan said that "it is the only company that pays on time" (es la única empresa que paga a tiempo), too. All but one artisan (who did not respond to it), agreed to the question, "¿Usted cree que Manos Amigas respeta a sus opiniones e ideas sobre sus productores?" (Do you think that MA respects the opinions and ideas of producers?) Artisans all agreed that MA told them which client they were selling to, although many knew these only by code, not full name, and that prices were set through

consultation. The slow orders were disparaged by many artisans with whom I spoke, but some specifically mentioned that this could not be blamed on MA staff.

Although working with MA benefits artisans in many ways, artisanal work is not steady throughout the year. Many artisans struggle with low seasons in which they get few orders, and the economic recession seriously impacted orders year-round. Artisans told me that they would prefer to earn slightly higher prices for their handicrafts (Littrell and Dickson 2010 and Lyon 2011 were told the same in their fieldsites). Some cooperatives have opportunities for accessing credit, but often at high interest rates, and members default often (Lyon 2011). MA does not provide loans, but they do support artisans by occasionally buying particular items that help them in their businesses. The organization also supports artisans by means of scholarships and providing help when there is an emergency. Day-to-day, however, artisans working with MA were struggling to make ends meet and they were seeking other economic opportunities to supplement or in some cases supersede artisanal production.

Fair trade has been critiqued for helping those "who are 'marginalized,' but not so much so that they are unable to invest in the resources necessary to meet the quality standards of Western consumers" (Dolan 2010a:162). Artisans working with MA need to be able to communicate through phones and receive their orders by email, have a bank account, manage a business, meet deadlines, and speak Spanish (because staff members of MA do not speak indigenous languages). Some artisans with whom MA works continue to live in invasion-type housing with dangerous electrical connections split between neighbors. Those artisans who are better off and have already improved upon the

safety of their homes have more time to design new products, attend training sessions, and pay for bus fare to MA's headquarters, and would not be as desperate to take bargain prices that clients might offer, or to take other jobs sub-contracted by other artisans. The better-off artisans, even within fair-trade organizations, are more likely to improve their economic situations faster than those who are struggling the most. Regarding the coffee market, Lyon (2011:173) writes, "When fair trade conforms to the dictates of the market and demands for quality, those growers with the highest quality product benefit the most, even if they are not the most vulnerable (Shreck 2002)." Because fair-trade exports need to meet consumers' needs and interests, it is often the most marginal who sell the least.

Being "Poor Enough," but Not Too Poor, to Work with Fair Trade

Better-off artisans are thus less constrained to take every job opportunity and can use their time to produce better-quality and more on-trend products. But the poorest artisans are also disadvantaged because there are constraints on the number of artisans with whom MA and other fair-trade organizations can work. MA's 25 clients and small staff can support limited numbers of artisanal groups, especially within their currently selected product lines focused on ceramics. MA could expand the number of artisans helped by beginning a new line of products, such as food or clothing. Standards for fair-trade food are different from those for handicrafts, though, and these product lines would stretch staff's current collective expertise and introduce new challenges that would take much of their time and energy. In my first visit to MA in 2015, I observed Yannina's meeting with a prospective artisan who exhibited his and others' work with the hope of entering into a partnership with the organization. Yannina gave him advice for improving the quality and

design of his work, but when I returned almost two years later, I did not come across that young man. Yannina had told me that she likes to help young artisans to learn about trends and the high quality required to export, but that the organization's resources were already spread thin working with all of the artisan groups they had at the time. Some artisans are ineligible for partnerships with MA because of their socioeconomic status or non-fair-trade-compliant practices. Working through intermediaries, using any forced labor, or being not "poor enough" restricts an artisan from working with MA.

Many other artisans may be "poor enough," but may not have access to MA for geographic reasons. Lima's residents overall have more income-generating opportunities than Andean-highland or rainforest residents. Remote villages, however, are extremely hard to access and villagers may not speak Spanish well, reducing MA's ability to communicate with them. Handicrafts fairs in Lima like *Ruraq Maki* and *Arte Nativa* support artisans from the rainforest, but few fair-trade organizations export their products. Artesanía de Alegría, a fair-trade gallery based in Cusco, supports artisans of six indigenous rainforest ethnic groups. They work on the traditional handicraft-purchasing model of buying what is available when visiting and working with intermediary associations who know the communities better and who can facilitate communication.

Fair trade could do better to help the *poorest* of the poor (Brown 2008; Fridell 2014; Raynolds and Bennett 2015; Stoddart 2011; Wilson 2010).[67] Brown (2008:195) explains how fair trade works with only the poorest *countries* of the world, excluding

[67] Cooperatives, too, have faced this critique (see, for example, Cohen 2000; Lyon 2010; Milgram 2000; Stephen 2005).

impoverished people of China or Brazil, for example. Similarly, there is little involvement with central African countries because the transportation costs are high and trade is difficult. Littrell and Dickson (2010:173-174) point out, in their work with MarketPlace in India, which is fair-trade in practice but not officially certified, that the organization would either need to greatly improve the safety of homes and working conditions in the slums where women live and work, or work with less-poor women in order to obtain official fair-trade certification. In other words, because of their disadvantaged position, women working with MarketPlace would not be able to work with a certified fair-trade organization, indicating that fair trade could do better to help within the poorest sectors of society. In my own research, only the top six well-earning artisans were visited by the WFTO auditors to verify MA's fair-trade compliance. This implicitly indicates that poorer artisans were of less concern, and that although fair trade should support the marginalized, it is the best-off among them who matter. In Peru, people who live in the high mountains often have little access to markets, education, and a good variety of healthy foods.[68,69] These communities also have higher percentages of monolingual Quechua-speakers. Wilson (2010:192) sums up the issue of fair trade not supporting those who need it the most:

> Although it [fair trade] may offer some members of indigenous communities access to alternative markets for their handicrafts, it excludes many more that do not perform indigeneity to expectations (which are in fact requirements for fair trade certification), while also excluding even

---

[68] Threads of Peru and Hecho con Cariño work with weavers and knitters from the mountains. This is made easier by the location of their headquarters in Cusco, the organizations' smaller scale, and the fact that they do not export.

[69] People living in the "*altoandino*" (high Andes) areas do seem to attract the most attention of NGOs and government support.

> more that do not possess the economic means to afford themselves leisure time to spend on handicraft production. Fair trade seems to be an option most available to elite members of indigenous communities and organizations while offering only limited possibilities to other members; this may ultimately exaggerate economic differences in these communities without addressing the needs of these communities' most marginal members.

Fair trade is thus unable to support the most marginal producers, and there is also evidence from my fieldwork that indicates difficulty in supporting artisans in producing handicrafts as a full-time career. Artisanal work began as, and often continues to be, a part-time endeavor for those who rely on subsistence farming. Artisans were specialists who would produce utilitarian goods for their communities, not necessarily with the intention of making those goods aesthetically appealing. Or, as in the case of Taquile, where many people are involved in craft production, each family originally made their textiles for that family's own use (Zorn 2004:11). In the Andes, ceramic products, like plates and cups, were traded for *chuñu* (dehydrated potatoes, a food that sustains people during the winter), other types of potatoes, and other necessities. Some handicrafts organizations are able to support indigenous artisans from rural settings where subsistence activities and more "traditional" lifeways are upheld. MA works with a few such artisans, particularly a new group of women in Chuquito and a long-term group in Juliaca who maintain *chacras*, can spin their own wool (when time and the desires of the clients allow), work only part-time on handicraft production, and speak Aymara and Quechua respectively (along with Spanish). These women would prefer to have more orders and fill knitting orders year-round, but they do not rely only on fair-trade involvement for their subsistence.

It would seem that this part-time engagement in fair trade is more in keeping with supporting indigenous and/or rural lifestyles and cultural and linguistic continuity. But this chapter demonstrates the ways that artisans in urban settings negotiate their identities as full-time artisans and business people with their identities as *quechuahablantes* and Andean migrants who have faced discriminatory behaviors and violence. Part-time work for rural indigenous-language speakers did not seem to disrupt their lifeways, but MA could do more to support indigenous languages such as using illustrations and diagrams to communicate complex ideas quickly and easily (Henrici 2003), hiring a speaker for the staff, and conducting training sessions that would help artisans incorporate their language into their work, products, tourist visits, and daily lives. MA could be an advocate for encouraging artisans to share their unique linguistic and cultural backgrounds with Northern clients who have or could have that interest, especially with increased educational outreach. Fair trade in general and MA specifically could better support less industrialized processes of handicraft production like making products fully by hand as well as more traditional utilitarian objects, which sell well for many clients.[70] Products need to appeal to consumers globally, but fair-trade organizations could expand by selling products to local buyers to encourage greater sales. Fair trade has enabled skilled craftspeople to find buyers and has led to artisans' producing full-time for MA.[71] Clearly, most people who live in cities cannot meet all subsistence needs for the year with

---

[70] Prices can become high for utilitarian goods if they must be food safe, since toxicity tests must be paid for by the artisan. Fair-trade organizations and clients would do well to subsidize these costs for artisans.

[71] For Threads of Peru, though, the artisans are not able to work full time because there are not enough orders to support that. Many would take more work if they could get it, I was told.

chacras, if they have them, so urban living (spurred by voluntary or involuntary migration) encourages people to pursue full-time work. Fair-trade exportation has led to increased and more industrial production from the way handicrafts artisans used to produce so that now organizations can distribute handicrafts on a global scale; this has changed the structure of handicraft production and helps to encourage urban migration and related language shift. It would benefit artisans if MA did more to welcome and encourage indigenous-language use in their headquarters and in the domain of artisanal production.

Overall, handicraft production is now a full-time urban job that puts expectations on producers to be professional in the Western sense (e.g. obeying deadlines, making consistent products, worrying about quality), to speak Spanish, and to make items that appeal to international consumers' interests. Handicraft production is conflated with indigenous identification, but the scale of production is now more industrialized and less local, causing artisans to have to be aware of more global interests and processes. Meanwhile, the expectation that fair-trade markets will support full-time artisans seems to have become nearly impossible to meet, as most of the artisans with whom I spoke have few orders to fill.[72]

Fair Trade and Women

Similar to how fair trade could better support the *poorest* of artisans as well as those who live in rural settings, fair trade could do more to support women and their "economic

[72] Clients are placing fewer orders during the year and making fewer visits to MA. Yannina mentioned, however, that artisans would of course tell me that orders were low because they may expect that I have connections and pull in the United States to encourage more orders.

empowerment," as it is stated in the title of the WFTO's (2017) principle "Commitment to Non Discrimination, Gender Equity and Women's Economic Empowerment and Freedom of Association." This principle requires that women and men be paid equally for equal work. In the WFTO questionnaires that I helped to fill out with artisans, a question directed toward this principle asked "No practica ninguna discriminación con respecto a los salarios (igual pago por igual trabajo)" (You do not practice any discrimination with respect to salaries [equal pay for equal work]). In my experience in Peru, the impediment to women's earning potential is that they are expected to be better at different *kinds* of work than men, which happen to be "lower paid, lower skilled jobs" compared to those of men (McArdle and Thomas 2012:288). In ceramic production, women are most often employed as painters (although some men, even workshop owners, paint as well). They are perceived to have smaller, steadier hands and more patience than men; traits that Peruvians often think allows them to succeed in this lower-paying position. The ability to take pieces home to paint also allows for a more flexible schedule, especially helpful if women have small children to watch.[73] Chibnik (2003), in his work with wood-carvers and -painters in Oaxaca, found the same dichotomy of work roles: women's work of painting was less highly valued or credited than the carving of the pieces. There was one exception to this that he discussed, a woman who created a niche by means of a unique painting style that made her well known. Women in many fair-trade settings carry out the

[73] Chapters in Grimes and Milgram (2000a), especially MacHenry's, Eber's, and Milgram's discuss women's work as they negotiate the flexible time for domestic, agricultural, childrearing, and income-generating tasks.

most labor-intensive and detail-oriented forms of work such as the selective and delicate plucking of tea (Besky 2010, 2014; Dolan 2010a).

The position of women as the primary caregivers for children was rarely, if ever, questioned by those to whom I spoke in Peru; if one parent stayed home, it was invariably the mother. If the choice is between working outside the home and being at home with children and without income, surely fair trade does empower women by allowing them to earn money. But, as McArdle and Thomas (2012) explain, women's empowerment is constrained by the social context of gender inequalities. Women are able to work, but their roles as caregivers and homemakers reduce the number of hours they are available for other kinds of work, and hence the amount of money that they can earn from such work. Their domestic work expectations also impinge on time that could be devoted to serving in a leadership or decision-making role for the cooperative or organization (Lyon 2007, 2011; Milgram 2000). Littrell and Dickson (2010:119-120) point out that women with whom they worked in MarketPlace in India could take their embroidery work home, but household chores were not reduced, so women continued to have to spend hours retrieving water, cooking, cleaning, and caring for children. Their other tasks gave them only small blocks of time for embroidery and, because of this, it was difficult to maintain records of how many hours they worked each day.[74] In some workshops that I visited, women could bring their small children along with them while they worked, and they could leave work to pick up older children from school, so artisans

[74] For women in India, household tasks took 6.6 hours per day, including retrieving water which in some instances took up to two hours; cooking and food preparations, eating, and cleaning up after a meal consumed 4.7 hours. Women were able to work an average of 5.5 hours at home, while also supervising children, in the evenings (Littrell and Dickson 2010:80-84).

were making efforts to incorporate women's caregiving roles into their income-generating work. But, women's work outside the home is often in addition to the work that they do at home, about which expectations do not change (Stephen 2005). Most Peruvian handicraft workshops I visited pay "por destajo" (by the piece), allowing for easy tracking of work completed whether women work at home or in the workshop. Without being able to devote enough time for income-generating work, though, women's earnings may not even reach Peru's monthly minimum wage.

Fair trade seeks to "empower" women, but the evidence that this goal is being reached is inconclusive (Lyon 2007). Besky's (2014) research with women tea workers in Darjeeling presents the opposite, a case in which women work long hours, are paid poorly, do not have an opportunity to hold leadership positions, and live in poorly built homes. A further difficulty for women in fair trade is that gender equity and empowerment depend on local contexts, so fair-trade mandates are written vaguely to allow for case-by-case variations. The presence of the fair-trade principle to support women implicitly indicates that fair trade is male-dominated (Lyon 2010).

Advancing the position and power of women can improve the public's perception of an organization's labor practices. In fair-trade stories told to visiting clients and tourists, asserting presence of women workers and leaders in workshops conveys that the organization is supporting women and the associated fair-trade principle, similarly to how indigeneity and low socioeconomic class position in fair trade can also encourage symbolic capital. The stories that volunteers wrote and later I updated for MA included, in some cases, information as to the numbers of women and men who were working at

the workshop. MA's presentation to visiting fair-trade tourists, too, boasts that 55% percent of all workers from whom MA purchases are women (a figure I expect was increased due to the associations of knitters in Puno who get very few orders now from MA and have disbanded in some cases). Not included in the presentation, though, were data about how many workshops were *owned* or principally operated by women. In my understanding, far fewer than half of the 47 artisan workshops (about ten) are led by women and, in an additional five or so workshops, a husband-and-wife team own and operate the workshop together. In these shared-leadership workshops, women help in decision-making and are responsible for a variety of tasks, such as keeping track of clients' proprietary designs, communicating with and traveling to the organization headquarters, managing painters, and innovating new designs. Within MA, few women in workshops hold positions of power and, despite the overall high number of women workers, more often than not women employ the lowest and least stable or temporary positions in workshops. The organization, of course, has a female marketing manager and owner in Yannina, who maintains a very powerful position. For artisans, though, the gender biases, along with intersectional identities as poor, Quechua-speaking Andean migrants limit the "empowerment" that is available for them in fair trade.

Future Implications for Language and Culture

The first principle of the WFTO, "Creating Opportunities for Economically Disadvantaged Producers," states, "It [fair trade] seeks to enable [producers] to move from income insecurity and poverty to economic self-sufficiency and ownership." In practice, though, fair trade seems to be best able to achieve this goal after a generation.

Producers' children break the cycle of poverty through access to education and professional careers. The long-term buying relationships, fairly stable work (more so in some situations than in others), and decent incomes create a situation in which children can attend school and university and become professionals. In supporting artisans financially, fair trade may have the outcome of leading children of artisans away from choosing similar careers, thus decreasing the likelihood that they will continue to practice long-held community-specific crafting techniques and perhaps other activities.

As in other studies, artisans with whom I spoke would like for their children to be professionals, such as teachers, although they also valued the continuity of their own workshops, similar to how agricultural producers hoped that their children would maintain the land, perhaps through hired laborers (Hogue and Rau 2008; Lyon 2007, 2011; Sumida Huaman 2014). I was told that *artesanía* is not "rentable" (profitable) and that artisans' children wanted to pursue more lucrative careers. Children often are interested in handicraft production in their youth but pursue professional interests as teens and adults. The artisans with whom I spoke talked about their older children being interested in, studying to be, or holding jobs in fine art, engineering, music, marketing, business, construction, economy, teaching, and veterinary medicine. Fair-trade income from their parents, speaking Spanish as a first language, and living in urban settings helped to make these dreams achievable realities. Children of artisans have also most likely not faced the same level of discrimination as their parents and they did not live through the time of terrorism or face their own and family members' mortality. They also

have had the opportunity to consistently attend school and even university, sometimes with the help of MA's scholarships.

Other children who live in the artisans' communities, though, may not be obtaining the same opportunities as artisans' own children do. Many of the artisans with whom I spoke told me that they offered time, such as on weekends or after school, for young people to come to their workshops to start to learn the trade. Youth were able to play with the clay and make pieces to bring home. Artisans told me that they may employ youth who are 15, 16, or 17 years old, under the nation's minority age limit of 18, because of their economic need and interest in learning the skills. They required that minors still go to school, in keeping with the fair-trade requirements.[75] Artisans discussed this opening up of their workshops, whether to playing children or learning youth, as being like community service. It helped to keep young people off of the streets, away from drugs, alcohol, smoking, and gangs. MA's affiliated artisans often started out this way themselves, gaining knowledge of craft production through a mentor or family member who took an interest in their success. It is unlikely that most youth would find handicraft production preferable to better-paying work like construction, but perhaps for some young people, interests in *artesanía* may continue into adulthood.

Along with the continuity of fair-trade production and artisanal techniques, fair trade seeks to promote "cultural identity" of producers (WFTO 2017). This could be considered to include language use. MA staff members, though, do not speak Quechua and are not always sure which of the artisans speak it. Because artisans successfully

[75] In her presentation to British fair-trade tourists, Sam explained that Peruvian law mandates that children continue in school only through the sixth grade.

negotiate fluid identities highlighting urban lifestyles and effective Spanish-speaking ability, MA staff may consider it unnecessary or undesirable to orient to them as *quechuahablantes* or indigenous. Another organization with which some of MA's affiliated artisans used to work, Minka, had staff who spoke Quechua to some degree. Before it disbanded, the organization also supported visual representations of directions or explanations of complex ideas through diagrams and drawings, indicating their recognition of artisans' varied rates of comfort with written language, whether Spanish or Quechua (Henrici 2003). MA, on the other hand, did not necessarily support artisans' heritage and current aspects of their identities as *quechuahablantes.* These elements of their identities and pasts, in fact, caused problems of communication and MA's business. I was cautioned to only use simple language, use a lot of examples, and avoid talking about abstract concepts such as "capitalism" when speaking with *quechuahablantes*. Drawing on other stereotypes of Quechua-speakers, staff also assured me that I would be able to tell which artisans could speak Quechua by their closed-aperture Spanish vowels. The majority of artisans, though, spoke Spanish with wide buccal apertures, especially in Lima, where many had been mocked for their Spanish in school.

Cultural differences also contributed to frustrations in communication between artisans and MA staff members. Yannina often felt that artisans said "yes" when asked about being able to meet a deadline or fill a new order, or understanding a product change or order's details, so as to avoid conflict and explain challenges to her. Artisans' fears of disappointing Yannina were related, though, to their respect for her and their need for MA's continued support. Andean artisans' involvement with their home communities,

such as by keeping *chacras* and participating in important festivities were also cause for frustration or sources of joking for other artisans or MA staff. A further stereotype I heard mentioned in the context of fair trade was the migrant artisans' lacking concern for events that may occur in the future; they were considered to focus on the present and not plan ahead. In these ways, aspects of indigenous lifestyles and cultures were discussed like challenges to be overcome and this very likely influenced artisans' ways of enacting their identities when working with the organization.

In order to better understand the way that MA works with artisans in relation to their languages and cultures, in my visits with artisans, I asked them whether they felt that MA supports their culture and non-Spanish language, if they spoke one. Many responded that, no, MA does not really support Quechua-language use. A common response was just that the staff does not speak Quechua. For example, Antonio told me that "no hay apoyo" (there is not support) for Quechua. David, though, considered that this support was not up to MA to provide but instead that it is the responsibility of the government. He told me,

> *No está en sus manos pues. Por que. (pause) Porque: (.) no creo que ninguna empresa va a querer: invertir:: a u:n acade:mia o algo parecido [...] Entonces eso (debe venía) de nuestro estado. Ellos sí lo pueden hacer.*
>
> It is not in their hands though. Why. (pause) Becau:se (.) I don't think that any business is going to wa:nt to inve::st in a: schoo:l or something like that […] So that (has to come) from our state. They are able to do it.

Most artisans held Quechua in high regard, despite their infrequent use of it themselves and with their children. The language was discussed with positive attitudes. It reminded artisans of their hometowns, was considered to be a language for family use

and joking, and, in some cases, was used in the workshops. Children were thought not to "want" to learn to speak Quechua and that learning it in the university classroom was comparable or even preferable to learning at home, if they would choose later in life to study the language.[76] When I asked artisans whether they would like it if someone at MA spoke Quechua, I was told, "por supuesto" (of course). One artisan told me that he feels more comfortable in that language and would be pretty happy to speak it with them.[77]

Although most did think it would be an improvement for MA staff to use Quechua, José seemed to think that it is strange that so many people would study Quechua instead of English:

> Melissa: *Le gustaría si: si ellos hablan [quechua]?*
> José: *Claro. Claro me gustaría hablar, sí. Yo sé que- ahora en e:n acá en Lima muchas personas están estudiando, están aprendiendo a hablar quechua. Imagínense, es cómo yo ahora alegro, me gustaría aprender, por ejemplo, inglés. Me gustaría hablar de repente hablar este el chino, no? Me encantaría de verdad.*
>
> Melissa: Would you like if: if they spoke [Quechua]?
> José: Of course. Of course I would like to speak [it], yes. I know that- now in i:n here in Lima a lot of people are studying, are learning to speak Quechua. Imagine that, it's like I am happy now, I would like to learn, for example, English. I would like to speak maybe to speak um Chinese, right? I would really love that.

---

[76] Wroblewski (2014) confirms that it is becoming common for young people to take United Kichwa courses for literacy in Ecuadorian cities as well.

[77] Of course, language-learning is a gateway to internalization of speakers' cultures, so by not speaking Quechua, MA staff also lacked knowledge and understanding of *quechuahablantes*' culture. Studying Quechua could have alleviated some of the difficulties they had in working with artisans, such as those caused by artisans' seeking to avoid conflict by saying that they would meet their deadlines even if they were coming up against difficulties, for example. Knowing more about artisans' cultures could help MA staff understand the importance of culturally relevant festivities, too.

José would be happy to have MA staff speak Quechua with him, but that does not impact his high opinions of the organization. He speaks highly of Quechua and of his hometown, Quinua, where he enjoys visiting; and when he is there, he speaks Quechua. English or Chinese, perhaps, could be more helpful for him in his business (a sentiment that others shared), but he is happy that people are studying Quechua. Other artisans felt that MA's support of Quechua was implicitly there because of their affiliation with artisans in or from "provincia."

Considering that the Quechua that most universities teach is the elite "overlay" register of urban academic contexts, it seems that the migrant artisans are the middle or last generation of speakers of rural, non-elite varieties of Quechua in their families. Due to the linguistic shame of speaking native forms of Quechua in urban settings, and the urban migration trends occurring throughout the country, shift away from speaking Quechua is ongoing, even in highland Andean cities and smaller communities (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004; Sumida Huaman 2014). Spanish is required in many urban occupations, and intermarriage of Quechua-speakers with non-Quechua-speakers leads to Spanish usage with children (Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004).

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, the life of an artisan, especially one who has migrated due to life-threatening violence and discrimination, is not easy. They assert various aspects of their identities in ways that has helped them to avoid discriminatory behaviors and violence, and that has given them success in their work with exporters of their handicrafts. Although fair trade supports traditional forms of *artesanía* and lifestyle in some ways, such as by providing a market for product distribution, in

other ways, it encourages moving on from them; the next generation of MA's artisans (and in some cases, young artisans themselves) could perhaps be called "de-Indianized" urban mestizos (de la Cadena 2000). It is unclear whether they will seek out opportunities in Lima to learn Quechua or to participate in customs that revalorize their parents' and grandparents' cultures; and it seems unlikely that migrants' children will continue to visit their parents' hometowns when they are grown, or feel affiliation to those areas and cultures.[78]

Conclusion

In many cases, fair trade does not consistently provide full-time, well-paying work to artisans and they are seeking out other employment or buyers. Fair trade helped them to find work when they moved to the city, during and after the time of terrorism, and it helps to support their children's education so that they can become professionals. But it does not often allow people to completely overcome poverty and, in cases where they are able to do so, the process is quite slow. MA's affiliated artisans do not seem to be on a general trend toward self-sufficiency over time. Of the two respondents who depend on MA for 100% of their sales, one had worked with the organization for only one to three years (as would be expected), but the other had worked with MA for over ten years. Similarly, there was not a relationship between the number of exporters with whom artisans work and the number of years that artisans have been working with MA, a proxy for their seniority in the realm of craft production. In other words, most artisans are not

[78] See (Babb 2019) for a description of migrants' and their children's affiliation to hometowns in Ancash, a coastal region of Peru.

becoming more self-sufficient over time, at least as artisans (but they may have found other work).

By supporting urban producers (some of whom may identify in some contexts as mestizo or may have "de-Indianized" somewhat in order to be accepted in the city) and, much less often, rural *quechuahablantes*, fair-trade organizations like MA may inadvertently be encouraging language and culture shift. Urban artisans are supported, though, as Andean migrants whose experiences of discrimination, poverty, and hardships make them candidates for involvement with fair trade. Within their fair-trade stories, artisans assert their identities as migrants, members of a low socioeconomic class, and sometimes, as Quechua-speakers, with troubled pasts caused by the recent violent time period of Peru's history and, in so doing, they comply with the fair-trade requirements for producers. Through their daily work with MA and other exporters, though, artisans put forth their identities as businesspeople, urban dwellers, and Spanish-speakers to be successful in their work. Despite MA not specifically supporting Quechua-language use—because outside of encounters with clients and tourists, they orient to migrant artisans with focus on their skilled work and urban contexts, and not cultural backgrounds—migrants can in some ways bring their cultural traditions into their artisanal production through these complex intertwinings of the different aspects of their identities, used strategically in appropriate contexts.

Artisans who are or have been Quechua-speakers and Andean migrants dress in "Western" clothing, speak Spanish, live typical urban lifestyles, and follow, to varying extents, "Western" prescriptions for businesspeople. But none of them self-identified as

mestizos to me, and they expressed pride in their Andean heritage and their hometowns in Andean regions. Through the “rearticulation” of indigeneity (Clifford 2013:16) that is happening in Peru, as is true in many contexts around the world, Andean lifeways, languages, and foods are undergoing a re-valorization. The threat of violence that *quechuahablantes* faced in the 1980s and 1990s and the discrimination that they confronted when first coming to the city have now abated but have had continuing impacts on the ways in which artisans assert their identities in contexts of fair-trade involvement and handicraft production. Artisans’ negotiations of their identities are set in the current context in which the country is a hugely popular tourist destination, *cuyes* (guinea pigs), once seen only as indigenous food are elevated to gourmet cuisine (Hirsch and Jones 2018), Andean people sell goods in Lima’s markets (Babb 2019), and llamas are the new unicorns and the epitome of cuteness (for now), according to my nieces. Young people can wear their traditional dress in workplaces and are rediscovering and embracing their indigenous heritage through working in the city (Babb 2019; Hornberger 2014; Hornberger and Swinehart 2012). Incan heritage has been revalued, particularly in Cusco, the center of the Inca Empire, and such ceremonies as *Inti Raymi* have been revived and draw large audiences (Molinié 2019). Tourist brochures glorify Taquileans as “descendants of the Incas” (Zorn 2004:151). Perhaps related to this valorization of pre-Columbian peoples like the Inca, some artisans consider their heritage to be from other cultures such as the Huari.

Quechua language, too, is undergoing revalorization in some contexts as the threat of violence and the connection of indigeneity and terrorism has lessened. It is now

possible to hear public conversations in Quechua in most, especially Andean, cities and the language, most likely the elite "overlay" register (Mannheim 2015, 2018), is taught in universities and public schools, albeit minimally. Popular musicians like Uchpa, a rock band, and Liberato Kani, a rapper, use Quechua in their music. Peru's recent violent past drove discrimination, urbanization, and language shift as people became afraid to identify as indigenous and speak indigenous languages. Perhaps now that their fear has subsided, they will speak more openly.

Indigeneity is becoming redefined around the world and is recognized as being not one homogeneous identity, but innumerable identities. As Wroblewski (2014:77) writes of Ecuadorian Quichua, "the very notion of 'indigeneity' is being redefined as more than just a static racial category—instead, it can be seen as a dynamic way of living that involves multiple cultural allegiances." Indigenous people are finding urban ways of being indigenous—whether strongly or, more likely, weakly affiliated—incorporating some aspects and disregarding others.

MA gave jobs to artisans when they were recent migrants to the city. Despite the challenges, other fair-trade organizations are able to work with more rural and indigenous people who continue to live in their original homelands. Support of craft production and farming in their own lands can give people who otherwise would eventually find it necessary to migrate the ability to stay. Craft production and traditional farming also maintain overall cultural identity (Chibnik 2003; García Canclini 1993; Lyon 2007, 2011; Zorn 2004). But when artisans have already migrated before finding fair-trade partnerships, fair trade's support for indigenous languages is lacking. Artisans' children

are breaking the cycle of poverty by pursuing professional careers. They may or may not experience a revalorization of their parents' indigenous roots, and they may or may not ever speak Quechua. Fair trade offers numerous benefits for artisans, and especially their children, but support of the most marginalized populations and of women is lacking and most producers do not become self-sufficient enough to be able to end their relationships with fair-trade organizations.

By analyzing the ways in which artisans assert their identities in different fair-trade contexts, we can understand that indigeneity, migration, discrimination, and marginalized statuses like poverty and being a woman are utilized in contexts in which both they, and the organization, can benefit from the commodification of artisans' struggles and abilities to overcome those struggles. Sharing elements of the types of identity elements that marginalize and for which artisans have faced discrimination is done in contexts in which artisans speak with non-Peruvian outsiders. In business contexts and relationships with Yannina, it benefits artisans to enact Western ideals for business and urban, Spanish-speaker identity. If MA staff were to orient more to artisans as holding both identities, artisans could be more fully supported, and so could their indigenous languages and cultures.

CHAPTER 4
TRANSLATING POWER IN FAIR-TRADE CLIENT–ARTISAN ENCOUNTERS

Due to Manos Amigas' position at the midpoint of fair-trade supply chains, the organization connects diverse groups: North and South, producers and consumers, rural and urban, (relatively) rich and poor, visiting and visited, and (usually) white and non-white.[79] This chapter takes an ethnomethodological discourse analytic approach to MA's activities by exploring the face-to-face contact that occurs due to their intermediate position between MA staff members, Peruvian artisans, and international fair-trade client visitors. I analyze asymmetrical power relations in fair-trade interactions that I call "encounters," making use of Faier and Rofel's (2014:363) definition of the term as the "everyday engagements across difference" because they are commonplace and unremarkable, but entail the meeting of cross-cultural participants. Fair-trade client–artisan encounters bring diverse groups into contact who would otherwise (and in conventional trade) not be able to meet. These meetings allow for participants' increased mutual respect and an enjoyable experience, especially on the part of the visitor. They are also the moments in which participants "do" fair trade and they represent a major difference between fair trade and conventional trade. The stories that take shape because of these encounters, whether as told by the artisans, or formulated and told later by

[79] As others have noted, (e.g. Brown 2013; Hussey and Curnow 2013; among many others), fair trade consumers and employees are largely white and middle class and, as discussed in Chapter 2, fair-trade certification is based on Northern standards. As fair trade increases in popularity and global reach, however, and mainstreaming reduces costs to be accessible by other classes and access to information increases as well, I feel that the typical racial composition of importers is and will be changing. I do not mean to reduce the complexity of the racial makeup of those involved with fair trade here, especially considering the growth of South-to-South fair trade in Brazil, Mexico, and India, for example (Cotera Fretel et al. 2009).

buyers and clients upon their return to their home countries, constitute the essence of what fair trade is and does, and why it is sought out by ethical consumers.

Encounters between Peruvian artisans and fair-trade clients from North America and Europe are often translator-mediated. These encounters bring international clients to the workshops of artisans so that they can communicate and interact directly. Although they are most often enjoyable experiences, clients have much to accomplish through the encounters including gaining ideas for product innovation; experiencing the conditions in which producers live and work; learning about artisanal production techniques and perhaps difficulties; eliciting and recording mementos of the visits through photographs, videos, notes, observations, and stories; and building relationships with artisans that could last for years or potentially decades. The encounters occur in artisans' home workshops and, when necessary, are mediated through the oral translation and co-construction of MA's owner and marketing manager, Yannina. A positive encounter encourages clients to return to their home organizations and stores to share the media and stories that they obtained, such as about the artisans' personal hardships and successes. They may also carry, and share, their newfound recognitions of difficulties the artisans consistently face, whether financial, familial, social, business-related, in their health, or otherwise. Through their sharing of the stories upon their return to their stores and companies, clients encourage future sales orders for individual producers and for MA more broadly but, as this chapter will show, the visits could do more to benefit artisans through the translation practices at work within them.[80]

---

[80] In my previous work and fieldwork in fair trade, retailers repeatedly voiced the expectation that sharing stories about artisans encourages sales, personal or secondhand connections to artisans,

In this chapter, I will explore the ways in which clients and artisans build relationships through their shared encounters, at times through Yannina's translation practices and at other times through nonverbal communication. Despite somewhat asymmetrical and unidirectional translation practices that contribute to the unequal power relations that fair trade, like other trade, maintains, the participants are able to build the rapport and mutual trust for which fair trade is known. Despite the overall success of these encounters, I assert in this chapter that they miss the opportunity to equally distribute knowledge between artisans and clients, the latter of whom are discursively established as the true "audience" for the encounter. In this way, the unequal distribution of power between North and South is reified on a small scale, reflecting Hussey and Curnow's (2013, 2016) claims that fair trade is a Eurocentric developmentalist and neocolonial project that underrepresents producers. These scholars and others contend that fair trade emphasizes Western ideals like accountability, regulations put on the South, standardization, and quality more highly than their stated values of fairness, trust, and solidarity. My research, like these other scholars', demonstrates the ways that fair trade maintains the structural dependence of the Global South on countries in the Global North. These large-scale relationships, though, are writ small in the encounters that I analyze, making them salient for individuals in the fair-trade supply chain.

---

and give symbolic capital to products in stores (Bourdieu 1977). The clients' visits, then, mimic fair-trade consumer marketing that makes use of photos, quotes, and biographical stories to create the feeling of connection to artisans, the perception that the purchase will help them, and to encourage increased purchases due to transparency and appeals to morality (Goodman 2004; Goodman and Herman 2015; Hudson and Hudson 2003; Linton et al. 2004; Varul 2008, Wright 2004).

Although artisans benefit from their encounters with clients by the resulting increased future sales, there is missed potential for them to benefit more immediately. My fieldwork suggests that artisans would benefit from learning about international trends and preferences. Innovating new products is risky for artisans, as well as expensive and time-consuming. Those who are able to learn about trends can better ensure that the designs will be appreciated and that MA will put them in their catalog to be accessible to clients for placing orders. More knowledge upfront for artisans decreases their risk in innovation. Encouraging the designing process is important because artisans who innovate more products tend to sell more than those who continue to make the same products for years because clients like to purchase the new, trendier designs. Old designs are available for purchase in previous MA catalogs, but the new products are put into the newest catalogs, which buyers use most heavily. So, by making Northern consumer preferences explicitly known, artisans can increase their sales, and reduce their risk in innovation, making fair trade more effective toward reducing poverty. Their ability to access markets outside of MA, too, would allow increased autonomy from the fair-trade organization, the knowledge of which may influence what gets translated and what does not for the artisans' benefit. Artisans do work with a variety of national markets and other exporters, but very rarely become exporters for themselves due to the costs, quantities, and knowledge of international policy that would be required.

Artisans recognize the need for such training in trends, design, and innovation. In the survey project that I conducted for MA, out of 29 producers, 23 (79%) desired some sort of additional capacity building toward *tendencias*, or consumer sales trends, which

artisans knew were constantly changing and varied by country and region. This need exemplifies how modern fair-trade handicrafts' supply depends on the North's demand for products of certain styles, colors, and designs. Modern fair trade differs in that way from its origins; vendors used to purchase handicraft products directly from artisans from what they had available and without a contract or order beforehand. Although face-to-face client–artisan interactions like the ones I observed help to support fair-trade principles and are rare in conventional-trade businesses (except perhaps for the highest administrators), they also uphold the dominant structure of power as do conventional-trade systems. In this chapter, I will explore the often-unidirectional flow of translation and information between clients and artisans that benefits the former over the latter. By missing an opportunity to provide artisans with information that would increase their knowledge about international trends and markets, the translation-mediated interactions I analyze could go further toward supporting equality, empowerment, and other professed tenets of fair trade.

Yannina acts as cultural broker and translator to mediate for client–artisan interactions.[81] These share many similarities to community interpreting events, in which "interpreting takes place in the public service sphere to facilitate communication between officials and lay people" (Wadensjö 2008:43). As is often the case in this type of interpreting event, Yannina does not, to my knowledge, have formal training in translation, nor does she always feel comfortable with the task. She has, however,

[81] García-Sánchez (2018) García-Sánchez and Orellana 2006, García-Sánchez et al. (2011), Orellana (2009; who uses the term "para-phrasers"), and Reynolds and Orellana (2015) analyze child cultural brokers, and Cherro Osorio and Best (2015) analyze cultural brokering in tourism contexts.

traveled to the United States and Europe on numerous occasions and frequently corresponds with fair-trade buyers in the United States and Canada in English. Being quite familiar with North American and European cultures, she is able to disambiguate misunderstandings when they arise and guide the flow of conversation between local artisans and international visitors. Through her mediation as translator and her position in the organization, Yannina may, whether purposefully or not, omit utterances that she either deems unimportant or that she is not willing to share, or add information in a way that may sound like it was part of the translated utterance, thus obfuscating the original voice.

Certainly, though, Yannina's important role in the client–artisan encounters goes far beyond her intermediary position as cultural broker and translator. If only expected to act as community interpreter, Yannina would still be expected to translate for both sides, mediate cultural differences, and remain "neutral and detached" (García-Sánchez 2014:224; Wadensjö 2008). As a stakeholder in the interaction due to her powerful position in the organization, too, Yannina seeks to bring clients and artisans together to encourage a mutual understanding of artisans' lives—which importantly involves the sharing and co-construction of their autobiographical stories—and encourage future productive sales orders. She also needs to tend to her own relationships with both clients and artisans by means of these encounters, as her role as marketing manager and founder of the fair-trade organization necessitates strong ties to both parties. Yannina shares common ground with both clients and artisans, having previously met and worked with them, but the encounters are often the first time they are meeting each other. My analysis

takes into consideration, as do other researchers of events-in-translation who use an interactionist approach (e.g. García-Sánchez 2014; García-Sánchez and Orellana 2006; Jansson et al. 2017; Jansson and Wadensjö 2016) that participants' *positionality*, goals, and the ways in which they *align with* the events influence how and what is translated.

Yannina's powerful position in the organization makes her the dominant speaker in these interactions, unlike most translator roles, not only in time spoken, but also in the ability to introduce new topics and ask questions. Drawing on her background with both interlocutors, and with the procedures of these visits, she guides clients through the tasks of the encounter, which follow a formulaic structure, similar to that which also occurs for tourist visits I observed. First, the artisan tells his or her autobiographical fair-trade-appropriate story, often co-constructed by Yannina through her contributions to the conversation. Next, artisans demonstrate their handicrafts' production processes and give a tour of the corresponding areas of the workshop for the clients or tourists. Finally, there is usually time for either tourists or clients to peruse artisans' products available for either direct sale or future sales orders. At the end of encounters, artisans and clients thank each other for their visit and hospitality, and clients may promise to order more in the future.

Through her translation practices, Yannina implicitly casts the event as intended for the *clients'* benefits by translating more toward English and the clients, rather than toward Spanish and the artisans. When clients discuss sales and trends and also give compliments of products or artisanal skill, artisans are not made aware because these utterances typically go untranslated into Spanish. Through Yannina's dominant role and translations that co-construct personal narratives and obscure product-development and

complimentary discourses, she contributes to the power structure already in place in fair-trade organizations that situates the Global Northern actors as consumers—of products as well as of artisans' commodified life stories (Varul 2008; Wright 2004). Peruvian culture is commodifiable through the products, personal stories, and experiences visiting clients have with artisans in their home workshops. As Brown (2013:67) heard from a store manager during his fieldwork, "the better stories we can tell, the more products we can sell." Stories are of the utmost importance to fair-trade handicrafts sales, an element of these supply chains that differentiates them from those of fair-trade commodities. Clients tell stories of their visits to their co-workers, where they help to support their discussions over which products they will order. Artisans' personal stories are used on marketing communications to consumers as well, and also in stores in face-to-face sales discussions by store associates. In these contexts, the stories produced through uniquely fair-trade encounters allow the consumers who hear them to feel a sense of connection to producers (contributing to their interest in purchasing ethical products) and feel like they are involved in the fair-trade movement (Brown 2013:56). The encounters are in themselves celebrations of fair trade's successes; they reaffirm for those involved that their work is important and they encourage it to continue.

Defining Translation

I follow Gal's (2015:227) definition of "translation" as, broadly, "the expression in one semiotic system of what has been said, written, or done in another" and thus use the term "translation" for the oral–aural process elsewhere referred to as "interpretation." Most often, the events that I analyze involve the process that has been called "consecutive interpretation," in which interlocutors allow for a pause in the flow of conversation

(Moser-Mercer 2002). At times, Yannina also does “simultaneous interpretation,” in which one speaker continues speaking while the other translates (ibid.). I find “interpretation” to be a problematic term because anthropology also uses the word to refer to ways in which authors have entextualized their experiences and knowledge from the field into written form (i.e. the anthropologist *interprets* a ritual or symbol). “Interpretation” indexes various layers of consideration, reflection, and (re)entextualization from one form of talk or text to another, which may include transfer from one register to another within the same language or a nonverbal element *interpreted* into thought. In medical professions, for example, physicians can “interpret” a disease or a patient’s chart, so oral interpretation in medical professions is often called “translation” to maintain clarity (Davidson 2001).

Often, that which is called “translation” is the transfer of one written code to another. Written translation obviously differs greatly from oral translation, as a translator of a text has access to its entirety and even perhaps other works from the same author, discussions with the author, or other authors’ reviews of the text before the translation process begins; oral or spontaneous translation unfolds moment-by-moment (House 2015). That is not to say, however, that translators of written texts have more access to information since multimodal resources such as prosody, gestures, and contextualization cues provide the spontaneous translator with much to go from regarding de-coding one’s meaning so long as they are aware of ways that these differ cross-culturally and how affective states are encoded in the culture (Rubel and Rosman 2003a:13; Bailey 1997; Chick 1990; Gumperz 1982; Scollon and Scollon 2001). Key emotions, though, are

universally recognized in a speakers' voice and facial expressions regardless of the language spoken with a higher rate than would occur by chance (Paulmann and Uskul 2014; Pell et al. 2009; Sauter et al. 2010).

I follow other scholars in the attempt to break down the conceptualization of languages as bounded, preexisting entities and instead focus on their "resources" to consider languages as heuristics, following Heller's (2007; 2010a; 2010b) key insights in this area. Current research on multi- and bilingualism, translanguaging, codeswitching, and translation reflects our understanding that language use does not conform to a binary distinction between "this" or "that" language (e.g. Brink-Danan 2015; García 2009; García-Sánchez 2010, Heller 2007; Reynolds and Orellana 2015; Urciuoli 1995, 1996; Woolard 2004). Cultures, too, are not bounded, homogeneous, or stagnant in time (Faier and Rofel 2014). Both languages and cultures belie the supposed simplicity of their generalized and lay use. Price and Lugones (2003:7) trace dichotomous thinking in translation studies to colonial history, asserting that "one of the ways in which the West maintains domination is by imagining languages as separate." Conceptualizing translation as a "bridge" between languages and translators as "bridge builders," (Tihanyi 2004) then, is a Western conceptualization because it requires separation of languages. Assuming, too, that equivalency is possible is "forcing Western concepts, understood as universal, the concepts of self, for example, into non-Western languages" (Price and Lugones 2003:7). This forcing of Western concepts and perception of languages as separate also reinforces the expectation that there cannot be overlap from one language to another. My data demonstrate that this is not the case—communication is partially

established even before translation occurs, through multimodal means and cognates or other shared lexemes.[82] Although there can be overlap in understandings even without it, translation can also present barriers to communication: It can create new borders (Mezzadra and Sakai 2014), lead to great confusion (Jacquemet 2014), create a decreased ability to formulate a feeling of connection between people from different cultural backgrounds (Nathan 2018), or place serious limitations on cultural conceptualizations of complex ideas that have no one-to-one correspondence (Chidlow et al. 2014; Mannheim 2015; Maranhão and Streck 2003).

Cultural Translation

Anthropology itself has been called a "science of translation" (Maranhão 2003:76; Darnell 2000) insofar as ethnography is a way in which anthropologists learn about a cultural context so as to record it in writing that allows for (typically Western, educated, and English-speaking) readers to understand (Nourse 2002, who draws on Said 1978). This act of "writing culture" (Clifford and Marcus 1986), or translating into "anthropologese" (Agar 2011), has often resulted in the (Western) anthropologist utilizing Western concepts as a framework through which to understand, and thus record in writing, non-Western concepts (Price and Lugones 2003). In other words, to paraphrase Mignolo and Schiwy (2003:21,19), it is as though the Third World is

[82] Many Peruvians consume English-language media and young people now have English-language classes in compulsory school, although I am told that these do little to support fluent language learning. Differences between rural and urban schooling and access to English-language education exists, and older Peruvians were less likely, too, to have much knowledge of English. Youth, on the other hand, were very commonly skillful English-speakers in Lima, often having to take the initiative to seek additional education after high school for their college entrance examinations. Informal learning also contributes to formal education; a friend assured me she had learned English by watching *Frasier*.

converted into First World language; linguistic hierarchies can make even “imperial” languages like Spanish, subaltern to other imperial languages, like English, which is sometimes referred to as a global “lingua franca.” This is relevant to the analysis that follows because translation practices between English- and Spanish-speaking participants exemplify the dominance of English (and white American-English-speakers) in the flow of information from artisans from the Global South to visitors from the Global North. Southerners “seem to produce culture, not knowledge” (Mignolo and Schiwy 2003:20) in the way that artisans share their personal stories and traditionally-based production techniques. Artisans do not produce knowledge (except for cultural knowledge and “tradition”), and they seem to not be expected to need to learn about global trends, efficient production techniques, and business discourses that clients utilize. Faier and Rofel (2014:363) describe how “ethnographies [of encounter] explore how culture making occurs through unequal relationships involving two or more groups of people and things that appear to exist in culturally distinct worlds.” Within fair-trade discourses, the culture of impoverished Peruvians is produced through the client–artisan encounters, using the artisans’ personal stories and artisanal skill as commodified parts of their products. The exoticizing and commodifying eye of clients (as well as tourists) takes both products and stories as representations of artisans’ class and culture, saleable to Northern consumers.

Since the “cultural turn” in translation studies (Chidlow et al. 2014, Maranhão and Streck 2003; and Rubel and Rosman 2003b), most disciplines have recognized that a “seamless transfer” (Gal 2015:236) of words from one language to another is “utopian, an

unattainable goal, a receding target. No translation can be fully adequate" (Darnell 2000:252; echoed by many others e.g. Agar 2011). Additionally, no act of translation is neutral or objective (Gal 2015, Chidlow et al. 2014); linguistic transfer maintains the translators' own biases, cultural frameworks, imperfect understandings, positionality and agency. Cultural meaning can never be fully conveyed through denotational transfer, but the increased interest in cultural translation has increased understanding of the complexity of translating. It is increasingly well recognized that one language cannot adequately be mapped onto another, as has been attempted in the case of the Quechua academic overlay language described by Mannheim (2015, 2018). Much is lost when terms (such as *puriy*) are stripped of their cultural value (translated to mean only "to travel") and given wholesale equivalences that do not encompass their original range of meanings (Mannheim 2015:212-3). As ethnographers, rather than aiming for one-to-one equivalence, we must strive for radical translation (Quine 1960; Mannheim 2015), transduction (Silverstein 2003), "transculturation" (Mignolo and Schiwy 2003) or "foreignizing" (Venuti 1995). "For an ethnographer, all translation is radical translation," and it must be grounded within contextualized linguistic, social, and cultural understanding to reflect a conceptual range in the target language (Mannheim 2015:215; Agar 2011). This call would be confirmed by Venuti (1995), who encouraged translators to "foreignize" their translations: rather than converting the cultural meaning of the source language into that of the target language, the translator should challenge the target culture by using as much of the voice and sense of the source language, or "languaculture" (Agar 2011, following Friedrich 1989, "linguaculture"), as possible. The

concepts of “dream,” “body,” and “self” require pages of explanation to transduce from Gamk to English (Okazaki 2003) and a single word of Tofa or Wayampi can encode immense depths of taxonomic and agricultural information (Harrison 2007), to take just a few examples.

Taking an even broader understanding of translation than between two linguistic codes, other scholars maintain that any speech is a translation, as it takes an interior, nonlinguistic emotion or mental state and allows for it to become transformed into words (Jackson 2003; Streck 2003). Doing this translation, however, and putting words to emotions or feelings of pain in the case of Jackson’s (2003) participants, does not do justice to those nonlinguistic human elements. In Jackson’s (2003) study of participants with chronic pain, speaking about and attempting to describe the pain becomes a betrayal of the felt experience. For Pritzker (2011:399), translation can be “living,” in that it requires embodied experience over time to fully understand and “translat[e] into practice” terms from textbooks into usable medical knowledge.

With all of these considerations of the complexity of translation, fluidity between languages, and potential for communication despite limited linguistic understanding, I found it difficult to create transcripts that would present speech so that readers could clearly “hear” that which either Spanish-dominant or English-dominant interlocutors would definitely be able to understand. I decided to differentiate languages by making Spanish bold, thus making the different codes clear but not disrupting the flow of the transcript. Due to the complexity of the transcripts, I decided not to include English translations of the Spanish utterances. In my analysis, I point out moments when an

utterance is not translated, but also when interlocutors seem to have understood without it. Further, I explore the multimodality of the interactions and include some of the nonverbal elements of the conversations in my transcripts. These features appear to be well understood between Peruvians and Northern clients and therefore I consider them to be predominantly shared common ground. Translation, then, is not the only means through which communication can occur in a fair-trade encounter, and indeed, the ability to communicate *beyond* language is a powerful bonding experience. The expectations for, and discourses around the fair-trade encounters make them spaces for artisans and clients to build relationships, understanding, and affinity for each other; participants orient toward these outcomes whether they require translation from Yannina or not.[83]

Experience is Required

Through this literature review, I have synthesized works that support the claim that languages are not bounded, naturally-occurring entities, nor can a translation maintain a one-to-one equivalence that purely conveys the majority of nuances from one languaculture to another. Even though anthropologists and researchers in many fields who conduct translation studies recognize these difficulties, international business models, medical professionals, and the folk ideology expect that any bilingual person should be able to translate (Chidlow et al. 2014; García-Sánchez et al. 2011). This

[83] Similarly to that which Nathan (2018) asserts, the encounters that I observed overall seemed even more friendly when communication was more difficult, requiring Yannina's mediation, than when the client spoke Spanish. This could be related to individual clients, but a larger corpus of fair-trade encounters could elucidate whether by *not* sharing a language, camaraderie could be more strongly established than when clients speak Spanish. Yannina may even be aware of the importance of the "radical translation" behavior (discussed further in later sections) involved in the moments during which she does not translate that could lead to stronger outcomes than if she were involved.

perception justifies in their minds the use of community interpreters, such as children or other family members (Orellana 2009; Reynolds and Orellana 2009, 2015).

Unlike community interpreters, when professional translators are used, such as in the healthcare industry, they are expected to work like "translation machines" (Eklöf et al. 2014). Since their work is seen as mechanical, others in the interactions who work with translators such as doctors and nurses do not receive sufficient training for participating in translator-mediated interactions (Aranguri et al. 2006, Davidson 2000, 2001; Eklöf et al. 2014). Translators themselves are not well prepared to deal with medical terms (Fallah and Akbari 2017, Krupic et al. 2016). Of course, translators do more than mechanically change one set of linguistic cues to another, and dyadic conversations between a translator and patient can result, lasting for nearly four minutes in one instance without translation to the doctor (Pasquandrea 2011:463). In healthcare professions, oral translators are expected to edit patients' utterances and speed encounters along due to the pressures on doctors' time (Collins and Slembrouck 2006; Davidson 2001). One study showed that interactions using oral translators took the same amount of time as non-mediated interactions, despite the expectation that they would take longer (Davidson 2001). Oral translators may even end up exerting power over the doctor (Krystallidou and Pype 2018) and answering questions by themselves without referring them to the doctor (Aranguri et al. 2006, Davidson 2000, 2001). Even if answered correctly, this strategy reduces the complaints and concerns that the doctor hears from the patient and can lead to their perception of Spanish-speaking immigrant patients as passive (Davidson 2000, 2001).

Artisans in my fieldsite showed similar difficulties that call attention to the ways in which working with a translator is not intuitive or commonsensical. Artisans often continued to speak for very long turns, going on even when Yannina jumped in to translate. In those instances, there was much overlap whether because artisans ignored the translating, or did not know how long to take before allowing her the turn. As Wadensjö (2008) points out, community interpreters (as well as the communities with whom they work) are untrained in performing their linguistic tasks and often have few opportunities to hone their skills. I will later analyze an instance in which Yannina requested that I take over the task of translating; this proved unsuccessful due to my lack of experience and know-how in the practice. It also further exemplifies the skill that Yannina has in translating. In the examples presented in this chapter, she carries out both consecutive and, whispering, simultaneous translations, as is common for skilled community interpreters to do (Wadensjö 2008).

Breaking Down the Bridge Metaphor

Much of the anthropological literature on translation refers to written contexts and the ways in which we record our own cultural understandings in writing. Within anthropology, many oral translation studies take as their participants cultural brokers and family members in immigration contexts. I have been influenced by research on translation in medical contexts to build a better understanding of translation processes within institutions. The fair-trade encounters I analyze differed from most other research because translators themselves are usually not the interlocutors with the most power in the interaction like Yannina is in the MA interactions. Considering the quotidian nature of powerful organization entities performing the role of translator in cross-cultural

contexts for fair-trade, and other, industries, further research in this area could be very productive toward understanding how discourses are distributed through supply chains and among organization interlocutors, and what individuals come to learn through their encounters with cultural outsiders.

Some translation research outside of anthropology continues to be written in such a way as to reinforce the perception that there is one "correct" translation, that translation comes naturally to bilinguals, and that communication is merely a "conduit" from one brain to another (with an added brain for the translator) (Reddy 1979). In this chapter, I continue anthropological pursuits to challenge the bridge metaphor of translation that assumes translation works to bridge two languages, better understood as denotational codes (Silverstein 1996:126). In this metaphor, "languages" constitute separated land masses and the inability to communicate would make up the otherwise impassible river. Languages in this way are constituted as separate and unrelatable. My analysis will metaphorically put stepping stones across the river, recognizing the means through which interlocutors have the ability to achieve some levels of communication without and beyond translation. To believe that translation is a bridge is to believe that languages are bounded entities with no overlap like land masses on separate sides. Needing a translation "bridge" ignores the fact that communication can occur extralinguistically.

Nonverbal Communication

Nonverbal communication through facial expressions, gesture, body positioning, object manipulation, along with prosodic features and lexical items like cognates and proper names present many means through which interlocutors can communicate, even if a translator is not present. Although one may not be able to completely understand the

denotational meaning of verbal communication, one may participate in the interaction, and, as is important in fair-trade encounters, interlocutors will remain able to form an emotional connection regardless of linguistic transfer. Through the multimodality of client–artisan encounters, communication can occur even beyond and before Yannina, or another mediator, translates. Fair-trade interactions benefit from the positive affect of joking and smiling in the shared intercultural experience.

Researchers have explored the ways in which human interaction is universal and builds from innate abilities (Levinson 2006). The so-called “interaction engine” allows for potential universals like theory of mind and turn-taking timing between all cultures. These universals of human interaction explain the ways in which individuals brought into contact who share little to no linguistic resources are able to communicate solely through nonlinguistic means such as was needed for Quine’s (1960) original conceptualization of radical translation. Studies of contact zones such as in North American colonialism (Silverstein 1996), pidginization (Hymes 1971; Sebba 1997; Thomason 2001), and traumatic experiences of concentration camps (Levi 1989) and slave trades (Mintz 1971; Sebba 1997; Thomason 2001) further exemplify this process. These studies show that communication can and does occur without any shared linguistic elements, so it stands to reason that there would be much that is understood even when translation for an utterance seems to be missing or problematic.

Goodwin’s (2006; Goodwin and Goodwin 2004) work on the co-construction of speech with his father, Chil, who has aphasia, demonstrates the abilities of interlocutors to make use of multimodal styles. Goodwin speaks and uses gestures in ways that Chil

can still understand, despite being limited to responding only with “and,” “yes,” and “no” in his own speech. Chil makes use of extra-linguistic and prosodic features that draw from their shared history, their physical setting, the common emphasis of phrases in English, and other elements that allow him to maintain conversational competence. In Goodwin’s case, language knowledge is shared, but speaking ability is missing from one interlocutor, whereas if shared knowledge of linguistic resources is not shared, communication can still be somewhat accomplished. In other words, meaning-making is not dependent on language, but is mediated by interactions between minds (Enfield and Levinson 2006:6). MA clients and artisans make use of multimodal resources to communicate and build rapport, even without translation.

Overview of Client–Artisan Encounters

Client visitors to MA are those whose fair-trade companies require and usually finance travel abroad. Clients may be store associates, buyers, or fill other roles in fair-trade companies but their purpose for travel is for their work (as opposed to those fair traders who come mostly for enjoyment in tourism groups). Their visits involve discussions to design new products, purchase products they think will sell to their consumers, troubleshoot solutions to problems they have had with packing or production, and establish camaraderie with staff and artisans. Often, their discussions with Yannina or artisans illuminate challenges the clients would have never considered. This is often framed as a way to encourage patience and understanding from clients when artisans require extensions or if quality of their products suffers in the future. The trouble-telling genre, often told by artisans as related to their work with other exporters, can serve as a socializing discourse for clients as to how to, and not to, behave. In addition, clients can

visit artisans from whom they have already placed orders and thus check on the production to ensure products are being made to specifications. Yannina likes to arrange encounters between clients and artisans who are already working together and also to plan visits so that clients can see a less-well-off workshop first, followed by progressively bigger, safer, and more advanced workshops. In that way, clients can recognize the improvements that fair-trade involvement can make to artisans' lives. Frequently, during their trips, clients plan visits with other distributing organizations besides MA and perhaps even go to other countries besides Peru to conduct the same type of work. Clients have, therefore, much on their minds when visiting artisans including pressure from their co-workers and supervisors to make the best of their visits, take the right photos, and get the right and enough information to take back home.

These various types of client–artisan encounters contribute to upholding the fair-trade principles of "Transparency and Accountability" (Principle 2) and "Promoting Fair Trade" (Principle 9). They also contribute indirectly toward promoting "Fair Trading Practices" (Principle 3), "Ensuring Good Working Conditions" (Principle 7), "Providing Capacity Building" (Principle 8), and "Ensuring no Child Labor and Forced Labor" (Principle 5) by allowing visitors to see and experience workshops and conditions firsthand (WFTO 2017). Visits also encourage future orders from clients for the individual artisans who are visited, and for MA in general.

During my fieldwork, three organizations (in Italy, the United States, and Canada) sent employees to visit MA. This was fewer visitors, I was told, than MA usually welcomes in the same time period. Many fair-trade companies have had to close store

locations, consolidate personnel, and reduce international trips to producer organizations due to decreased budgets during, and since, the global economic recession of 2008. Until the recession, buyers from a United States-based company, Gifts that Give, were able to travel regularly, about once per year. The buyer and product developer I met, Amelia, expected that this aspect of the job would become limited as economic struggles continued. (This is especially of concern to me considering the economic downturn related to the COVID-19 Pandemic as I finish writing in early 2020; see Postscript).

I observed and recorded encounters between clients from the United States and Italy, and artisans in Lima and Huancayo. The Canadian clients only visited with hand-knitters in Puno and I was unable to arrange a trip to accompany them at that time. The Italian client, Chiara, did not require Yannina's translation because she spoke Spanish (and English) and was able to communicate directly with artisans. These encounters therefore present an interesting counterpoint to the translation-mediated encounters involving the Gifts that Give employees. Chiara visited Peru in early April, 2017 and she had had a long history with fair-trade organizations in different positions, including previous trips to Peru. Amelia, on the other hand, was visiting Peru for the first time and, since she had only started in her position six months previously, it was her first trip with Gifts that Give. As a relative novice to her fair-trade work and her role in visiting artisans, Amelia, along with not being a Spanish-speaker, also was being socialized into her participation in the encounters. Because of their differences in linguistic skills along with knowledge of fair-trade encounters, comparing Chiara's and Amelia's encounters is complex. It is likely that Chiara is able to juggle the various expectations placed on her

from her organization for the visits more easily than Amelia due to her experience, prior visits, as well as being able to communicate directly in Spanish with artisans.

Despite being one of the leading fair-trade handicrafts organizations in the United States, Gifts that Give remains fairly small, with about twelve people in marketing and product development, according to Amelia. It is a fair-trade importing organization with over one hundred stores selling their wholesale products and a large catalog and online presence in the United States. Amelia was accompanied by Evelyn, an associate store manager and manager of volunteers at one of the organization's key stores, located in the Midwest. Amelia had little control over Spanish-language resources, only using "gracias," "muchas gracias," and "sí" in my data. Evelyn, on the other hand, could converse in Spanish. She occasionally asked me for help with certain words, phrasing, or conjugations to ask artisans and their employees direct questions, but she was somewhat able to understand Spanish utterances before the English translation through her own knowledge. Amelia and Evelyn of Gifts that Give visited Lima in May, 2017. Despite her discomfort in the intermediary position that translation causes her to take, Yannina served as translator for the Gifts that Give visitors during the majority of their time with artisans, a factor to which participants draw attention with humor and humility.

I recorded a total of eight artisan visits, spanning less than 11 minutes to over 35 minutes, for Chiara and the Gifts that Give client visitors (see Table 1 below). Chiara's average visit length (by recording time) was 19 minutes and Amelia's and Evelyn's average visit length was 25.9 minutes. Both groups had additional conversations that were not recorded, but generally I contend that the conversations completed in Spanish

Group & Number	Artisan and Product	Recording Length	Location
Italy 1	Artisan = Pedro, Ceramist	12m48s	Lima, Central
Italy 2	Artisan = Alonso, Ceramist	16m41s	Lima, Central
Italy 3	Artisan = Antonio, Ceramist	10m54s	Lima, Central
Italy 4	Artisan = Rodolfo, Ceramist	Not recorded	Lima, Central
Italy 5	Artisan = Alejandro, Ceramist	35m39s	Lima, North
U.S. 1	Artisan = Eduardo, Gourd Carver	32m35s	Huancayo
U.S. 2	Artisan = Felipe, Gourd Carver	21m54s	Huancayo
U.S. 3	Artisan = Tomás, Gourd Carver	25m05s	Huancayo
U.S. 4	Artisan = Luca, Ceramist	34m06s	Lima, North

Table 1: Visits with Clients

without translation were shorter and more fluid. Four of Chiara's visits were conducted all in one day in Lima, and the Gifts that Give employees visited three artisans in one day in Cochas, Huancayo. Despite all four of that day's visits by Chiara being in the same neighborhood, potentially within walking distance of each other, Yannina considered it ambitious to do so many visits in one day, and we were all quite tired after the fourth. The brevity of Chiara's first three visits could be related to the knowledge of needing to visit a total of four workshops in the day, all before lunch to avoid disturbing artisans over their breaks. It is expected that translation-mediated interactions take longer due to the need for rephrasing utterances, so one explanation for length of interaction when comparing Chiara's and the Gifts that Give's clients' lengths of visits is that Chiara did not require translation and thus could speak directly with artisans and employees. She spent more time in discussion, and less time taking photos of products, which Amelia did extensively. Chiara's experience and knowledge of her market, Peruvian products, and position may be related to the time she spent on various aspects of the visits. She also may cast the encounters as more of a chance to interact with artisans, whereas Amelia

orients strongly to the products, perhaps due to inexperience about which products will be most sellable by her company, or related to her lack of Spanish-language skills.

Visits to artisans take a structured, somewhat rehearsed form and established fair-trade employees seem to know the expectations for the flow of the encounter. This flow of encounters seems to be fairly standard across fair-trade visits in the relevant studies (e.g. Brown 2013; Rasmussen 2010), and in my own experiences while working at Ten Thousand Villages of artisans' visits to fair-trade organizations, stores, and conferences in the United States. The performative structure of encounters, including artisans' stories, tours of the workshop, demonstration of artisanal processes, and showing products, enables participants to learn their expected roles and to frame the encounters in established and pre-set ways. These are the kinds of aspects of the fair-trade encounters into which Yannina works to socialize Amelia through her guidance, particularly during the artisans' sharing of his autobiographical story. When artisans meet clients, they first share their stories including where they are from, how they became artisans, how they learned the trade, and what types of products are their specialties. These are additionally the kinds of questions I was expected to record as I helped MA update the artisans' stories for their records and what had been written by previous "volunteers" before me. Frequently included is the way artisans first encountered fair trade (and in particular, Yannina in MA's case), their reasoning for working with fair trade, descriptions of what makes fair trade different from conventional trade, or how their lives have changed as a result of working with fair-trade exporters. If these topics are not discussed upfront, questions such as these undoubtedly come up in the question-and-answer moments after

the artisans' presentations in these encounters. This can be seen in my data with Amelia's questions and recording of her commonly asked question, "How do you like working with Manos Amigas?" Fair-trade tourists' visits follow similar scripts, even to the extent of telling the same jokes to different groups who visit the same artisan. Interestingly, though, larger groups and newer types of experiences, like hosting a group of college students who had lunch and painted a ceramic piece in an artisans' workshop have less well-established structures. Aspects of this event I observed—such as the artisan having enough paints and brushes for everyone, teaching technique, breaking the group into small subsections for a tour, showcasing pieces that students could purchase, and allowing appropriate timing for cleaning up and a group photograph—were ineffective, skipped over, or disorganized, unlike client–artisan encounters, which tend to flow quite smoothly.

After artisans recount their personal stories, their presentations center on the artisanal production during which time the audience can experience firsthand a sped-up and simplified version of the artisanal production process. Rasmussen (2010) explains how a Tuareg smith performed the lost-wax process that usually takes a full day in one hour for his audience. Peruvian ceramists demonstrate their artisanal processes by guiding visitors through the various rooms of their workshops pointing out different stages of production—molding, drying and firing in the kiln, and finally, painting.[84]

---

[84] Painting is done using store-bought acrylic paints on dried and previously fired pieces. Compared to glazes, this makes for brighter colors, more easily controlled application of color, easier clean-up, increased environmental friendliness as they are water-based, and cheaper expenses for electricity and kilns because pieces can be fired at lower temperatures. Only some more well-off artisans are able to purchase a kiln for use with slip or glaze, which is fired at a higher temperature. Pieces are painted before firing and using the glaze is much less forgiving

Workers sit at tables surrounded by paints or molds and multiples of the pieces on which they are working—tens or sometimes hundreds of the same donkey, llama, or person figurine for a nativity scene. Gourd carvers did the same, showing the storeroom, cleaning and deseeding, designing and drawing, burning, sometimes dyeing or coloring, and carving steps. After seeing the process, fair-trade clients or employees are able to ask questions and perhaps share a snack.[85]

Personal stories and artisanal presentations having been shared, Peruvian artisans often showcase their products in an exhibition room where clients take photos of products their organization may wish to order as-is or tweak for future orders. For tourist or client visits, direct sales may be made. Toward the end of encounters, both participants often offer to answer questions, but clients (and tourists) do more of the asking. Artisans asked Chiara why her company's orders had slowed, but artisans did not ask what items sold well, what they should make more of, or take the opportunity to ask about trends for clients' customers. It was very common to hear fair-trade clients ask a question phrased something like "What can we do to support you even more?"[86] A response from artisans to this question is very frequently along the lines of "Keep buying! Place more orders!"[87]

---

than acrylic paint in showing imperfections and remaining consistent. A device called a pyrometer is also needed that allows for closer monitoring of the temperature within the kiln.

[85] Food offerings may be related to artisans' cultures, or they may reflect a disregard for norms of artisans' cultures, as Rasmussen (2010) discusses concerning sugary tea served beside sugary pastries that was not culturally appropriate for the visiting artisan.

[86] Fair-trade tourists ask very similar questions to clients. They want to know about family, how fair trade improves artisans' lives, where products are distributed, and how traditions have changed, for example.

[87] Brown (2013:65) confirms the structure of fair-trade encounters, his occurring during a fair-trade conference. In a presentation at a Philadelphia coffee shop with fair-trade Nicaraguan

If troubles are aired at all, artisans may bring up difficulties that they have had with other exporters, fair-trade or not, which serves as a comparison for MA and a confirmation of their successes. The proposed help against poverty draws on the common trope of fair-trade marketing that consumers, and before them, clients, can create change through their purchases and by keeping the supply chain going. The discourses bring the onus of poverty alleviation to individuals and companies, not states; a neoliberal ideal shared by individuals in the Global North and Global South alike (see Chapter 2). Through these encounters, then, the work of fair trade to perpetuate the appeal of the structure of "buying for a cause" is carried out and, through the performative events, participants encourage each other that their work is valuable, worthwhile, helping artisans, an improvement over conventional trade, and that fair trade does what it is meant to do.

"I'm Very Sorry": Co-Construction of an Artisan's Autobiographical Story

Yannina presents herself as the face of MA through arranging and mediating artisan visits for international clients. In her role as intermediary between members of different cultural and ethno-linguistic groups and economic classes, she uses conversational strategies that benefit visitors, artisans, and herself and her organization, even if perhaps not always consciously. In this first example from client–artisan interactions, Yannina aligns to the task of cultural mediator, perhaps more than linguistic translator, through her co-construction of an artisan's, Luca's, autobiographical story. It indicates the ways in which Yannina, as translator, conveys information between interlocutors, but also enacts a powerful role in the conversation in her own right. Luca is one of the youngest artisans

coffee, the co-owner reported that farmers had told her to share the recommendation to "buy more coffee!" for those who wished to help them (62).

with whom MA works and their relationship is in its early stages, following Luca's recent purchase of another artisan's ceramic molds. In the following transcript, Yannina asserts herself as the dominant co-constructor of the story with Luca, instead of Amelia, as she poses questions to Luca, sometimes speaking over Amelia's questions. Yannina draws on her background knowledge of the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) insurgency that predominantly affected the Andean region of Ayacucho and led to many artisans' migration to Lima.[88] For her, then, a likely place to start Luca's story is to ask if he and his family are from Ayacucho, as many ceramists with whom MA works are. Yannina's questions mark her ability to be able to request information, a powerful position in the conversation. Through her questions to Luca, she thus guides the flow of information from producer to clients, making them the predominant recipients of new information in the encounter. The co-constructed narrative contrasts the past with the present; it is a present in which the artisan can be seen to have benefitted from access to the fair-trade organization. Like other fair-trade producers' stories with which I am familiar, finding and starting to work with the fair-trade organization is positioned as the turning point, or the point at which an artisan's life starts to improve. My analysis demonstrates Yannina's control of the narrative through her questions and the topics that she introduces. This serves to socialize both Amelia and Luca into the way that fair-trade stories are created and told as a celebration and perpetuation of the value in fair trade. By aligning to the task of the encounter in this way, translation and transparency are not the primary goals of the interaction, but instead building connection and support of fair trade are upheld

[88] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of artisans' experiences of the insurgency and migrations to Lima.

more strongly. In the transcripts that follow, Spanish is in bold font to help to differentiate the codes at quick glance.

Transcript 1: "I'm Very Sorry"

	Transcript as Interaction Occurred	Nonverbal Actions
1	Yan: **Ustedes son de Ayacucho, verdad?=**	
2	Luc: =**Sí**	
3	Yan: **Y la familia es de Ayacucho?**	Yan. gestures to other workers in the room
4	Luc: **Ayacucho**	
5	Yan: They are from Ayacucho	
6	Ame: ok	Yan. smiles and nods
7	Yan: **(A) cuántos años [viniste a Lima?**	
8	Ame: [How-	Ame. gestures: both hands pushing down, like "here"
9	Luc: **De nueve años de [edad**	
10	Yan: [<When he was	
11	nine years, he came>	
12	Ame: ok	Ame. smiles broadly at Luca, nods
13	Yan: **Con tus padres? O: sólo.**	Ame. looks to Yan., still smiling
14	Luc: **No. Solo.**	Ame. turns back to Luc. as he answers
15	Yan: He came alone.	Yan. nods with tight-lipped smile
16	Ame: Oh	Yan. Nods
17	Yan: Yeah	
18	Yan: **Es la vida aquí**	Not looking at anyone, to herself
19	[Pause 2 seconds]	

20	Yan: **Pero extra:ñas Ayacucho?**	
21	Luc: **Siempre me (voy a escapar allí)**	Luc. touches his chest, smiling broadly
22	Yan: He always miss(.) Ayacucho.	
23	Time to time he go back.	
24	Just for [a brief-	Yan holds up finger and thumb, close together
25	Ame: [He's here for work?	
26	Yan: °°yeah°°	Yan. nods
27	[20 seconds removed, in which Ame. begins a dyadic conversation to ensure Eve., who is recording details of this encounter in a notebook, has recorded the facts effectively about the kiln, Luca's age of arrival, and missing Ayacucho. Yannina and Luca have a separate dyadic conversation in which Yannina asks Luca if he came because of *Sendero Luminoso*.]	
28	Yan: Wo::w. In [1987	Ame. and Eve.'s attention returns toward the end of Luc.'s last utterance and Yan's "wow"
29	Luc: **['88!**	Luca self-repairs from a previous statement
30	Yan: eh: Sendero killed his father in Ayacucho	
31	Ame/Eve: Oh my gosh.	
32	Ame: Oh wo:w=	
33	Yan: =In 1988	Yan. nods and looks around workshop
34	[Pause ~2 seconds]	
35	That's the [problem. Many of the	Yan: moves hand in a vertical circle
36	Ame: [I'm sorry, that's-	
37	Yan: people from Ayacucho, Sendero killed	
38	their families or brothers or mother	

39	or father. Yeah.	Yan. nodding
40	Ame: Well, I'm very [sorry	Yan. nods
41	Eve: [You said 1988?	
42	Yan: I'm sorry?	Yan. leans forward, raises eyebrows
43	Eve: In 1988?	
44	Yan: Yes.	
45	Yan: **En '88, verdad?**	
46	Luc: **A mí me deja con un mes de gestación**	
47	**Mes y medio.**	
48	Yan: **O:h! Estaba <u>gestado</u> su mamá.**	
49	Luc: **Sí [inaudible]**	Luc. talks quietly, running his hands along the kiln door
50	Yan: Oh, his mother was pregnant. With him!	
51	Ame., Eve., Mel.: O:h!	Groaning
52	Yan: Just for a month! When Sendero	Yan. holds up one finger
53	killed (.) °his father°	
54	[Pause 3 seconds]	
55	Yan: **Pero ahora ya cambió, si quierra,**	
56	**se puede volver a Ayacucho=**	Yan. nodding
57	Luc: =**Sí, [ahora ya °es tran[quilo°**	
58	Yan: **[ya [ya:**	Yan. nods
59	Luc: [inaudible]	
60	Now, it's more- it's very safe to go back	
61	Luc: **Tal vez, pueda estar con familia:res**	Luc. wringing his hands
62	**°(Es) tranquilo.°**	
63	Yan: **Y tu mami? Vive acá?=**	

64	Luc: =Sí.	Luc. nods
65	**Vive acá.**	
66	Yan: His mother live here.	

This storytelling event occurred very quickly after the start of the visit to Luca's workshop. Yannina encourages his recounting of his very personal narrative of hardship with these international strangers. This is, however, an important aspect of working with a fair-trade organization, to which Luca will have to become accustomed. The narrative about his traumatic childhood, migration, and courage enables the "one-way consumption" of his life by clients and consumers that adds symbolic value to the fair-trade handicrafts that he produces (Wright 2004:671). His story is representative of the type of story fair-trade artisans around the world tell; despite struggles and suffering, through their art and hard work, they are now able to make a living. These stories are consumed as a part of the fair-trade products artisans create; they exemplify how fair-trade handicrafts are different than conventional handcrafts or industrially made home décor items that compete with fair-trade goods.

As Luca tells his story about how and why he came to Lima, Yannina co-constructs the story through her questions, causing it to vacillate between hope and pain, positive and negative aspects of the artisan's life. Yannina is the one to bring in the positivity through questions concerning the artisans' affection for his hometown and being able to return, knowing that it is now safe, and whether his mother lives nearby (Lines 20, 55-56, 63). Her questions lead Luca to tell a story that is appropriate to the fair-trade context, positioning hardship and pain in the past and positivity in the present.

The questions create an implicit turning point around the time between Luca's migration and the current moment, placing his work with MA and the end of the war as reasons for increased safety. A turning point is a common element of an autobiographical narrative for those who tell of a change in their identity (Ochs and Capps 2001:215). *Artesanía* and fair trade are thus part of this hopelessness-to-success story that is presented through Yannina's guidance; Luca has the ability to work in Lima in a workshop he rents and operates, and can visit his hometown freely as he now wishes.

One of Yannina's questions that would perhaps be unexpected for the visiting clients is whether Luca came alone to Lima or with his parents. This question would probably not have been asked by clients who may not be familiar with the way that Quechua-speaking families, especially from Ayacucho, were impacted during the *Sendero Luminoso* insurgency. Indeed, hearing about how Luca came from Ayacucho at the age of nine evoked a large smile on Amelia's face, indicating that she lacked the background knowledge of *Sendero*'s violence in that region when Luca was young. Yannina also knows of other artisans whose stories reflect parental abandonment or children raised by other family members, sometimes passed back and forth over the years. Hearing that Luca came to Lima alone clarifies for the clients the difficult life he, and other artisans, have in Peru. Yannina's utterance after Luca's response of having come alone to Lima, "es la vida aquí" (Line 18), interestingly, is only given in Spanish. It serves as a summary statement which gives a generalization of a larger-scale trend throughout the country (Ochs and Capps 2001:208-9). In providing this orienting utterance to Luca, she frames his experience as well understood and typical of Peruvian

artisans, helping him to recognize, perhaps, the importance of including the information about coming alone to Lima in his autobiographical story. Another summary statement comes in English in Lines 35, 37-39, in which Yannina contextualizes for clients Luca's father's murder as a fairly common occurrence for artisans to have faced, since *Sendero's* violence impacted so many of the families in Ayacucho.

Luca's ability to overcome the hardships of never knowing his father and migrating to Lima at a young age are told to clients within the context of knowing that he is now safe, a talented artisan, and a successful businessperson thanks to fair-trade involvement; this could be helpful toward solidifying clients' belief in the mission and power of fair trade's potential. Sharing of his personal narrative in these encounters becomes part of Luca's job and is put on display for clients, alongside his ceramic products and simple home and workshop.

As the one asking the questions to co-construct Luca's narrative, Yannina demonstrates her social capital and power in the interaction as she is able to request more information (Bourdieu 1977). Questions are means to convey discomfort, confusion, or engagement; patients who asked fewer questions in a medical discussion, for example, seemed to be more passive (Aranguri et al. 2006; Davidson 2000, 2001). Whether in English or in Spanish, Yannina occasionally answers questions that are being posed to her—whether in her role of manager or as translator; ratified responder, or intermediary expected to pass on the question. Questions posed to the other party through the mediation of a translator can add another layer to obtaining the information one needs, and from the appropriate person. Translators in the medical interviews Davidson (2000)

studied answered in place of the doctor for 18 of 33 direct questions asked by patients, leading to the doctor not knowing their concerns, and the patient not getting a professional's reply. Therefore, the translator is an institutional gatekeeper who either allows the questions "in" and gives them voice in the institution or quickly responds on their own. This latter action implies that questions are not reasonable enough for a professional response and, in Davidson's (2001) work, also functions to hurry along the interaction by cutting out the translations and doctor's response. In fact, "the interpreters' habit of answering questions might be viewed as a move to insulate the physician, and thus the institution of the clinic, from patient challenges to its authority" (ibid.:391). Doctors also use closed questions with a preferred simple or nonverbal head-shaking or nodding response to help them control the conversation (Aranguri et al. 2006; Davidson 2001), and can even maintain some control over an interaction when they are not actively speaking in it by delegating linguistic tasks to the translator (Pasquandrea 2011). These findings indicate the power translators have over conversational structure. Yannina, unlike the translator-mediated doctor–patient interactions that have been the focus of much research, is the dominant actor and holds the most powerful position in the client–artisan encounters. She is vindicated to ask her own questions, lead the conversation both implicitly and explicitly, and has cultural, symbolic *and* social capital by means of her bilingual skills, intercultural understandings, high position in the organization, and previous relationships with both clients and artisans (Bourdieu 1977).

In client–artisan encounters, Yannina would often begin to answer clients' questions on her own, but then would clarify details with the artisans, as occurred in Line

45 above. Perhaps this functions to demonstrate to the clients her desire to get the right information, or because she really was not confident in the answer herself. Perhaps, too, she is used to answering in the place of artisans when enacting the role of manager, but now has to recast her positionality as mediator which can occur after she has already started to respond, in some cases. Whatever the reason, I suspect that quantitative analysis would indicate that Yannina translates many more of the questions, or at least parts of the questions, to the other interlocutor than the interpreters in Davidson's (2000) research and that she strives for transparency and is unconcerned about editing or timing, as is a concern in medical contexts.

Yannina asks questions seeking new information (as opposed to those posed for clarification or translation) of Luca in Lines 1, 3, 7, 13, 20, 55-56, 63, and 65. Her powerful position allows her to continue her own question in Line 7 when the client overlaps with her to ask something of her own. (It is likely, however, that the client's question would have been the same that Yannina asks about Luca's age of arrival to Lima, because it starts with "how," as in "how old was he?," and her gesture indicates "here," as in Lima.) The other new information or topics presented by clients in Lines 25, 36, and 40 are minimally answered by Yannina (with a head nod), cut off (36), and all are untranslated to Luca. In the instances of Amelia's and Evelyn's sentiments in response to hearing of Luca's father's murder ("I'm very sorry," Line 40; "oh my gosh," Line 31; and "I'm sorry, that's-," Line 36), the multimodality of the emotions—sighing and looking at Luca with sad facial expressions, using direct eye gaze and lowered voices—convey a great deal that will be fairly well understood across these cultures, despite the lack of

translation of these utterances by Yannina. When Amelia says, though, that she was "very sorry," she looks directly at Luca, making the lack of direct linguistic translation seem strange.

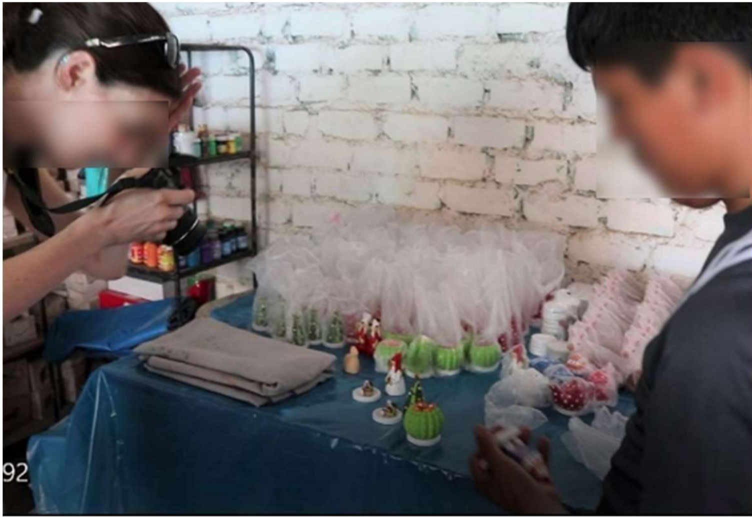
Expressions of sympathy and emotion often go untranslated in my data, perhaps reflecting the lack of prestige for affective language or "small talk," which increases social cohesion, friendliness, and cooperation (Jansson et al. 2017). Despite the misnomer, "small" talk is quite important to establishing connections and, in translator-mediated interactions between physicians and patients, the beginning parts of discussions before starting to discuss symptoms can be helpful toward gaining accurate patient histories (Aranguri et al. 2006). Without small talk, or what Sleptsova et al. (2017) refer to as "affective talk," the interaction can feel cold, and patients may not share as much potentially helpful information (Aranguri et al. 2006). Omissions of translations for affective talk can impact the entire conversation, making a patient not feel reassured or leading to medical errors, for example (Sleptsova 2017). In client–artisan interactions, small talk, business talk, or otherwise catching up often occurs only between artisans and Yannina, in Spanish, as clients look at products. This is also an important aspect of Yannina's work within the encounters, but leads to her being removed from the interactions that the clients have at the same time. By not translating affective talk, and emotional reactions that occur in reaction to Luca's personal narrative, Yannina creates a sense that the story has been told for the benefit of clients. The rapport-building function of affective talk, then, is not established as a desired outcome, although it would add to the nonverbal communication of emotionality which comes through regardless. Yannina

establishes all participants' orientation to the artisan's autobiographical story as a performance by not translating Amelia's and Evelyn's responses, and through the overlap of Amelia's question. She helps him to co-construct a story appropriate for the interaction, guiding him to relevant questions and signposting the story in both languages with generalizing statements to give context.

Lost in (Missing) Translation: Compliments and Product Development

Along with co-constructing autobiographical stories, Yannina also has power in the interaction to allow and disallow clients and artisans to gain or be left unaware of different utterances. Of course, some aspects of communication come through very strongly without translation, due to the nonverbal strategies interlocutors use to convey their perceptions and interests. When Yannina was on the phone or talking with other workshop employees and unable to translate for a few minutes with the American Gifts that Give clients, Luca wordlessly passed products to Amelia. These ceramic items featured two pieces; the artisan lifted the top (cactus, teapot, Christmas tree, etc.) to reveal a tiny nativity beneath. Each time, Amelia squealed, "ooh"ed and "aah"ed, smiled and laughed, arranged the products on the table, and took photos. These actions clearly conveyed her interest in the products to Luca, who continued to offer up further examples of his craftsmanship, smiling himself, which can be seen in the selection of screengrabs below (Illustration 5).

Nonverbal communication went far in this interaction to express Amelia's interest to Luca, despite it being conducted in relative silence. She does mention quietly, though, speaking with the other client, Evelyn, that "the stores would like this" and called products "so cute." Although Yannina had not been translating during the interaction,



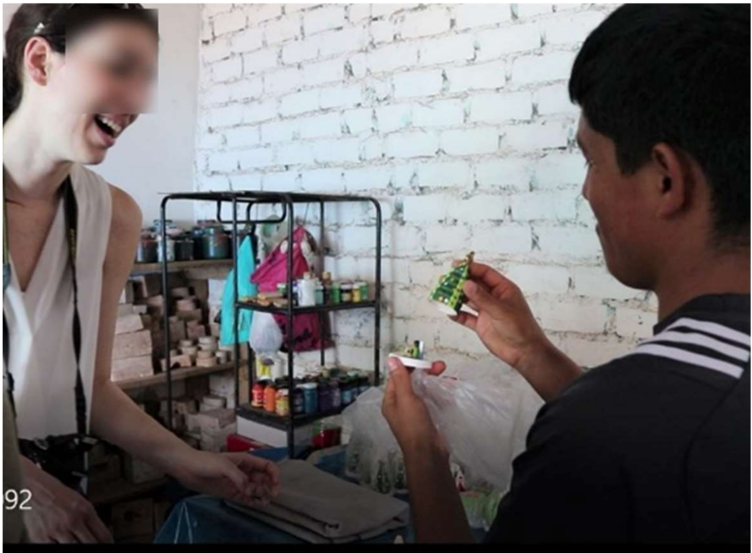


Illustration 5: Luca’s and Amelia’s Interaction (Screengrabs by Author).

these utterances are examples of genres that Yannina consistently left untranslated when she was involved with the conversations. These genres included business-like utterances explaining what sells well and what consumers look for, and also compliments to artisans for their products.

Both of the untranslated genres can be seen in the following transcript in which Yannina catches up with the owner of the workshop, an artisan named Tomás, and his one daughter Raquel, about his recent orders from other exporters and how they have been doing. The Gifts that Give clients communicate through multimodal means with the artisans’ other daughter, Julia, who was removing carved gourd products from a paper bag. The clients point to, arrange, and take photos of the gourds on the table. During this interchange, the nonverbal linguistic cues can be seen to convey a great deal of the clients’ interest in the products, but they are not specific or as informative as translation would be.

Transcript 2: "So Many Owls"

	Transcript as Interaction Occurred	Nonverbal Actions
1	Ame: Do you know what the price, eh,	
2	of the birdhouse is?	
3	Yan: We have, um, some of them, yes= Ame: =ok	
4	Yan: we are exporting? And uh,	
5	but if you are interes[ted?, yes (.) [take-	Yan. points to the table
6	Ame: [oh yeah [ok	
7	yeah I took some photos that'll-	
8	that could be good. Ok great.	Ame. reaches across the table
9	O:h! Reindeer!	Excited. Yan. and Mel. laugh
10	Eve: Oh reindeer! Oh yeah!	As though she had not seen them at first. More laughter, some inaudible utterances.
11	Ame: Oh yeah. O:h yeah! Those could be good	
12	°for Christmas for sure°	
13	Yan: **qué material es?**	
14	Jul: **Madera. Madera.**	Increasingly loudly. Yan. might not have heard. Ame. and Eve. laughing. Ame. looks up from arranging the products on the table, smiling, looking to Yannina.
15	**Madera.**	
16	Yan: **Madera** >ok ok<	
17	So I'm just thinking about the packing?	
18	Eve: Alright, look at that little ( )	

19	Ame: °Smart. Thank you°	
20	°°for thinking (of that)°°	
21	Ame: Oh really cute. [Ok.	To herself, as she is reaching for products
22	Eve [Oo::h! The panda!	
23	( ) It's not a panda! A polar bear!	Others laughing
24	[Pause 4 seconds]	
25	Eve: °oh, Santa°	
26	[Pause 2 seconds]	Jul. pulls a penguin gourd from the bag
27	Ame (/ Yan?): [Aw Eve: [Yes	All three American women respond to the penguin
28	Mel: [I love that penguin	Jul. smiles
29	[Pause 13 seconds]	Ame. continues to arrange the items on the table as Jul. pulls more items from a paper bag.
30	Ame: °°these ones are cute°°	To self.
31	>ok I need your< hands	To Eve.
32	Yan: ( ) ahora. **las manos de ellas**	Yan., Mel., maybe others laugh
33	[Ame. tells Eve. how to hold the pieces]	Arranging items to take a photo
34	Eve: D'you want me to hold him	
35	over here so that ( )	
36	Ame: I want that face forward.	
37	[Pause 17 seconds as Ame. takes a photo. Laughter heard from other room.]	
38	Ame: Ok. **Gracias!**	To Eve.? Laughter
39	[18 seconds removed from transcript as Tomás, Raquel, and Yannina converse about the orders they have received. Ame. continues to take pictures and then, touching a gourd and putting her hand back down, continues:]	
40	Ame: Cute! (pause) Cute!	Somewhat to self. Jul. smiles, laughs

41	Ame: So we already have a lot of owls,	
42	but I love them. ºThese are a little differentº	
43	Eve: this too ( )	Eve. pointing
44	Ame: oh that one's- this one you said?	
45	Eve: mhm. (like) for spring,	
46	people like to put them ( )	Eve. holds hand up like hanging something
47	Ame: So many o::wls	

The above interaction demonstrates the two consistently untranslated genres: compliments and business-forward talk. In the encounter, "cute" is frequently uttered, along with a multimodal combination of gestures such as pointing; exclamations like "oh!," "ooh," and "aww"; changes in tone and volume that reflect excitement such as squeals; the action of taking pictures; and facial expressions like smiling. All of these are probably fairly well understood as appreciative and complimentary to members of both cultures. Lexical items, too, such as "cute," along with those like "very nice," "sweet," and "beautiful" would likely also be understood, especially by the younger artisans. (Older or more rural artisans may have had less access to English-language education and media and may have less clear understanding of those words, though.) Julia seems to understand Amelia's "Cute! Cute!" in Line 40 because she smiles. These terms' comprehensibility probably explains, at least in part, Yannina's lack of translation. She will know that Julia and her sister, Raquel, have traveled to the U.S., studied at university, and are budding successful businesspeople who do not lack experience or at least some knowledge of English. Julia is the product designer and Raquel works more on

the business side of the workshop, as they predominantly manage this work now that their father is mostly retired. Being fairly new to the business, these young women would stand to learn a great deal from transparent communication with clients.

In regards to business-forward talk, utterances like “those [reindeer] could be good for Christmas” (Lines 11-12), “we already have a lot of owls but I love them. These are a little different” (Lines 41-42), “for spring, people like to put them [out/ up]” (Lines 45-46), and “do you know what the price of the birdhouse is?” (Lines 1-2) indicate important considerations for clients who need to think about the seasonality, pricing, market saturation, and purpose of products when making decisions of what to order. By not giving their Spanish translation, Yannina does not allow artisans to hear these strategic discussions by clients. She implicitly establishes that the goal of the interaction is for clients to learn about products and have experiences and it is possible that because the beneficiaries of the encounters are seen to be the clients, Yannina may not feel it is necessary to translate all of the clients’ utterances to artisans. In this segment of the meeting, Yannina asserts her role as marketing manager by prioritizing her communication alone with two of the artisans, and to a lesser extent, she aligns with the position of translator. For example, she asks about the material affixed to the gourd (Line 13), in case there would be any issue with packaging and export. Similarly, when the genre of praise in parent–teacher conferences is omitted or downgraded by children performing the role of translator, García-Sánchez and Orellana (2006) and García-Sánchez et al. (2011) assert that it is because they are orienting to the meetings being structured around problems; they then see the praise to be outside of the point of the

discussion and unnecessary to be translated. Yannina similarly orients to the client–artisan encounters as contexts for clients to experience the workshops and decide on products to include in future orders; translation is not her first or sole priority.

The "business-focused" utterances that I am pointing out also may seem insignificant and mundane to readers, as well as even to participants in these interactions. But, having access to the type of information they convey could give artisans an advantage for competing in the global market and understanding international trends. Sometimes artisans may be deterred from making the same design over and over, but other artisans are successful doing just that, and it could be difficult to understand what consumers, clients, or even Yannina wants. In Lines 41-42, Amelia mentions that there are lot of owls already but that one is a little different. So, it may work out for an artisan to make the same designs repeatedly, if they appeal in some novel way to the clients. Often in conversations with me, artisans fixated on the colors they could paint their products that would appeal to Northern consumers although other product attributes, such as size or design itself were not often discussed as needing to be desirable, or their desirability was taken for granted.[89] Thus, learning directly from clients when they visit artisans' workshops would enable understandings beyond considerations of colors for products. The nonverbal information that artisans can take away from these interactions when translation is not carried out may give false hope that products will be purchased. Although clients take many photos and samples back to their home country, they do not end up placing orders for all of these, as products need to fit in with organizations'

[89] For example, most ceramic artisans focused on or made nativity scenes exclusively or almost exclusively. This motif's desirability seemed to go unquestioned.

budgets, sales goals, and other product offerings. The Gifts that Give clients said that there are very tense meetings during which clients push for the products about which they feel strongly (perhaps especially those made by artisans who had spent a pleasant meeting with the client), but others cannot be ordered.

In the transcript above, even though the clients gain interest in different products, Yannina considers her own exporting responsibilities and asks what material is affixed to the gourds, which could present problems for packing or shipping (Lines 13-16). She does not tell the artisans why she is asking, nor tell the clients what she asked, so both have partial understanding of that set of utterances. Knowing about packing concerns and that there are certain materials that should be avoided is another important aspect of artisans' and clients' work, and could be worthwhile to have translated into both Spanish and English.

Despite some of the clients' excitement over products that indeed comes through in gestures, prosody, and bodily comportment, the artisans still miss out on hearing specific strategic purchasing discussions in their dominant language. Artisans would benefit greatly to be made explicitly aware of the product and trend discourses clients use which would help to reduce risk in product development, inform them of the complexity of buying such as seasonality and intra-organization competition, and leverage their expectations for all of the products being ordered in the future. Moreover, artisans having increased knowledge of international sales trends would allow them augmented autonomy from Yannina's and clients' product development and make them more confident and successful product designers on their own. Interestingly, this may present a

reason for Yannina's lack of translation into Spanish. She may, either consciously or unconsciously, recognize the need for MA to maintain some control over artisans' access to the knowledge of trends. Completely self-sufficient artisans with many exporter contacts and direct access to stores and companies have little need for the fair-trade organization and could sell for higher prices while remaining competitive due to the percentage that MA retains to cover their operating costs.

"You Just Say 'No!'": Limiting Artisans' Perceptions of their Impacts

When participants do not align to a stance toward the encounters as being collaborative and potentially mutually beneficial, translation can become limited and communication less transparent than would be ideal for fair trade. Artisans do not learn about the impressions their products have on clients, and they also may miss out on understanding the way that their stories and experiences influence how their future working relationship will unfold. The following excerpt comes from the encounter between Gifts that Give clients and the artisan named Luca. By discussing a product and its various versions being innovated for another client, Yannina and Luca socialize Amelia, who had held her current position for only six months, toward understanding preferred and dispreferred client behavior from the Peruvian participants' standpoint. In this interaction, Luca and Yannina discuss the difficulty they are having with a German client who wants sample after sample before committing to an order. Luca explains the newest requests and the minute changes that have been required of him during the process. Through criticizing the German client, Yannina and Luca socialize the American client into appropriate behaviors for product development.

Transcript 3: “You Just Say ‘No!’”

	Transcript as Interaction Occurred	Nonverbal Actions
1	Yan: We have (.) another customer in Germany	Takes product from Luc. looks at Ame.
2	and uh, [the name]. O:h! But this: uh,	Rolls head to the side and eyes
3	woman who is the buyer is very young	
4	but. uh (God) She change color, no:, this	Closes eyes
5	must be another color no: the other must	Holding two versions of same piece. Points to the piece
6	be natural so I don’t know how many:(.)	Small circular gesture, grimace expression
		Luca listening and watching Yannina throughout this turn
7	Samples she ordered and say please(.)=	Yan. grimaces
8	Ame: =oh wow.	
9	Yan: We cannot do tha:t. Just be please correct	Gesture with the pieces like a gavel
10	Yan: **Y cuántas muestras ( )?**	
11	Luc: **Estamos (.) °uno dos tres° (.) Cinco!=**	
12	Yan: =five! Look!	Immediately looks at Ame. opens hands apart and puts head backward
13	Ame: (.) Five! Wow!	
14	Yan: Yeah! Five times changing colors,	
15	Changing-	
16	**>Estoy explicándole todos los cambios**	
17	**de esa clienta<**	Luc. smiles and nods
18	It’s cra:zy.	
19	Ame: That is a little crazy.	

20	Yan: We are really-	Scrunches up her face, pumps arms
21	Ame: Because the work is- the colors are nice!	Lifts arms, palms up
22	The work is beautiful!	
23	Yan: Now, now she order like this~	Eyes wide, holding up pieces
24	I hope she agree:! We will see.	
25	**Vamos a ver. Ojalá que ( )**	Pulls pieces to her chest, laughs
26	Luc: **Ahora unas observaciones [( )**	Pointing to the piece Yan. holds
27	Yan: [[gasps]	
28	**También esta? Qué >ha dicho ahora<?**	
29	Luc: **Que le pongamos ( ) este**	Luc. points on the piece Yan. holds
30	Yan: **O:h!** (God).	Sighs, rolls shoulder back.
31	Luc: **( ) este color, este que sea blanco**	Luc. pointing on the piece.
32	**Y este ( ) nada más**	
33	Yan: **a:::h**.	Mouth slightly open as she looks up at him after his explanation
34	[Pause 4 seconds]	
35	Yan: **no pero aquí encima no puedes**	
36	**poner este dorado?**	
37	Luc: **[no se nota**	
38	Yan: **[no se nota, no?**	Luc. shakes head
39	Yan: Now she wants some stars. Here (.)	Turning back to Ame.
40	So you cannot see the stars here so he	
41	has to change this to white	Demonstrating on the piece
42	**Pero blanco no se va a ver acá**	

43	Luc: °**Exacto**° **(.) pero (.)**	Opens palms out at side
44	**es la única opción!**	Gesture of hands crossing in front of body and sweeping to sides
45	Ame: What about some brown color on top?	Walking over and gesturing on the piece Yan. holds.
46	°little designs?°	
47	Yan: **Y estrellas más o menos marrones**	
48	**un poco acá?**	
49	Luc: La índice, la indicación dice	Holds one hand flat and uses index of other to point into flat hand
50	Estrellas doradas	
51	Yan: Oh! It say [gold-	
52	Ame: [gold stars	
53	[Pause 6 seconds]	
54	Ame: If you ever feel like this about me,	Pointing at Yan., pointing to self
55	You just say "no!"	Flat hand, palm down, sideways cutting gesture
56		All others laugh and Luc. smiling, looking to Yan., perhaps for translation that does not come

In this interaction, Yannina, Luca, and Amelia align to the same task of interpreting the German clients' wishes, and formulating affiliative, cooperative feelings toward each other, in a combined rebuke of the other clients' "crazy" requests. Like in the co-construction of Luca's autobiographical story, Yannina helps to cast the other client as problematic through her utterances, gestures, facial expressions, and prosody. For example, she rolls her eyes (Line 2), grimaces (Line 7), says "we cannot do that" (Line 9) and calls this client's behavior "crazy" (Line 18). Amelia takes up the same

orientation, agreeing that the client's behavior is "a little crazy" (Line 19), and giving compliments of Luca's work (Line 21-22) that go untranslated, due to them being extraneous to the main goals of this interaction to socialize Amelia and build solidarity through troubles-telling.[90]

Through their rebuke of her tedious and multiple requests for changes to the German client's samples, Luca and Yannina, one hopes, will encourage Amelia not to act in the same way when she makes requests of artisans in the future. The utterance of "if you ever feel like this about me, you just say 'no!'" (Lines 54-55), however, is not translated for Luca's benefit. He looks to Yannina, perhaps for a translation, but this does not come. He may not realize how the story has impacted Amelia and how she placed herself in the German client's position. Luca is able to understand the hypothetically quoted "no!" because it is a cognate of the Spanish word, but the context in which it comes is not made clear for him. In Lines 16-17, Yannina catches Luca up on what the conversation generally is about, but she does not translate frequently for him throughout the interchange, including for Amelia's compliments of his handicrafts in Lines 21-22. The lack of translation in these few utterances, similarly to in the above discussion for Tomás, Raquel, and Julia, keeps Luca from being a full participant in the conversation with clients and MA's manager. Luca is kept from recognizing the impact he has on his

[90] See Jansson and Wadensjö (2016) for an example of how caregivers align with each other to mitigate the complaints of an elderly patient in a Swedish residential home.

future interactions with the client and the influence the encounter has on the client's understandings of the product-development process.[91]

These untranslated utterances, in combination, create an encounter established for the benefit of international visiting clients, not artisans, which goes against the empowerment fair trade purports to uphold. Artisans are left with unspecific, albeit positive, reinforcement about their products which comes through multimodal cues and shared lexical elements. The lack of translation at certain moments stands to reemphasize the gap between artisans and clients by limiting the business-like discourse that would allow them to gain specific knowledge about what qualities of products are most pleasant or particularly marketable. The untranslated discourses also keep artisans from making the kind of impact they could by speaking directly with clients and being fully included interlocutors in client–artisan encounters.

Yannina's Position as Mediator

In the discussion above, I have demonstrated how translator-mediated client–artisan encounters as translated by Yannina do not benefit artisans as much as they could, despite the fact that communication does indeed occur because of multimodal elements and shared lexical items, even when translation is missing. In what follows, I continue by analyzing the interactions from the standpoint of the fair-trade value of transparency, and

[91] As we continued the conversation, however, and Luca and his wife shared an Inca Kola with us in their dining room, he shared more about the difficulty involved with new product design and the costs that are incurred. Although this portion of our discussion was not recorded, I wrote in my fieldnotes that Amelia assured him that she would remember and be cognizant of those costs when requesting her own products. So, when allowed more time, there is indication that artisans would be able to benefit more from the encounters and share greater insights into their lives and work that would impact clients' behaviors.

the potential of the encounters to create positive affect in participants. I demonstrate how Yannina's desire to avoid translating potentially delicate conversations, and display of embarrassment and humility, accomplished through humor, increase (at least the perception of) transparency.

With her complex position as spokesperson for artisans and vendor for international buyers, Yannina's role as translator adds another responsibility and pulls her in various directions in the encounters. Transcript 4 demonstrates Yannina's attempts to maintain the transparency that is required for fair-trade supply chains, and her discomfort in translating the interactions between clients and artisans. To reduce her involvement, and perhaps with the intention of leaving the room to encourage the artisans to tell clients whatever they wished, Yannina asked me, bilingual but unskilled in translation, to relieve her of her translator role. This encounter occurred early in my fieldwork (May 2017) when I visited Huancayo with Amelia and Evelyn. The main artisan's, Eduardo's, son Ricardo, is the predominant artisan voice in this section; he was speaking for his father due to the elder man having a sore throat. The client, Amelia, asks the artisan perhaps a loaded question of how he, his family, and their employees like working with Manos Amigas (Lines 1-3). This question and others like it, though, are expected and quite common to hear in performative client–artisan encounters. Yannina asks me to translate the response to remove herself and allow for the artisans to speak candidly, but I am unable to do so successfully.

Transcript 4: "I go! I go!"

	Transcript as Interaction Occurred	Nonverbal Actions
1	Ame: Can I ask? Um: how do you like (.) um:	Yan. leans in, intently, smiling. Ame. hedging.
2	(.) is it ok if I film >this ok< um. how do you	Ame. smiling, gestures to camera/ Mel. and looks at Ric. to ask about filming
3	like (.) um, working with Manos Amigas.	Eve. holds her notebook in front of Yan.'s face for a short time, laughs.
4	Yan: **Cómo que les gusta trabajar con**	Ric. laughs too
5	**Manos Amigas?**	Others laughing
6	**Yo me voy. No se preocupe. Yo me voy!**	Yan. laughing loudly
7	I say, I go, I go!	All laughing. Ric. continues.
8	Ric: **e::h bueno a este algo que algo**	
9	**que considero**	
10	Yan: Please, **por favor.** That you translate please	To Mel.
11	Mel: oh. Ok.	
12	Um. **Otra vez.**	Nervous laugh
13	Ric: **Algo que que considero de aquel**	
14	**tiempo(.) hemos encontrado una química con**	
15	**la empresa Manos Amigas y eso**	
16	**es lo que nos gusta. [Química**	
17	Mel: [(mmm)	Could be trying to assert my turn very unauthoritative as Ric. continues
18	**en el sentido de que nos sentimos cómodos**	
19	**primero con la personalidad de ellos.**	

20	**Con lo que es la empresa así, no o sea, son (.)-**	
21	Yan: (**Momento). Traducir por favor!**	Yan. and Ric. laugh. Mel. makes a noise.
22	Mel: >**No sé exactamente pero<** um	
23	<That they feel a certain (.) chemistry?> **una química?** Ame. and Eve.: oh. mm	
24	**pero era mucho y no, no no recuerdo todo!**	Ric. and Mel. laugh
25	Yan: **Yo >voy a sequir a tra[ducir entonces<**	
26	Mel: [Yeah. (!)	
27	Yan: °I will continue.°	
28	Ric: **Ya?**	
29	Yan: **Sí**	
30	Ric: **Entonces, bueno ( ) >°en la química lo que<**	Since my translation attempts, conversation takes on serious feel and is quieter
31	>**Refiero sentimos cómodos primeros cómo<**	
32	**Es la empresa e-°=**	
33	Yan: =°They feel comfortable	
34	with Manos Amigas°	
35	Ric: °**Eh, nos sentimos cómodos con (.) con el-**	
36	**el precio que nos pagan.°**	
37	Yan: °They feel, uh, comfortable with the price	
38	that they pay us°	
39	Ric: °**El tiempo que nosotros coordinamos**	
40	**por lo menos, este, el pago (por nosotros)**	

41	**es p-p- primordial porque trabajamos con**	
42	**muchas personas que también este**	
43	**necesitan este: (.) dinero- entonces°=**	
44	Yan: =ºThe payment	Yan. is nearly whispering
45	is very important for them? (.) because the	
46	people who work here, they need to	Gesture with a hand moving in a circle
47	recieve the payment. So they are happy	Gestures to Ric., then in front of her
48	That° °°they receive on time.°°	
49	Ric: °**Y:: y cuando el- y cuando el ( ) no**	
50	**se paga a tiempo, entonces, hay una**	
51	**incomodidad ( ) la producción. Por**	
52	**ende este, la calidad ya va a, este, a bajar**	
53	**un poco entonces (queremos) que**	
54	**la calidad se mantenga, y que ellos**	
55	**también estén contentos. [( )°**	
56	Yan: [They keep	
57	the quality control if they pay on time. (pause)	
58	so that's the reason they (.) <°are happy(.) that°	
59	°°they can pay on time for workers.°°>	
60	Eve: ºYeahº	
61	Ame: **Gracias.**	All laughing
62	You can tell me the real thing later	Not in frame, but smile voice. Jokingly. Ric. smiling. Others laugh.
63	Yan: **Más tarde, me dice la verdad, dice**	Ric. joins in the laughter

Amelia's hedging for her perhaps loaded question (Lines 1-3) indicates its possibly controversial nature. The awkwardness surrounding the question is also indicated through Evelyn's gesture to cover Yannina's face with her notebook, so as to jokingly block her from the conversation (following Line 3), and Yannina's uptake of the discomfort that she tries to reduce by playfully saying that she will leave (while smiling and laughing, Lines 6-7), and deferring the responsibility of translation onto me (Line 10). She first asks me to translate in English, indicating that the recipients of the utterance are the clients, and not the artisan. Although she says that she will leave, Yannina stays in the room, probably to verify that I could carry out the task of translating. Ricardo had started his response (Lines 8-9) before Yannina requested this (Line 10), causing me to need to ask the artisan to restart his response (Line 12). Yannina, though, does not clarify in Spanish for the artisans that I will now be the one to do the translating. The artisan continued for a long turn (Lines 13-20) without a pause for my translation despite my attempt to break in at Line 17. Yannina may have recognized my lack of success to jump in; she does this for me in Line 21, telling me to translate, now in Spanish so Ricardo finally can become aware of the switch in roles. When given the chance to give the English translation of his response, my feeble attempt codeswitches according to my intended target of information as I begin and end by speaking to Yannina in Spanish: "No sé exactamente" (Line 22) and "pero era mucho y no recuerdo todo!" (Line 24).[92]

[92] Due to my lacking translation skills, practice, and confidence, having been thrust into the task without the artisan's notice after the response had begun (Lines 8-9), and working with an interlocutor who did not know that the roles had changed, I was not able to adequately translate the response to the client's inquiry. The interchange draws attention to how translation is not an inherent skill of bilinguals, nor do interlocutors know how to segment their speech when working

Yannina then indicates (in both codes) that she will continue in the role of translator (Lines 25 and 27), and thus is unable to leave the room despite the influence her presence may have on the thoroughness and truthfulness of the artisan's response. The length and fluidity of the response, though, and the main artisans' uptake of his son's initial thoughts (in the continued transcript below) indicate their sincerity, and perhaps a level of performativity, as artisans are commonly asked this, or similar, questions.

After my translation attempt, the rest of the response follows a tighter translation pattern with shorter turns throughout. The artisan speaks quietly and reservedly, maybe relating to continued presence of Yannina despite her initial report that she would be leaving. In my data, Yannina often intrudes into an artisan's turn in order to translate, and some artisans talk over her translations (much like occurs in the continuation of this transcript in Lines 109-115, below). Yannina has the authority to interrupt and speak at the same times as artisans speak and she also has the skill that comes from having translated for many interactions that follow the same general pattern.

This interchange indicates the discomfort some topics may cause clients, artisans, and Yannina, who in subsequent visits did not ask me to translate although she continued to seem as though she felt uncomfortable to translate artisans' opinions about working with MA. Clients often visit workshops, and along with learning opportunities and pleasant rapport-building experiences, these visits can verify or call into question that the standards of fair trade are being met by artisans and by the organization. For this reason, asking artisans directly about working with MA is one of the best opportunities a client

---

with a translator. Yannina, a skilled translator, may also not recognize that her well-honed skills are not naturally occurring for all other bilinguals.

has to ensure compliance with fair-trade practices; these are the kind of opportunities that are rare for conventional trade and longer supply chains.

Yannina recognizes the contradiction in seeking transparent answers when she is present. During the week Chiara was visiting from Italy, Yannina told me that she wants visitors to be able to ask their own questions, and that she prefers that clients speak Spanish. She recognizes that her presence may cause artisans and their employees to change what they would say about herself and the organization, and she noted to me that when she has to translate, it puts her in a strange position. She is confident, though, that when clients do speak to artisans and employees directly, they will hear good things about MA's treatment of them, and that they will have positive interactions. The organization is small, and Yannina may be the only one to know every artisan personally and to have visited their workshops, so she is the only MA staff person who could mediate the encounters. She always aims to allow artisans time to speak directly to visitors if possible, whether through another translator, but preferably if the visitors know Spanish. In some interactions with Amelia and Evelyn, Yannina did separate herself from the clients and me to answer her phone or speak with the artisans' family members and employees, as was the case between Luca and Amelia in Illustration 5 above. During some of these moments, I helped Evelyn and Amelia communicate directly with artisans. Chiara, who spoke Spanish well, had similar opportunities to speak one-on-one with artisans and their workers.

Clients and Yannina both attempt to lighten the mood of the intense question, "How do you like working with MA?" by encouraging laughter. In the transcript above,

Evelyn blocks Yannina's face with her notebook, and Yannina animatedly says that she will leave the room, both causing the clients and artisans to laugh. At the end of the response to the question, Amelia attempts to diffuse the tension of the soft-spoken response as Yannina had earlier by telling the artisan that he "can tell me the real thing later" (Line 62). This statement elicits a large smile from Ricardo even before Yannina's translation in the next line. Laughter in client–artisan encounters mediates complex emotion-laden discussions and underscores the complexity of the participants' social relations and the compromised position of the artisan to be fully honest if they wish to share negative sentiments.

Both groups seem to uphold positive politeness more than restraint politeness styles in regards to participation in laughter. Artisans convey positive emotions before having denotational access to meanings, showing solidarity with clients and Yannina through sharing mutual emotion. When laughter is not shared, it can have serious consequences for the overall interaction. This was the case in interactions between African American customers and Korean store owners described by Bailey (1997). Customers desire their joking and laughter to be returned and can be displeased by interactions if it is not. Laughter is one of the contributing factors to these groups' mutual expectation of rudeness, racism, and distrust (ibid.). In the Tuareg culture, joking is intertwined with class positions and expectations of unequal statuses. It is used by those who lack dignity with those who occupy higher social statuses. In the fair-trade encounter discussed by Rasmussen (2010), the Tuareg artisan who joked with visitors to a Texas shop positioned himself as socially subservient, unbeknownst to the American audience,

and treated them as he would noble patrons in his home lands. The clients' expectations for the encounters takes precedence over the artisans' because the overall structure for these visits in fair trade is based in Western cultural ideals. The encounters often include joking, laughter, and a light-hearted and appreciative air.

In the transcript above, translations by Yannina are not always complete, such as the long turn (Lines 13-20) that Ricardo initially gives to respond to Amelia's question. This utterance is minimally translated, first by me (Line 23: "They feel a certain chemistry"), having been unable to assert my turn as translator previously, and then not at all by Yannina after she took back the role. Due to the switch in translators and my lack of ability, the turn does not get translated.[93]

Some of the other translations Yannina gives here and elsewhere would perhaps not be considered "faithful" or "complete," but are also not really missing information. Reducing repetition to some degree in one's translation, however, has been shown to reduce a speaker's ability to emphasize and reiterate that which is most relevant for them (Sleptsova et al. 2017). There is one important utterance that goes completely untranslated in the above Transcript 4, though: the client's question of whether it would be acceptable to record the artisans' response (Line 1-2, "is it ok if I film this?"). In my fieldwork experiences, Yannina often took it upon herself to give permission for making recordings both to myself (which I did not accept), and for other visitors. Of course, as was the case in previous transcripts described above, participants in this interaction are

[93] In later client–artisan meetings involving Gifts that Give clients, the clients requested that the artisan respond to the question "How do you like working with Manos Amigas?" without Yannina's translation. They recorded the response, and asked Yannina to summarize at the end. Presumably videos with subtitles will be shared with clients' customers.

aligning to the question-answering performance that the artisans give, making translation in the opposite direction less of a priority.

The above discussion continues from "Más tarde, me dice la verdad, dice," as the workshop owner and main artisan, Eduardo, now speaks up to share his own opinion about working with Manos Amigas. It seems that he wants to ensure that all joking aside, the family very much appreciates the opportunity to work with this organization.

Transcript 4 Continued

64	Edu: **No no no la verdad es que nosotros**	Speaks after being silent through Lines 1-63. Scratchy voice.
65	**estamos bien. La empresa. es ( )**	
66	**Yo (dig-) yo le digo usted es como**	Edu. looking at Yan.
67	**una mad[re. Para nosotros ( )**	Yan. drops her head to her chest, smiling.
68	Mel: [Aw!	
69	Yan: Aw. [You are like my mother.=	
70	Edu**: [(Es como una madre) =Sí**	
71	Yan: [Oh my go-* I don't want to cry please!	* = head in hands (see Illustration 6 below), then holding hands like prayer in front of chest, looking up. Ame., Eve., and Mel. laugh
72	Edu: [( )	Edu. continues trying to assert a new turn as Yan. reacts and translates
73	**preocuparnos (pedirnos) está llamando**	
74	**está cominicando (.) (entonces) sí(.)**	
75	**estamos haciendo, sí estamos haciendo.**	Gesture with rotating hands
76	**y- y esa coordinación tenemos bastante**	Nods

77	**con Manos Amigas. Dice la verdad no.**	
78	**Y los pagos que (tengo), Señora Yannina**	Briefly holds hand about five inches away from ear
79	**Yannina necesito dinero y ya está bien no.**	Voicing self talking on phone
80	**(ya ha visto) el mome:nto difícil.**	
81	**( ) venta todo.**	Yan. chuckles
82	**(para la venta) la material, señora,**	Holds fist near ear like phone
83	**necesito dinero. >No le digo<**	
84	**>(la materia prima)< necesito dinero.**	
85	**(y dice) cuánto necesitas?**	Yan. chuckles
86	**>(dos mil lo que) necesitamos<**	
87	**>(ya voy a hacer)<**	
88	**Primero para pagar la materia prima [y-**	Yan. puts her hand out toward him as she starts her turn to help break in
89	Yan: [Many	
90	times um(.) he call us and say(.) please I	
91	need uh payment. I say ok how much do you	
92	need. and we never ask him uh why cause we	
93	understand! They need the money. So	
94	he's trying to tell you what is happening	
95	[with our relationship.	Yan. laughing
96	Edu: [**(Sí) no se preocupe(.) [con Manos**	
	Ame: **[Gracias!**	
97	Edu: **Amigas, no.**	Shakes head
98	[1 min, 10 seconds removed from the transcript in which Edu. shows the group some samples that clients are ordering from him. Yan. says that she is always calling to check up on him, like a "bad mom," taking up the term for herself,	

	evoking laughter from Ame. and Eve. She translates to Edu. and Ric., who picks up on his own ideas of why Yan. is like a mother to him.]	
99	**Ric: Consideramos que usted es como una**	
100	**mamá y: quizás sería bueno comentar(le)**	
101	**a ella(s). Justamente hace dos días**	Clasped hands
102	**eh (.) mi mamá cumplió ocho años**	Nodding
103	**de haber f-fallecido=**	
104	Yan: =Two days ago (.) uh her mo- eh	
105	his mother died eh, eight years ago.	
106	Eve, Ame: O::h.	
107	**Ric: Y: (en) ese tiempo este(.) siempre había**	
108	**una- una preocupación(.) a parte de la**	
109	**empresa [de que está buscando: e:**	
110	Yan: [Since that time °they have been	
111	very worried° °°about that°°	
112	Ric: **Y los [pedidos en procrear este, ambos**	Much overlap and Yannina gives translations very quietly as Ric. continues speaking
113	Yan: [°And (they) were trying (.)	
114	Ric: [**como dice (.) salir bien con el cliente**	
115	Yan: [to find orders for them°	One of the clients speaks up, too.
116	**Para que ( ) bien satisfecha (y que)**	
117	**los pedidos sean cada vez o sea más**	Circular hand gesture
118	**frecue:ntes, que cada vez (que) incrementa**	
119	**la cantidad. Buscamos eso. Entonces de**	
120	**que el cliente esté contento. Entonces por**	
121	**eso también >(es una parte crítica como)<**	Smiling
122	**consideramos como una mamá.**	Ric., Yan., and Mel. chuckle

123	Yan: That's the reason they consider me as a	
124	mother? Because I am just, um, trying to	
125	find orders for them? (.) like a mama!	Shrugs and chuckles. All laugh. Puts her head in her hands again.
126	Ame: A:ww!	

Eduardo builds onto his son's discussion of comfort and MA paying well by explaining the ways in which Yannina gives advanced payments without asking why they are needed, and describing how she calls to check if they are working on their orders (Lines 73-88). When the artisans relate Yannina to a mother—a sentiment I heard numerous times during my fieldwork, and which comes up again later in this conversation—they are equating the question about working with MA to working with Yannina, as the two have become basically interchangeable to them.[94] In giving this translation, Yannina covered her face, laughing and saying "aw. You are like my mother" and, only in English, added, "I don't want to cry please!" (Line 69, 71; Illustration 6 below) in an apparent rush of emotion. Ricardo continues the comparison, mentioning that his own mother died eight years ago and that they had always been concerned since that time of finding orders for their products (Lines 99-122). Yannina seeks out orders for them and the quantity increases so they consider her a mother for that reason as well. As she finishes translating this last segment, Yannina shrugs, laughs, and covers her head with her hands as both clients and artisans also laugh (Line 125). The artisans' discussion of their opinions about working with MA, made synonymous with working with

[94] Yannina founded MA and has worked with a lot of artisans for most or all of the time since. She has seen artisans' children grow, and in some cases now works directly with them.

Yannina, became very emotional. These positive emotions of support and respect, but also perhaps discomfort to broach the topic in front of Yannina herself, comes through in verbal and nonverbal ways.

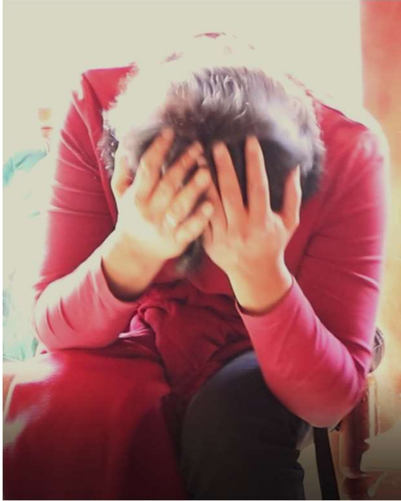


Illustration 6: Yannina with her Head in her Hands (Screengrab by Author).

It is unclear, of course, how the artisans' response to Amelia's question would have differed had I been an effective translator and Yannina had left the room, but it is unlikely it would have been much different considering their long-term relationship as well as the importance Yannina holds in seeking orders for them. I spoke with Eduardo the following day alone, and he continued to speak highly about the dependability of MA and explain how they had sent money when he needed an operation. Eduardo has worked with Yannina for over 15 years so they have established a relationship, and his son, Ricardo, has grown up knowing her. The association that MA also operates gives Ricardo a scholarship to attend college. It may be telling, though, that Eduardo relates to Yannina

like a mother despite their closer similarity in age to siblings.[95] She takes care of and watches over the artisans to find orders, makes sure they are working when they have an order to fill, and gives payments, but they respect and look up to her as a helpful, albeit strict, mother figure.

In the organization, Yannina, like a mother, does hold considerable influence on the artisans with whom she works. She chooses the products that are included in the catalog, which artisan groups to work with and when to discontinue working with them, and helps to distribute orders and set up visits to help those who need it most. As the institutional gatekeeper, artisans depend on Yannina for their financial livelihoods. They have little control over getting products into the catalog (and thus, receiving orders), besides, perhaps, maintaining a keen awareness of international trends and creating innovative new products. Both of these are not easy to accomplish, especially when opportunities to discuss these trends with clients are not provided, as I have discussed in relation to translation practices. Thus, one of the best tactics artisans can employ to hope for inclusion in the catalog and promotion of their products is to maintain good rapport with Yannina. She, however, obviously depends on artisans as well for her own livelihood, but that is in a more diffuse way due to the relatively large number of artisans who each receive a small proportion of MA's total orders.[96] In client–artisan encounters,

---

[95] His deference (use of "usted" (formal *you*) and calling her "Señora Yannina") could also be related to feeling culturally and/or ethnically inferior to her because he is a Quechua-speaker from the highlands, and she is a mestiza woman from the coast. (See Chapter 3 for a detailed explanation of Peru's hierarchical ethno-racial ideologies.)

[96] There are few artisans whose orders make up a large percentage of MA's total orders. That raises interesting concerns considering that fair trade is meant to help artisans who are struggling financially. MA stops working with those who become successful, but since MA itself depends

both artisans and Yannina share the goal of building rapport and encouraging purchases from clients. Their alignment to the task of answering client questions positively also functions to celebrate the effectiveness of fair trade and MA's work in particular, while socializing clients to recognize behaviors that are highly appreciated by artisans.

Encounters with Spanish-Speaking Clients

In the previous section, I explored the ways in which transparency in client–artisan encounters could be compromised by Yannina acting as translator. I have also demonstrated that translation often excludes product-development discourses, compliments, and small talk that would all benefit artisans' sales orders and relationships with clients. In this section, I offer comparative examples of ways that a Spanish-speaking client, Chiara, builds rapport and discusses important business-related content directly with artisans. In her encounters with artisans, she draws on a longer career and background in Peru and with Yannina than Amelia has had. She additionally approaches the interactions as collaborative events in which she can give back to artisans who are seen as representatives of their cultures and traditions but also as businesspeople. Transparency between clients and artisans is augmented through direct communication and shared linguistic resources.

Despite not needing a translator, Yannina accompanied Chiara on her visits to artisans' workshops to introduce them to each other, provide the transportation between workshops, continue to mediate the flow of the conversations, and give verifiability to the

---

on orders and a percentage of the total order price as their fees, letting go of someone whose handicrafts sell quite well is very difficult, and draws into question the ability of the organization to continue without them.

interactions.[97] The way that she orients to the encounters, then, is similar in both contexts, with the added task of translation when clients do not speak Spanish. In the encounters between Chiara and artisans, Yannina was often able to leave the room to answer a phone call or speak with employees, allowing Chiara to speak alone with artisans and workers, as she had attempted to do when asking me to translate. Additionally, unlike the translation-mediated interactions with the clients from the United States, Chiara had more lengthy and in-depth conversations with artisans. In three of her five visits, Chiara discussed the recession that the Italian economy was still experiencing with artisans to explain the drop in orders. Artisans in these interactions, too, took the initiative to point out that Chiara's organization's orders have been quite reduced in the last few years and that they are feeling that loss financially. One artisan shared concern that he is finding it difficult to retain his employees with lowered orders. In two meetings, Chiara and Yannina discuss their own business-related issues with each other that the artisans can overhear. This type of discourse is that which is missing from Yannina's translations with Gifts that Give clients in which she discusses relevant business matters privately in Spanish with artisans, and separate matters with clients. In some ways, then, the aspects of the client–artisan encounters that are performative break down somewhat when clients are Spanish-speakers. The interactions maintain the positive and appreciative air of those that require translation, but also allow for artisans to be able to ask direct questions, understand the compliments and business-forward talk of clients, and participate fully.

---

[97] Artisans and Yannina both explained that some visitors who arrive to artisans' workshops pretend they are from a fair-trade organization and are never heard from again, presumably having visited so that they could steal designs. When I first began visiting artisans, Yannina wrote a letter for me to show as proof of my affiliation with the organization for this reason.

Artisans are ratified in conversations with Chiara to hear the client's compliments of their products in their own language and to learn about what products are selling well for her organization. Chiara's shared linguistic resources allow full understanding by artisans for her and her consumers' preferences when she uses compliments like "bonito" (pretty/beautiful/cute). Other examples of her direct Spanish communication with artisans include "Me piden nacimientos pequeños" (They are ordering small nativities from me); "se venden muy bien, en la tienda" (they sell well, in the store); "¿lo puede hacer también más pequeño?" (could you also make it smaller?); "pero pequeño me gusta" (but I like this small"); and "en nuestra tienda, um eso es más popular pero ((pointing)) me gusta mucho! Estos con um pequeño detalles" (in our store, um, this is more popular but ((pointing)) I like this a lot! These with the small details).

Still another missing aspect of translation is for permission to record or take photographs. Yannina tends to give her own permission from a dominant position in the organization and as a sort of guardian figure to artisans. In Chiara's interactions, however, she asks the artisans and workers if she is able to take photographs. The artisan speaks for his workers, who remain silent or do not know that they are being spoken to (they often listen to music while working), but at least he is more closely related to the workers than is Yannina and better able to speak for what should go on in the workshop. The ability for artisans to respond to these types of requests allows them the agency to interact with visiting clients in their own language and transfers power to them and away from Yannina.

It is only in conversations that take place between two or more Spanish speakers that small talk and business discourses concerning what products are popular and sell well in the U.S. or Italy are conveyed to the artisans. They are able to access direct information concerning their business practices rather than needing to make assumptions based on nonverbal cues. They can also get feedback from clients on product ideas before spending the time and money to design something anew. By hearing directly from clients, artisans save resources and have more tools at their disposal to be able to discern what trends are popular and what types of products are selling well in the Global North. Translation through Yannina does not allow for that understanding, nor does it ensure that the encounters are as transparent as they could be. If artisans are able to speak to clients without the mediation of their boss and the manager of the organization that exports their products (a hugely influential position), they may be better able to share concerns.

Even without translating, Yannina continues to be an important interlocutor in Chiara's encounters, like she is with the Gifts that Give clients. Her questions and suggestions guide visitors through the steps of the visiting process to see the various artisanal procedures and to take photos. She knows both artisans and the client, and so she encourages Chiara to tell artisans about the economic conditions of Italy at the moment, and likewise prompts artisans to share their personal narratives, about their hometowns and the volunteering they do there, for example.[98] In other words, Yannina's

[98] Chiara discussed the market preferences and the economic hardships in some detail with artisans who were direct interlocutors. She explained how some fair-trade businesses in Italy have

role as cultural broker remains intact and she continues to co-construct the encounters, but her role as translator is eliminated, allowing for increased transparency.

One final consideration, too, is that the artisans' employees are often not participants in translator-mediated encounters. Both Chiara, the buyer from Italy, and Evelyn, the associate store manager from the U.S., made points of branching off from the main artisan to ask questions of these workers in Spanish. Evelyn explained to me that she has less pressure to establish rapport, ask the "right" questions, behave "correctly," or avoid controversy than Amelia because she was visiting Peru assuming it would be a one-time occurrence. She asked employees about their favorite and least favorite aspects of their jobs, what they would change about the work if they could, and what other jobs they have had and how those compare. These direct conversations away from clients, MA staff, and the main artisans were enlightening and informative; we were surprised to hear that one young man had suffered an injury that kept him from his preferred work in mining. Amelia, unlike Evelyn, was establishing relationships that could span decades for her new position as buyer, and thus had more at stake to avoid potentially eyebrow-raising questions as to payment equality, workers' ages, excessive hours, or working conditions. Chiara and Evelyn were able to communicate with workers in Spanish to various extents; Amelia had much less access to Spanish beyond isolated lexemes. Being able to speak directly to workers without the concern of their utterances being mediated

had to shut down. This was in response in one visit to an artisans' direct questioning of why her orders have slowed down.

by someone whom they may fear and respect greatly ("like a mama"!) allows for increased transparency and thus, is more "fair."

Conclusion

Through client–artisan encounters that present artisans' personal stories and showcase their homes and livelihoods, artisans are represented as repositories of traditional culture and artisanal techniques with personal narratives of suffering and overcoming hardship. Artisans' skills and stories, jarring and deeply personal, are not their own as they are made to present them on cue as a sort of performance and co-construct them with Yannina—their boss for whom they have respect but often some anxiety—for Northern clients' benefit. Through these encounters, artisans have their products scrutinized and judged by the Northern standards and trends of which they are not made aware, and have their personal stories, handicrafts, homes, and workshops put on display as representations of poverty and the possibility offered by fair trade. In other words, despite being well respected and profusely thanked for their time and work, artisans are not powerful actors in their encounters with clients nor are they the intended beneficiaries of the encounters.

Yannina guides artisans through her questions to tell stories that sync with fair-trade narratives used throughout the world. As a mediator, but also a stakeholder in the encounters, she limits access to key information about trends and purchasing decision-making as well as compliments and small talk, by neglecting to translate product discussions by clients (whether purposefully or not). The encounters have celebratory and solidarity-building expectations for clients and artisans. They are performances in which participants follow, and are socialized to follow, a script of common questions, styles of

humor, and order of events. Yannina casts the encounters as moments in which artisans can share their stories and product designs with clients, but not necessarily communicate as full participants in the conversations concerning the discourses surrounding decisions to purchase products by clients. The business-forward, complimentary, and small-talk utterances I describe may at first seem to be insignificant, but they actually hold the potential for increased success for product development, stronger relationships with and understanding by clients, and increased autonomy from MA's oversight, especially over time. Through unidirectional translation practices and encounters, artisans' stories, homes, photo images, and experiences, like the products they create, are consumed by the visiting Northern clients who unequally benefit from the shared encounter.

Fair-trade principles encourage transparency, and the ability for clients to meet artisans represents a major strength of fair trade in comparison to conventional trade. I have asserted, however, that these encounters could be more transparent and more bidirectional; improvements are seen when clients can communicate directly with artisans in Spanish and would also benefit from third-party objective and impartial translators who can align to the sole task of translating for all participants. Yannina, though, has a divided focus for the interactions and cannot merely attune to them as requiring her linguistic mediation. Fair trade has been criticized for being a Eurocentric developmentalist and neoliberal project (Hussey and Curnow 2013, 2016) and, despite its goals to support impoverished artisans in the Global South, it utilizes the framework of business and development that works for the North to do so. Clients are constructed in these encounters to be the beneficiaries of information through translation practices that

disproportionately encourage artisans to share of themselves, their cultures and stories that will increase potential for sales. Clients, on the other hand, are privileged to be able to stay silent about their personal stories. The encounters are framed as performances for the intended outcome of encouraging solidarity and support from clients, as well as to socialize clients into recognizing preferred ways to work with artisans and fair-trade organizations. The participants also celebrate the ways in which they can successfully uphold fair-trade principles in their encounters, and assert that their work is effective and necessary. But, lacking translation toward artisans furthers the conceptualization of them as requiring only tradition and culture in their work, not business acumen. As Luca demonstrates in Transcript 3, though, working with clients can be a difficult process and artisans' knowledge and talent needs to be recognized instead of taken for granted by clients.

Translation is not a bridge over which communication can perfectly be transferred, but understanding and knowledge, along with emotion, can come through translator-mediated and -unmediated encounters. Excitement for products, sadness over stories of hardship, and gratefulness for artisans' having shared their workshop, time, and stories, are conferred through simple common lexical items ("gracias") and multimodal cues in encounters between fair-trade clients and artisans. Emotion can speak louder than words when languages are not shared but communication continues. Laughter and gestures can lessen awkward situations and acknowledge instances in which perhaps Yannina should not be translating, or serve to connect artisans and clients across their

cultural and class dissimilarities. The transparency supported by fair trade, though, would be improved through clearer and more complete communication in these encounters.

The client–artisan encounters that I have analyzed in this chapter are of paramount importance for their participants, and for the entire fair-trade supply chain they impact. Fair trade differs from conventional trade in its ability to connect the various participants, and it is this connection, and the ability for the stories rippling out from the encounter, to collapse the distance between consumers and producers, which is the essential element that constitutes what fair trade is and which most appeals to ethical consumers. Fair trade is created and perpetuated in these encounters: in the socialization practices for artisans and clients; in the formation and distribution of artisans' autobiographical stories through resultant advertisements, shared information and photographs in stores and companies; in the uptake, enactment, and affirmation of fair-trade principles, available for informal audit by visiting clients; and in the solidarity-forming affective stance taken toward the events themselves.

CHAPTER 5
TRANSLATING SOUTHERN TRADITIONS TO MEET NORTHERN TASTES: PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT AND MARKET COMPETITION

> Our observations suggest that placing too great a concern on how cultural products look could ultimately inhibit artisans' maintenance of cultural identity. Ignoring consumer demand for change in product styles and features will make it impossible for an artisan group to continue production for business purposes. Many artisans recognize that the product they make will change as the market demands; however, the love of creating a product retains a cultural link to their parents and ancestors. (Littrell and Dickson 1999:4).

In the past and still in some cases today, purchasing fair-trade handicrafts, like all handicrafts, required physical travel to visit artisans. At that point, individual benefactors and companies were able to either place an order in person, for which artisans would be paid enough to cover materials upfront, or they could purchase that which artisans had already made using their own aesthetic, knowledge, skills, desires, and available resources. Internet and phone technologies, along with improved infrastructure of roads and shipping, allowed for changes to the industry as artisans' communities became less and less remote in many circumstances. Payment at the time of ordering that covers up to 50% of the total purchase price for artisans is now encoded into fair-trade principles, but other aspects of the previous way to purchase have been lost.

Among the greatest differences is the control that companies from the Global North have over the designs of products. During the transitional period of this change, Littrell and Dickson (1999:5) reported debate by fair traders over the ethics of changing "producer-oriented" innovation (those that did not utilize intervention) into "market-oriented" designs. There was concern at that point about whether outsider intervention would lead to a "neocolonial relationship of dependency" for artisans (ibid.). Most, if not

all, fair-trade companies now employ designers whose work is to help to translate artisan's traditions, skills, and interests into products that will appeal to consumers' tastes and budgets, and to compete successfully in the "certification revolution" (Conroy 2007) of increased ethical consumerism and globalization.[99] Scholars now tend to discuss the potential for fair trade to help promote and preserve cultural traditions (DeCarlo 2005, Grimes 2005, Grimes and Milgram 2000a; Raynolds 2002, LeClair 2002), and the neocolonial "dependency" of artisans that concerned Littrell and Dickson (1999) is not frequently mentioned in the present literature. The careful intermixing of "new" and "old" allows for the craft to continue, albeit with innovated and changed traditions, and to be supported in the fair-trade market.

In this chapter, I explicate the ways that artisans, organization staff members, and clients design new products to support tradition and cultural identity that can compete ethically with other handicrafts. Artisans maneuver within competitive local, regional, and global markets while innovating products that will appeal to clients in the North, of whose preferences they have little knowledge. Artisans, along with fair-trade designers, face the difficult task of translating tradition, authenticity, and a sense of Peruvian identity into marketable, desirable, affordable, global, and modern designs. Interpreting fair-trade standards loosely in regards to tradition is a strategy that allows for artisans and exporters to innovate and remain in business for continued viability.

[99] Artesanía de Alegría, Hecho con Cariño, and Threads of Peru (fair-trade companies in Cusco introduced in Chapter 2) make use of traditional designs and techniques, like using a backstrap loom instead of a pedal loom, with less design intervention.

Local Forms of Competition and Copying

"El año pasado, encontramos […] justo este modelo con otro artesano" (Last year, we saw […] just this exact model with another artisan), Rosalita told me, clearly upset. When I visited, she was working at her dining-room table in her workshop located in a poor neighborhood of Lima, on what she told me was a small order. "Qué raro le digo porque es el mismo modelo! Y estaban pintado [...] igualito! Igualito! [...] Y la mesa estaba <llenecita!> [...] de mi modelo [...] me chocó. A mí me chocó." (How strange I said because it is the same model! And they were painted […] exactly the same! The same! […] And the table was <so full!> […] of my model […]. It bothered me. It really bothered me.) Unbeknownst to Rosalita at the time, a fair-trade exporter had given her designs, with minor changes, to another artisan to complete an order. Her disappointment by this event, combined with her frustration over getting only infrequent and small orders, which at one point left her without income for six months, led her to consider a career change outside of *artesanía*. Despite nearing retirement age, she discussed perhaps opening a juice store or copy shop, although there are many of each around her neighborhood, or renting out her second floor, but that would require more construction and improvements for which money would be difficult to find.

These struggles, like undercutting or re-contracting by exporters, may not strike one as "fair," although they do occur within fair-trade markets. Even artisans who work with fair-trade exporters face risk, competition, design sharing or copying, and low, unpredictable incomes. When I spoke with exporters about the type of experience Rosalita had, they admitted that it does occur. Perceptions of what counts as a "new"

design, though, can vary, so even though Rosalita felt that the pieces were "*igualito*" (exactly the same), exporters told me that when this happens, they make small changes to ensure that the piece was *not* a copy. For Manos Amigas, respecting artisans' designs and ownership is important, but this would not preclude them from contracting with different artisans in this way, most often with minute changes, to complete an urgent order. This is especially true if the original owner of a design were unwilling or unable to complete the products in time for export.[100]

The World Fair Trade Organization's (WFTO 2017) Principles mention copying at only one level of the supply chain. This mention comes in Principle #3, "Fair Trading Practices," which reads (in part), "The organisation works cooperatively with the other Fair Trade Organisations in country and avoids unfair competition. It avoids duplicating the designs of [sic] patterns of other organisations without permission." Here the WFTO calls out competition between organizations but competition and copying can occur on both larger and more local scales, even within the same organization, which forces artisans to lower their prices and constantly innovate in order to make sales to clients. Despite disparaging, but not defining, "unfair competition," the same WFTO Principle also claims that "Fair Trade recognises, promotes, and protects the *cultural identity and*

[100] Difficulty in managing time for artisans may be due to high order rate at a busy time of year, few laborers, equipment failure, unreliable electricity, familial or other emergency, wet or damp weather the prevents clay pieces from drying adequately before firing in the kiln, important festivals, travel, harvest, and other considerations. Hold-ups during shipping such as obtaining permits, certifications, paying fees, misunderstandings, mistakes in labeling, verifications of product components, and waiting for a collaborating company's products (if sharing shipping space) are also possible (Littrell and Dickson 1999).

traditional skills of small producers as reflected in their craft designs, food products and other related services" (2017; emphasis added).

Peruvian artisans are proprietors of their own designs and plaster clay molds, in the case of ceramists; despite the "traditional resource base" (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015:96) of shared general designs, specific designs belong to individuals. Organizations can pass orders to another artisan when the original maker has fallen ill, died, retired, or is otherwise unable to complete the order by a pressing deadline. In these first three instances, sometimes a ceramists' molds pass to a relative or other artisan since they are effective for up to a thousand uses. When subcontracting by the organization is necessary, MA for their part ensures small changes are commissioned, but for other markets or exporters this may not be the case. Artisans, too, subcontract their designs, for example when completing a large order, but it is expected that those subcontracted workshops will not produce that design for other buyers. Sometimes the subcontracted workshops are local, but some hire family members in other parts of the country to work on an order or part of an order.

Artisans can see, and perhaps copy, each other's designs from tourist markets and shops, artisanal fairs, or in other workshops.[101] Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld (2015:101) confirm in their research in Ecuador that successful innovations spread and that if one vendor is able to sell a certain style or design, it is likely that others could as well; they actually share this information because "copying is a reassuring sign of

[101] Yannina told me that artisans are skeptical of unknown visitors to their workshops for this reason. Similarly, prior to commoditization of Chulucanas ceramics, artisans were friends with each other. Now, though, they prohibit visitors for fear of designs being stolen (Chan 2011).

connection" to some. Unlike these authors' findings, Peruvian artisans did not look fondly on copying. Design copying was considered to be common, although it was discussed as perpetrated by other people, not those with whom I spoke. As I was helping to update MA's WFTO paperwork by visiting artisans, I asked them how they innovated new products in order to respond to the yes / no form item, "Se involucra en la competencia desleal hacia otros productores (copias de modelos)" (You involve yourself in disloyal competition toward other producers (copies of models). In his response, an older artisan, Fabián, told me:

> *Pero, las copias- (pause) por ejemplo alguna cosa cuando vendemos aparece[n] pensamientos [de] sitios de otros artesanos. Saben (   ) cuando cosas están ven- vendiendo bien? Copias aparece (   ) siempre verdad ((chuckles)). Pero no- no sírvase la copia. No. No es- No es bueno. Cada uno cada artesano tenemos que mantener nuestro ideas, nuestro pensamientos.*
>
> But, copies- (pause) for example something when we sell, thoughts appear [from] sites of other artisans. They know (   ) when they are sel- selling well? Copies appear (   ) always, right ((chuckles)). But it- it doesn't serve one to copy. No. It's not- It's not good. Each one, each artisan we should maintain our ideas, our thoughts.

Although some artisans strongly deny their involvement in making copies, others admit that avoiding copying can be difficult. They clearly wish to maintain competitiveness and keep clients happy, and are influenced by the current popular designs. Abject and exact copying, however, is discouraged by my participants and blame is placed both on artisans and exporters who commit it. One artisan, Sergio, gave voice to himself and a hypothetical exporter to explain how buyers (whether for local markets or exporters, including in fair trade) take a product design and seek out the artisan who will produce their order for the lowest prices. This is a form of price bid-down in which

"competitors undercut prices and drive earnings down to what amounts to subsistence wages" (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015:194). To explain this process of bid-down, Sergio said:

> *Muy pocos artesanos o exportadores también [son] justos. Muy pocos. El mayor part(a), también, no, son, este, cómo digo?, ellos ponen los precios. O también hay- normalmente ocurre de que(.) yo hago mi(s) modelitos, >acá (pon- he) hecho modelos que pon(go el)< [nombre del] cliente y:: (pause) haga el exportador? Y lo lleva al otro artesano. Ya? Para menor precio. […] Igualito! […] Por ejemplo, me dice, este, 'y-yo e:h. e:h >tengo (una toma) el trabajo que hacer este modelo a mano.< 'Ya? Y acabarlo no el color más bajo más alto todo! Salga mismo.'* ((Switching to voicing artisan)) *El color no está- parece que puede ser otro color, que piens- hemos y-'* ((Switching to voicing exporter)) *Ya. Llegó el producto final que es eso. Ese cliente quiere como ya.' Y digo, 'cuánto es?' 'Bueno, esto será 80 do- centavos del dólar. Un dólar.' 'Ya (pause). Ya bien! Ya, vamos a ve:r, quién es el cliente?' Lo llevo, y lo llevan al otro taller. Y dice, 'te pago sesenta centavos y necesito doscientos de cada uno.' (pause) Y: que el taller a veces que (están) que necesitan trabajo dice está bien, 'te lo hago' (.) Entonces le paga menos que a mí.*
>
> Very few artisans or exporters too [are] fair. Very few. The majority are, too, right, are, um, how do I say?, they set the prices. Or, also, there are- [what] normally occurs is that(.) I make my models, >here I put- I have made my models and (put on)< the client['s tag/names] a::nd (pause) (what) does the exporter do? And he brings it to another artisan. Ok? For a lower price. […] Exactly the same! […] For example, they tell me, um, 'I- I u:m. u:m >I have (one take) a job to make this model by hand< Ok? And don't finish it [with] a (quieter) color, a louder color- everything! It comes out the same.' ((Switching to voicing artisan)) 'The color isn't- it seems that it could be another color, what do you thin-, we have already-.' ((Switching to voicing exporter)) 'No. The final product arrived which is that. That client wants it like this.' And I say, 'how much is it?' 'Well, this will be 80 do- cents of a dollar. A dollar.' 'Ok. (pause) Fine!' Ok, let's se:e, who is the client?' I take it, and they take it to another workshop. And they say, 'I'll pay you seventy cents and I need 200 of each.' (pause) A:nd since the workshop sometimes (are) that they need work says ok, 'I'll make that for you' (.) Then they pay them less than to me.

Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld (2015:194) have found that vendors with whom they spoke perceived competition to be a global phenomenon, hardly recognizing how it

happens on a small scale in their own communities. Yet "disloyal competition," to use the WFTO's and these authors' term which could be applied to the above quotation, exists in local communities when artisans sell for very low prices (64). Since each ceramic piece typically receives only 20-30% profit, and small pieces might cost a dollar, lowering the price only a few cents can mean selling below cost. Competition and market saturation drives prices down and artisans may feel pressure to lower their prices in order to make a sale, thus competing with other artisans, either working within their same fair-trade organization or competitors in other markets.

Price Setting for Local and Global Competition

During my fieldwork, I was invited to attend a price-setting training session presented by staff members of Allpa, another fair-trade exporter based in Lima, at a handicrafts fair. In it, the fair-trade staff explained why it is important to calculate costs carefully and how sales prices should cover all expenses of the workshop, including labor. These types of demonstrations help artisans think about each element that goes into their production and set appropriate prices to avoid selling below cost.

Most artisans with whom I spoke were aware that their prices should reflect the time, electricity, transportation, labor, and materials used in production, packaging, and delivery.[102] They were aware that other similar products were available and their prices could not be too high, although many informed me that they wished they could raise them. Raising prices, though, could reduce the stores' and exporters' ability to resell the

---

[102] This was another question of the WFTO paperwork: "Fija el precio del producto de modo transparentes, teniendo en cuenta los precios vigentes en el mercado." (You fix the price of the product by transparent means, keeping in mind the valid prices of the market.)

products or make enough profit for themselves, so they might order from other artisans. Setting prices competitively, accepting orders that undercut others, or doing subcontracted work for another artisan were not decisions taken lightly but, I was told, "A veces cuando hay necesidad hace que tengamos que hacer porque, si no, dónde vamos a comer?" (Sometimes when there's a need it makes it so that we have to do it because, if not, then where will we eat?). Fairly new to the organization, this artisan, Diego, was not yet getting consistent orders, nor did he work with other exporters besides MA. He had taken a subcontracted ceramics-painting job from another local artisan. It was time-consuming work involving solidly painting a large area and adding an intricate pattern in a smaller area of the piece. For each of the 500 pieces, he was paid two soles. This price did not include paints, polish (*brillo,* to create shine), and costs to deliver the products. Diego estimated that these would cost 100 of the 1000 soles (totaling about US$313) that he "earned."[103,104]

Price setting is made more complex when full-time artisans are competing with people for whom *artesanía* is not their full-time occupation. Fair trade in its beginnings, and occasionally today, supported artisans whose subsistence mainly came from other activities. Those who are able to still maintain a *chacra* (family land for subsistence farming) may feel more comfortable selling crafts for low prices as their subsistence is

---

[103] Diego and his wife are among the newest artisans working with MA and they had little experience with exporting. A large number of artisans who have worked with MA for many years have grown to have more comfortable financial security, while also learning to work hard to innovate, seek out new markets and clients, and set prices effectively.

[104] The artisan who subcontracted this order could have been working with a fair-trade distributor, as I saw an extremely similar product on the website of one such organization. If artisans subcontract other artisans to fill their orders, it is not easily perceived by the exporter.

not dependent on sales. For example, knitters in the southern-most province of Peru, Puno, earned one sol (about 31 cents) per finger puppet. They said they could produce about ten per day, at the rate of roughly one hour per puppet. Knitting made their time spent watching their sheep or riding the bus into income-generating activities. The knitters with whom I spoke were excited to start working with MA to offset prices for things like cooking oil and clothing; they thought that if they could increase their orders over time, they could help others in their community. But, only earning ten soles a day (when there was an order from MA) did not allow artisans to reach Peru's minimum wage, which was S./ 850 per month during my 2017 fieldwork.[105]

This draws into question the WFTO's Local Living Wage as well. Yannina, who shared the same concerns, discussed the price with the American buyer of the product. They had concluded together that because the knitting is done during times when producers are conducting other necessary tasks, it is not exploitative, but the same price if knitters lived in Lima would be; ten soles a day in the *campo* when one maintains a *chacra* is acceptable and a living wage, but in the city it is not. Most artisans do tend to set their prices the same for local markets and fair-trade exporters. Both may bargain, but it is likely that non-fair-trade vendors bargain much harder. For example, knitters sold their finger puppets to another vendor for half of the price MA gave them, only 50 cents

[105] Rates for minimum wage were not clearly defined by participants during my fieldwork. I heard participants mention that it was 750, 800, or 850 soles monthly, about US$234, US$250, and US$266 (using the then-common conversion rate, used throughout this dissertation, of 3.2 soles to 1 U.S. Dollar). In May 2016, the official minimum monthly wage was raised from S./ 750 to S./ 850 (Gestión 2019), meaning that many participants did not know that it had been changed and may have been underpaying workers. Most artisans, though, said they paid by piece and that this consistently added up to more than minimum wage for workers.

of a sol. The size of orders is also relevant, because the cost-per-item is higher when only making a few pieces.

Similarly, in my conversations with fair traders in Cusco, the high prices were a concern of potential textile consumers. The textile market in the Andes is saturated, and shoppers can find products advertised as "baby alpaca," "naturally dyed," "handmade," and other attractive attributes (whether reflecting their real composition or not) in abundance for low prices in any souvenir market or store.[106] Many of these cheap products, according to Karla of Hecho con Cariño, are imported from Bolivia or even China. Shoppers cannot tell the difference between factory-produced and handmade textiles nor sometimes even high-quality compared with low-quality products. At both Hecho con Cariño and Threads of Peru, organization representatives informed me that consumers thought higher prices seemed to show not that the products were fairly purchased from artisans, but that the organization or a high-up administrator was benefiting unfairly. Consumers see low prices in marketplaces and touristy shops where piles of textiles are imports and salespeople lie about product quality and origin, so consumers do not know what to believe.

Conversely, handicrafts from the rainforest sold by fair-trade gallery Artesanía de Alegría are unique in Cusco where other vendors for them are not common, and vendors who undercut each other and themselves for sales in the market stalls have not influenced consumers' expectations as they do with textiles. Artesanía de Alegría did not have the

---

[106] "Baby alpaca" is a quality of wool, not indicative of the age of the animal. Consumers have difficulties in distinguishing baby alpaca from other qualities, sheep's wool, synthetic acrylic, or blends; handmade Peruvian ceramics from mass-produced Chinese ceramics; or hand-knitted or -woven textiles from those made on machines.

same consumer pushback against high pricing as did Hecho con Cariño and Threads of Peru: there were even visitors who gave donations for the organization's important work. Fair-trade organizations set prices in their stores related to living expenses for the amount of time production took for the artisan, the value, and quality. They informed customers, for example, that a product costing US$300 took an artisan a month to make, hoping to appeal to the empathy of the consumer for a sustainable price that will compensate the artisan for the hard work and time spent. These examples demonstrate ways that Cusco-based fair-trade organizations, which do not have fair-trade certifications, establish rapport and trust in person with their customers. Sharing correct and abundant information, especially when it is contradictory to that which they obtain in touristy shops and marketplaces, can be difficult. If making sales and sharing information is this challenging when an organization employee actually has met the artisan, entrusting a certification logo to do this educational work seems nearly impossible when their labor is even further obscured.

Beyond supporting living expenses for artisans, the fair price of a product also needs to be able to compete in both global and local markets as artisans are in competition with countless others: Other artisans who work with MA or sell handicrafts in local stores, international artisans whose products share shelves in fair-trade stores, and factories that make mass-produced products that look like handicrafts and are imported to Peru. MA's artisans' prices and products can be compared directly in the catalogs but artisans incur different costs of production related to their locations within Peru and within Lima. Because artisans need to deliver their products to MA's headquarters and

retrieve the *fallas* (products with mistakes) on their own, whether by local or regional bus or mail, those who live nearby have an advantage over more distantly located artisans. They can earn the same amount on products even if their prices are lower by living closer to the headquarters. These nearby artisans, too, benefit from direct sales to tourist groups most often, and get some payment for their time for hosting a demonstration for fair-trade or student tourist groups. They can also build individual rapport as they deliver products in person, unlike those who have to use delivery services. Costs of living in rural Peru are lower than in cities, but so are incomes; shipping costs can be keenly felt, as are the time required and the potential stresses of miscommunications, loss, and damages by shipping companies. If artisans offer unique handicrafts that those in Lima do not produce, like carved gourds, jewelry, and knitted items, visitors travel longer distances to meet them. One artisan of carved gourds, though, explained that his brother's workshop, a few blocks away, receives more tourist buses than his own because it is directly on their route. Artisans face daily competition with others, even from their own families.

Artisans also needed to compete at national and international levels. Fair-trade orders were often not enough to support them, indicating that the fair-trade principle to support a living wage is not sufficiently achieved, so they sold to national stores where consumers are mostly international tourists. These markets could supply artisans with a place to sell samples that were not ordered by clients, or *fallas* that did not meet quality regulations for exporters, thus making sales from products they could not export. The need to remain competitive, though, drives down artisans' prices and they may end up losing money on an order or other sale. At the international level, artisans recognize that

industrially made products from China or other countries may look like handicrafts. An artisan who makes ceramic magnets in Cusco said that they were first to innovate these products but factories in China now produce similar, even distinctly Peruvian, designs like Machu Picchu that compete with their own products in tourist-focused stores. This makes it so that the prices have basically stagnated since the international competitors produce the items very cheaply. Similarly, décor is available for lower prices than through fair trade at Target, Walmart, Pier 1 Imports, Pottery Barn, and other stores in the North. Interestingly, TJ Maxx purchased through a fair-trade organization at least once from a group of artisans I met in Peru. As is common to hear, even for fair-trade exporters, their payment was late by two months. Despite transactions like these in which large-scale corporations make use of fair-trade networks, their treatment of artisans is poor.

Setting Fair Prices

Yannina works with artisans to set fair prices for themselves; at times they have set them too high, but she also encourages them to raise their prices if they have set them too low. The international final price to consumers must be considered during product development so that it can compete locally and internationally. Final prices from MA to international clients includes the artisans' price, fees, the overseas transportation, and MA's 41% for packing materials, building maintenance and electricity, taxes, and staff wages. To illustrate, a tiny diorama of two plaster snowmen figures inside a painted matchbox requires time-consuming and detailed painting and is sold for US$1.50 freight on board (FOB), the final cost for MA's clients. Of this cost, US$1.06 goes to the artisan

and 41% of their price, or $.44, goes to MA which includes 12% taxes. The product can be purchased from Ten Thousand Villages Canada for CAN$8 directly online or in stores (Ten Thousand Villages, Canada 2019).[107]

Another example of price setting comes from one of MA's very few non-fair-trade-certified clients, who nonetheless attempt to maintain fair-trade practices. This family-owned wholesaler sells on their own website and to stores in the U.S. and Canada. A knitted hat's market price for artisans was 20 soles, but the artisans charged them 17 soles (about US$5.30), perhaps due to a purchase of quantity or related to the solidarity they share. Clients needed to add roughly $1 for transportation in Peru and $1.50 for shipping and fees. MA's 41% makes the charge about $11 for the clients' purchase of the hat, which they double when they sell wholesale to their retailers. In turn, those vendors in North America double the hat price again, to about $44 to the final consumer.[108] Through these same calculations, some hats would have ended up being $60 and the clients had to reject them for fear that final consumers would not pay that much. A few artisans had interest in learning to export directly, saving MA's fees for themselves but necessitating their own knowledge of export laws, shipping arrangements, and packing, which would be very difficult to achieve.

---

[107] Despite seeming like there are very few intermediaries, Ten Thousand Villages also has alliance stores which buy wholesale and then set their own prices.

[108] The formulations for price setting that I observed are consistent with wood carvings discussed by Chibnik (2003:212-220). Retailers sold at 1.7 to 4 times the artisans' prices, independent sellers made mark-up twice or three times the expense paid to artisans, and an $8 piece at artisan level became $20 to retailers and $45 to final international consumers (ibid.). See also Littrell and Dickson (1999:15) for their calculations.

Fridell (2007a:96) suggests that fair trade mitigates some of the effects of capitalism that makes producers either exploit each other or, in the case of selling below cost, themselves to survive. Some of MA's international clients attempt to bargain for better prices or purchase more quantity or more frequently from the artisans who are able to lower their prices, mostly those who have consistent orders and larger operations. Yannina tries to distribute her ideas and help struggling artisans make new samples and get their products into the catalog, as well as to promote them to her clients, but she cannot make clients order nor change consumer desires. Competition between artisans remains despite fair practices.

Competition on a Large Scale

Beyond price undercutting and design copying at the local level, artisans face competition on a global scale from other handicrafts, fair-trade items, home-décor, and mainstream outlets. There are even situations in which handicrafts artisans face competition from the high-quality rugs and textiles produced by their ancestors which remain in circulation in a collectibles market (M'Closkey 2000; Zorn 2004). MA's clients from the knitted hat price-setting example above told me that they make 20-30% profit on hats from Peru whereas on hats from Nepal, they earn 50% profit. It is thus less viable for them to continue buying from Peru and they must find ways to maintain costs. Costs can be lowered by reducing the amount or quality of alpaca wool, blending alpaca wool with cheaper synthetic yarn or sheep's wool, reducing thickness and weight of yarn, using the more cost-effective factory-spun yarns, and using natural alpaca colors, although some

colors are more cost effective than others.[109] Bolivia and Guatemala also have well-known textile traditions and their products can often be purchased cheaply.

Conventional corporations have begun selling fair-trade certified products and certifying organizations have lowered their standards for them to do so in a process called mainstreaming, a major focus of Chapter 2. Mainstreaming has led to fair-trade products competing directly on the same shelves, and for similar prices, with conventional products. Early in the movement, a fair-trade products' commodified morality could encourage sales in a niche market, often related with a religious community, even if the product was of poor quality; the symbolic capital of the ethical production processes behind a product, predominantly coffee, was enough for consumers to purchase it despite an unpleasant taste (Fisher 2007; Smith 2010). Now, though, having hit mainstream markets, focus has shifted toward higher quality and consumer-driven product designs (Brown 2008; Littrell and Dickson 1999). Handicraft mainstreaming has brought them to corporate stores like Pier 1 Imports (M'Closkey 2000), Walmart, Target, TJ Maxx, and Anthropologie.

Consumers outside of the ethically driven church groups like middle- and upper-class suburbanites and urbanites now seem to place less import on the morality behind handicrafts' production, according to Evelyn, the associate store manager for Gifts that Give. Instead, consumers now want cute, useful, and pretty items at competitive prices.

---

[109] In Zorn's fieldsite, white alpacas were more popularly bred and brought higher prices because the wool can be dyed easily, making other natural colors become scarce (2004:42,59). In Puno in the first days of 2018, I was told that black wool was the most expensive, but staff had told me that white wool was the most expensive. These considerations of market prices are important in how MA divides knitting orders among artisans; giving all white hats to one group and black hats to another can create profit disparities.

Evelyn and the buyer for her company, Amelia, told me that large home-décor companies are now their competition despite having few fair-trade products; perhaps they are benefiting from fair-washing (see Chapter 2). What fair-trade products these companies sell are only fair trade in name since they maintain basically conventional trade practices such as bargaining for the lowest prices and exploitation of women. Consumers can directly compare conventional, fair-trade, and other kinds of ethically and eco-certified products in the same store that are sold for similar prices and, if certified, seem equally "ethical."

The competition between products even exists within a 100% fair-trade store like Ten Thousand Villages, in which local cultural relevance and meaning of the crafts for producers is often erased, as are reasons for price differences. Consumers can compare pottery, nativities, or other handicrafts from across the Global South on these shelves where regional or village-level distinctions are homogenized (García Canclini 1993; Wherry 2008a) under tags proclaiming "made in [a country]." Visitors to Peru, however, can recognize regional distinctions like ceramics from Ayacucho and *mates burilados* from Cochas, Huancayo. Depending on expenses like shipping, tariffs, organization overhead, and the living wages of different locations, prices that started by paying artisans well in local contexts may differ when reaching shelves, so consumers may favor pottery or a nativity from another country instead of from Peru depending on price.

Recognizing that fair-trade mainstreaming, the ethical labeling boom, and even fast fashion's extremely low prices have influenced consumers' perceptions of adequate prices, clients who visited MA seemed to try to set their prices so that they would remain

low enough once on the shelves to be in close competition, having similar prices to those of conventional, and other fair-trade, products. Despite the accounts and market-research studies showing that consumers will pay more for goods with labels ensuring their ethical production processes (Brown 2013; Eber 2000; Kimeldorf et al. 2006; Prasad et al. 2004), the focus has been on the clothing industry (Kimeldorf et al. 2006; Prasad et al. 2004) and may not confirm that consumers will pay more for fair-trade home-décor or gift products.[110] Morality is not always commodifiable; consumers seek other qualities and can be alienated if prices are too high (Fridell 2006). Also, as shown in Chapter 2, mainstreaming and the boom in ethical labeling schemes have diluted the radical intent of the original fair-trade movement and solidarity market (Dolan 2010b; Hudson and Hudson 2003; Low and Davenport 2005a, 2005b, 2006). Only consumers most committed to ethical consumption go out of their way to buy a fair-trade product (Brown 2013).[111]

Global competition is more complex than artisans seem to recognize. Home-décor items, whether with an ethical certification or conventionally traded, for instance, can be

[110] Studies by Kimeldorf et al. (2006) and Prasad et al. (2004) tested whether consumers would pay more for socks made in sweatshops compared to those labeled as having "good working conditions" ("GWC"). Only an average 30% of people paid a premium for socks labeled "GWC" (and they were only marked 20 cents higher), but most did not understand what that meant, despite an explanation on the sign rack (Kimeldorf et al. 2006). Socks were set next to each other, clearly marked, and had no differences in quality. When set at the same price, only 50% bought the "GWC" socks even though interviewees said they were against sweatshops.

[111] Writing about consumers concerned for the original purpose of the fair-trade movement, Rosenbaum (2000:n1,105) states, "With a sense of a mission, these people make sincere efforts to buy or sell even unattractive, defective, or more expensive products because they know that the producers need the income."

easily and cheaply purchased through venues such as Etsy, [112] Amazon, [113] or even farmers' markets,[114] increasing the pool of competing products with fair-trade certified ones. There are also other competing ethical consumerism traits like preference for the local (one can search Etsy for local artisans), use of organic or recycled materials, women-led businesses, or support for a specific social project. These incentives present a plethora of choices that may suit consumers' aesthetic, pricing, or utility goals better than those available through fair-trade venues. With these choices available, fair trade's perceived ethicality and morality may not be enough to encourage sales, even by ethical consumers.

Industrially made items that may appear handmade or similar to handicrafts from China, Bolivia, or within Peru compete with the truly handmade goods, another example of international competition. Artisans often discussed the ways that designs are passed locally by exporters or stolen by those who see them in markets, but some were additionally concerned in a broader way about "Peruvian"-style ceramics being created through industrial processes faster and more cheaply. They explained that they are losing workers and workshops are closing down, related, some thought, to the ways that Chinese products' prices undercut their own. Liliana explained,

---

[112] Etsy has allowed factory-made products since 2013, which drive down and out-compete crafters' prices (King 2015).

[113] Amazon Handmade and fair-trade products sold on Amazon are also options. Amazon Handmade claims to review artisans' applications, uphold high standards for defining "handmade," and audit production (Amazon Handmade n.d.).

[114] Farmers' markets in Denver and Golden, Colorado and Lancaster, Pennsylvania have stalls of woven bolga baskets from Uganda, for example.

> *Como que ahora ya(.) los(.) chinos no? Nos está:: (pause) eh perjudicando~hay un cliente lleva? que, una parte de Manos Amigas me compra? para Italia. Y me dice que los chinos traen a un dólar veinte en Italia mismo. Y yo que- quiero vender a mi cliente uno punto cincuenta. Y me dice, para qué te voy a comprar con uno cincuenta que- si allá puedo encontrar con uno punto treinta! Por mayor. […] No son idénticos. Son similares […]. Pero no es! No es hecho en Perú, sino hecho en China. Entonces, como que: el mercado el chino nos vayan a invadir a todo, no. […] Hay mucha diferencia dice en acabado. Por qué? Porque bien finito es el acabado que hacemos nosotros. En cambio, ellos, no, no lo hacen bien el acabado pero el precio es- es idéntico, no. Es algo parecido (podemos decir). Entonces menos el precio y ya: los extranjeros(.) ya no va- ya no ven- el producto ya no ellos compran porque está bien finito porque bien decoradito, no. Sino por el precio. Si tiene la misma función. Entonces, prefieren comprar de menos precio. […] Es nuestra (pause) debilidad (por allí) amenaza en el mercado no.*
>
> Like now with(.) the(.) Chinese, right? They a::re (pause) eh, hurting us~There is a client who brings? a part of Manos Amigas and buys it for Italy. And they tell me that the Chinese brought a dollar twenty [for it] in Italy. And I wan- want to sell it to my client for one fifty. And they tell me, for what would I go to buy for one fifty, that- if there I can find it for one thirty! For better. […] They aren't identical. They are similar […]. But it isn't! It isn't made in Peru, but made in China. So, like tha:t the Chinese market is coming to us to invade everything, right. […]. There is a lot of difference they say in the finishing. Why? Because the finishings that we make are quite fine. On the other hand, right, they don't finish pieces well but the price is- it's the same, right. It's something similar (we can say). So lower the price and there: the foreigners(.) already aren't go- they don't come- they aren't buying the product because it's well finished because it's well decorated, right. But for the price. If it has the same function. Then, they prefer to buy the lower priced. […] It's our (pause) weakness (here) the threat in the market right.

Making handmade products could be seen as that which holds back artisans from this competing with industrial products, but it is just that difference that holds the value for their continued success. Another artisan told me, "Nuestro alma [/arma] es hecho a mano. Hecho a mano. Entonces por eso yo digo nosotros todavía subsistimos porque

todavía hacemos a mano). (Our soul [/weapon] is handmade [production]. Handmade. So for that I mean we still survive because we still make things by hand).

As I have demonstrated, even within fair-trade organizations, globally, copying and unfair competition do occur. M'Closkey's research (2000, 2010) demonstrates that Zapotec weavers and other artisans around the world sell appropriated Navajo designs to the fair-trade organization Novica. In the fair-trade distributor's advertising and marketing, they describe products as "Navajo-inspired," in "an example of the cultural appropriation that is negatively affecting the ability of Navajo artisans to maintain their livelihoods and cultural traditions of weaving" (M'Closkey 2010:272). In another case, textile designs reflecting Native American and New World influence are made by South Asian and Latin American weavers and created for mass-market distribution (Tiffany 2004). An example of cultural appropriation of designs from my fieldwork was explained to me in Cusco. The tourist-focused (and quite expensive) clothing enterprise, Kuna, was accused of appropriating Asháninka and Shipibo designs, of course without reimbursing those indigenous communities (León 2017). Even though design copying like that experienced by Rosalita, discussed at the beginning of the chapter, occur on a small scale among workshops in Peru, larger scale cultural design appropriation additionally takes place throughout fair-trade markets and around the world.

Importance, Risk, and Complexity of Innovating New Designs

Maintaining ownership and control over product designs is of great concern because they are carefully created pieces of intellectual property that involve investments of time and money. These risks are undertaken cautiously, but some innovations can lead to big pay-

offs for small numbers of artisans (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015; Chibnik 2003). As I asserted in the previous chapter on translation practices in client–artisan encounters, artisans are often not privy to hearing about the tastes of clients, especially not directly, even when provided the opportunity to meet them in person. Therefore, their product development is not as well informed as it could be. These interactions allow for a continuation of power differences between people of the Global North and Global South and effectively keep artisans from learning all that they might if they had access to English-language resources.

Despite the risk involved with innovating, creating new products that appeal to clients and maintain an artisans' presence in the MA catalogs—from which clients typically buy new products more than old—is the best way to encourage an artisans' steady sales and sustained relevance. Those who can create a unique niche in the market with distinctive and not easily copied designs, who "also understand market trends, maintain smooth relations with their clients, and ask appropriate prices for their pieces" are most successful (Chibnik 2003:172). Through my discussions with artisans and MA staff, their understanding of the importance of product development became clear. They told me,

> *El secreto es innovación. […] También es de buscar posibilidades. Si no, el artesano muchas veces se queda sentado(.) y esperando el pedido. Y no sale.*
>
> The secret is innovation. […] It's also about looking for possibilities. If not, the artisan often times remains sitting around(.) and waiting for an order. And it doesn't work out.
>
> And,

Melissa: *Normalmente las cosas muy diferentes venden mejor?*
Artisan: *Sí. Sí porque- hay artesanos que llevan todos los años con lo mismo, lo mismo, lo mismo, hay gente que van 'ah, este yo tengo ya. Este yo tengo, yo quiero otro. Oh, este no tengo!' compra eh? Sí, es así. Es, el mercado ahora se mueve."*

Melissa: Normally do the things that are really different sell the best?
Artisan: Yes. Yes because- there are artisans that go around every year with the same, same, same, and there are people that go 'oh, this I have already. I have this, I want something else. Oh, this I don't have!' and buys it, huh? Yeah, it's like that. It's, the market is changing now."

Innovation is important to MA and the artisans who sell through the organization, and indeed it is essential to the purpose of capital. Harvey (2014:92) explains, "Capital's immediate purpose is to increase productivity, efficiency and profit rates, and to create new and, if possible, ever more profitable product lines." Capital pushes toward ever shorter turnover time, through shortened product lifestyles and ephemeral spectacles (ibid.:99). If products are cheap enough and new items are appealing enough, consumers' dynamic interests and constant consumption lead them to always be looking for the next purchase, as has become clear from the fast-fashion industry's success. Handicraft trends are much less volatile, but in order to compete, artisans have to always be innovating to keep up with demand and competition in the market.

Fair-trade artisans, organization staff members, and Northern clients recognize the complexity of Northern product choices and consider trends, the clients' typical consumers and brand identity, and each artisan's individual style, when designing products. They discuss handicrafts in relation to a host of contradictory criteria: products should be traditional yet modern, authentic yet innovative, and Peruvian yet global, and of course competitively priced. Thinking and discussion about fair-trade principles

negotiates Northern and Southern desires and interprets fair-trade principles in order to ensure that production complies with them. Product innovators thus creatively manipulate meaning of fair-trade principles to be able to allow for change and innovation while keeping traditions relevant. In this way, fair-trade compliance offers another layer to the already complex artisanal negotiation between preserving cultural values and appealing to consumers' tastes (Grimes and Milgram 2000b). Consumers need to remain interested in handcrafted items for sales to continue, and part of products' appeal is in their retention of place-appropriate, "traditional," and "authentic" qualities, commodified as part of the product like artisans' identities, countries, and ideas.

Although fair-trade products may be in some ways "alternative" to conventional products, they must still compete within the global economy, appease consumers' tastes, and fit within their price expectations (Grimes and Milgram 2000a). As a neocolonial project (Hussey and Curnow 2013; 2016), modern fair trade places demands on Southern producers to suit the needs of Northern consumers, expanding Bourdieu's (1984) "field of the dominant class" and the dominated to a global scale. Tastes are created by the elite classes, a misrecognized, taken-for-granted part of their habitus (ibid.; García Canclini 1993). As Bourdieu (1984:56) writes, "It is no accident that, when they have to be justified, they [tastes] are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes." This clarifies why buyers find difficulty in explaining to artisans what is appealing to consumers; they may not even be aware that clarification is needed or recognize that tastes are culturally and socially constructed. Bourdieu (ibid.:58) subjected handicrafts to a "middle-brow" "petit-bourgeois aestheticism" looking for "cheap substitutes for chic

objects and practices," but the typical fair-trade consumers are fairly wealthy members of the most developed countries, making their tastes dominant over artisan producers of the Global South as it is they who "distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make" (6). It is, however, those subjected to the "symbolic violence" (ibid.:511) of the dominant class's desires that need to comprehend these tastes to maintain their market and livelihood. This process of "translating" dominant-class tastes and dominated-class skills and traditions into sellable products is the reason that contemporary fair trade can exist, as it creates a market where local consumption of handicrafts has ceased, giving often undervalued aspects of culture a commodified reason to exist.

Artisans seem to largely guess what will sell well both locally and through export, but they research trends from the North, too, often using the internet to search for ideas. Artisans seem to not look up the fair-trade stores in which their products sold, and often they only know MA's clients by the two- or three-letter code they were given, not the actual name. Wary of direct copying, artisans with whom I spoke seek new ideas online, in nature, magazines, the news or local relevant current events (for carved gourds that can depict stories), their culture, or by speaking with exporters, buyers, shop owners, or tourists, when they have the opportunity to do so perhaps at artisanal fairs in which some MA artisans participate. Some forms of handicrafts allow for more diverse innovations, such as ceramics and carved gourds. Artisans of these forms would look up North American animals like cardinals, for example, to depict in their work despite being foreign to artisans. Musical instruments, on the other hand, follow fairly fixed structures. In order to attempt to create new designs, an artisan of instruments explores designs of

other countries on the internet and tries to incorporate whatever elements can work in his own flutes and drums while maintaining a sense of Peruvian identity.

Artisans with whom I spoke often mentioned a concern for what "colors" North Americans and Europeans look for, although they rarely seemed to question the product itself.[115] For example, most ceramists made nativity scenes or other religious scenes like Noah's Ark or angel motifs. Along with MA staff members who recognize that nativities are a stagnant market, an international visitor expressed concern, too, as her store's customer base was changing to become less religious. Artisans who do not adapt could be in trouble. The client pointed out that nativities are not something that many customers choose to buy repeatedly and in fact they may be passed down through generations as heirlooms.[116]

Artisans with whom I worked had little contact with consumers or MA's clients, but in touristic contexts, the feedback loop to learn about trends can be much more direct.

---

[115] Lynd (2000) describes the negotiation of color and explanation of aesthetic differences between cultures in Guatemala. Weavers thought using "less of the hot pinks, lime greens, and oranges" would make textiles "triste," sad looking. Colors can connote marital status, gender, ethnic identity (Zorn 2004:66,105), or town of origin (Little 2004a) in various artisanal traditions. Whereas color is predominantly about aesthetics for consumers, color and spatial organization of images and patterns for Taquilean weavers traditionally holds meaning. Lyon (2010) explored Mayan women's natural dyeing practices that were (re)introduced to the community by North American women with the hope of selling better than the bright color schemes more widely accepted as "traditional." She writes, "These women are essentially forsaking traditional color preferences in order to accommodate a foreign market predicated on constructed notions of ecological sustainability and "traditional" dying [sic] practices." (ibid.:137). Interestingly, now pastel chemical dyes mimic natural dyes, re-making an "invented" consumer-driven tradition that drew on a lost local tradition, but making it a faster, globalized process (ibid.).

[116] Nativities may sell better in more Christian, and especially more Catholic areas and in other countries besides the U.S. I was told that the nativity is a very important symbol for Catholic families in Peru. They are not a popular design in the town of Quinua, where many Ayacuchan ceramists are from; they mainly make churches there.

Little (2004a) describes vendors who are able to communicate directly with consumers in the handicrafts marketplace. This communication allows them to inform the *proveedores* (intermediaries) from whom they purchase to request desired changes from the artisans, or craft desired items on their own when vendors are artisans themselves. On the other hand, for fair-trade artisans working through exporting organizations, emailed correspondence, phone calls, client visits, and other fair-trade discourses require much more time than that type of direct observation and discussion for product development in tourist markets. Fair-trade products are designed seasons in advance and require buyers in the same company responsible for all import regions to meet to confirm that new products will not overlap with each other or existing products. Product-development meetings I observed at the MA headquarters did not include artisans, except minimally by phone for a few minutes if required. Overall, artisans had limited access to explicit explanations of Northern trends.

Perceived preferences and tastes originating in the Global North circulate throughout MA's discourses and influence product designing, pricing, and qualities. Northern dominant-class messages from international clients are mediated by Yannina, who then shares them with artisans with whom she works as she helps them to innovate new product designs. Product development, then, is a negotiation of many factors: Northern consumers' aesthetic preferences and moral values; Southern exporters' goals for products to display the national identity ("Peruvianness"); clients' brand characteristics; artisans' abilities and interests; local, regional, and global competition;

appropriate prices; compliance with logistical constraints of exportation;[117] and compliance with fair-trade standards. Clearly, these criteria confine and constrict possible designs and, at the same time, artisans also contend with abundant competition. Despite the overarching standards of fair trade to theoretically lend protection and maintain just prices, artisans' abilities to innovate new and profitable products are restricted. Southern artisans' abilities and interests have to be translated into Northern desires.

Accomplishing Innovation

Ideas for new products for MA originate with artisans, staff members, clients, or a combination of these participants. When ideas originate with artisans, they create a new product and bring it to Yannina as a *muestra* (sample) which she considers for inclusion in the catalog. The catalogs are digital lists of products MA offers to international clients. They feature only the newly innovated products and are distributed to clients through a password-protected website twice or three times per year. To be included in the catalog, products need to be of high quality, have a new design that does not duplicate other artisans' designs, be priced appropriately, and be expected to appeal to clients. Similarly to how Yannina is the mediator of client–artisan (and tourist–artisan) interactions, she is a gatekeeper to products becoming available for perusal by international buyers because she determines which products will get added to the catalog for distribution and which will not. Clients may still purchase older products from previous catalogs but most are interested in new designs. Getting products accepted into the catalog does not necessarily mean that an artisan will receive orders for their products; a significant percentage of

[117] Handicrafts need to comply with exportation and customs laws, and not be too fragile to ship adequately abroad.

products never are ordered by clients. An accepted design is not set in stone, either; clients can purchase a product as depicted or make changes to the designs, which some do more than others (see example in Chapter 4).

A *muestra* may undergo changes through discussion with Yannina or clients and it can be rejected outright for inclusion in the catalog as well. For this reason, brand new ideas are risky since artisans may come up with five or ten designs, taking time away from paid work to innovate, and they could all be rejected from inclusion, leaving the artisan without orders for new products during that season. Because of the time involved, many of the artisans with whom I spoke were unable to design many *muestras* per year. They could have been confident, though, that they would continue to get consistent orders from their previous products. Most innovation occurs at the end of the year when orders are slow.

Besides being time-consuming, innovation is expensive. One artisan explained that between making a new plaster mold and innovating the piece, for which he used an outside hired designer, it cost S./ 900, or about US$281 at the time. Artisans pay for innovating expenses on their own, without the aid of the fair-trade organization because there is the assumption that they will earn those expenses back with profits and they also have ownership of the designs. This is one way that those who have more money have means to make still more. On the other hand, those who are forced to take subcontracted work and who do not own their designs have stymied market access. Because of the inputs of time and money required for the new products, artisans can become frustrated and upset, too, if their samples are rejected by Yannina and not included in the catalog.

As Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld (2015) describe, artisans' livelihoods are replete with countless decisions of calculated risk and artisans in my fieldsite did not take innovation lightly. To mitigate risk of product development, some artisans hire a specialist which is expensive but they hope that the new design will be successful and make the money back. More commonly, artisans make products within thematic sets. By making minor changes to previous designs that had previously been accepted to MA catalogs, artisans hope to reduce risk by keeping designs similar to their own or others' that they have seen. In that way, they hope to draw the attention of the clients who had previously bought their products and encourage future consistent sales. For those who have innovated a "line" of products like this, a new piece could be another design within the set, such as nativities that represent nationalities, cities, regions, or ethnic groups (nativities of Paris, Tuscany, the Maasai, Inuit in igloos, ancient Egyptians in front of pyramids, or the Nepalese and Log Cabin examples below in Illustrations 7 and 8), or animals in a nest (various types of birds, crocodiles, chimpanzees; see owls below in Illustration 9). These product lines were perhaps less risky than innovating a completely new design and they allow artisans to make use of many of the same molds across the line of products. (Mary and Joseph look the same in many of the nativities, for example). It is possible that by changing designs in this cautious way, they will appeal only moderately to consumers. Yannina, too, can become discouraged with artisans whose innovations follow the same lines for years, especially because she knows that buyers seek creative and bold designs that reflect a focus on Northern tastes.

Illustration 7: Nepalese Nativity Sold by Yonder Star, Arendtsville, Pennsylvania. (https://www.yonderstar.com/3-nepal-nativity-scene-fair-trade-from-peru/).

Illustration 8: Log Cabin Nativity Sold by Ten Thousand Villages, Canada. (https://www.tenthousandvillages.ca/shop/en/all-products/6116540-log-cabin-nativity.html).

Illustration 9: Ceramic Owls in a Nest (Photo by Author).

The time and energy needed to design, even if made easier by using a general theme, caused artisans to need to debate between devoting themselves to current orders and products, seeking new clients, or making new designs. One artisan, very popular with MA's clients, told me that in busy times he is unable to take all of the orders that come to him or cannot complete them on time. On the other hand, when there are few orders in the *estación baja* (low season), he also finds it difficult to innovate new designs because he feels that he should go out to seek new clients and orders. In busy seasons, this artisan has had to employ very many workers. He has also found that employing women at the nearby prison is a rewarding experience which gives them training in a skill, a way to procure needed supplies that the prison does not provide, a social outlet, and entertainment. In the low season, though, laborers are often let go because the orders cannot sustain them.

When ideas for new products do not start with artisans, inspiration may come from MA staff members, predominately Yannina. Yannina is well-traveled, both due to her work and personal interests, and she gathers ideas by observing trends abroad, on the internet, or by perusing magazines that she has collected. Also inspired by her knowledge of art and artisans' abilities, Yannina shares many ideas in the effort to have individual artisans better represented in MA's catalogs and receive more orders. Sometimes, she requests multiple meetings, discussions, samples, and takes great consideration of every detail, although I have observed this occurring with newly onboarded artisans and not long-established, trusted ones. Leading up to the WFTO Biennial Conference 2017 in Delhi, Yannina worked with an artisan in multiple meetings to discuss her idea for coin

purses made from fabric woven in Chinchero (outside of Cusco). Since this fabric was expensive, sizing of the coin purses needed to relate to the length and width of the original fabric in order to have the largest number of pieces fit, and another fabric was used on the back of the purse to reduce costs. Clearly, the coin purse also had to utilize colors and a design that would appeal to clients.

When visiting artisans, Yannina may see a product in their workshops made for another exporter's or local market's order or for the artisans' own purposes and ask if a modification could be made like changing a color, adding more or different embellishments like flowers or stars, or changing ceramic figures' clothing styles. For example, while visiting an artisan with tourists, Yannina saw a decorative ceramic spoon that drew her eye. She asked if it could be done with more natural coloring and requested a swatch of possible colors. When a change is made to an existing product, however small, that change is considered to make the product "new" and no longer a copy. Of course, the perception of a product as a copy or not is subjective; Rosalita in the opening example certainly had a different perception than the exporters with whom she worked.

Sometimes international clients are also involved in innovating in this way when they visit Peru. To illustrate, ceramic nativity scenes that represent different regions of Italy (in the thematic set depicted above, Illustrations 7 and 8) have backgrounds of typical-looking homes or iconic buildings, the same Mary, Joseph, and Jesus figurines, and two emblematic items of the region to each side of the Holy Family. In the case of the "Naples" nativity, the sample piece held the popular dessert, Neapolitan ice cream. To make the piece particular to a new client, Yannina and Chiara, the visiting buyer,

changed the design element to a slice of pizza, also indicative of the same city. With a change that small, the piece changes from being the development of another client. It can now be claimed by this new buyer as intellectual property of her company, and cannot be reproduced for other clients in the same importing country or be included in MA's catalogs.

The third means of product development is through the inspiration of international clients. Designs are commissioned in person, through correspondence with a written explanation or a sample photo, or with changes to designs presented in catalogs. Each minute tweak of existing ceramic products like the Naples nativity discussed above are the intellectual property of the international client's company and artisans cannot remake them for sale to other clients if they will be sold within the same country. Intellectual property rights seem not to permeate national borders; a buyer from France could see a design sold by a fair-trade organization in Germany and use the exact same design. When clients modify designs from the MA catalog, they may require multiple iterations of the same product with miniscule differences each time as the buyer solidifies their requests (see Chapter 4 for an example). This can take a lot of time, energy, and the artisan always risks that the clients will not even end up placing orders. Knitted products do not maintain the same rules of ownership like ceramics, though. Yannina brought the Canadian client to the touristic artisan markets for her to see the knitted designs. The client purchased some of the machine-made hats found there to take them as examples of design elements to recreate by hand knitters with whom Yannina works in Puno. There,

the same or similar designs were requested from them which is possible because, I was told, knitters do not own their designs in the same way as ceramists do.

When clients visit Peru, there is the potential for them to share their knowledge of their cultures' tastes with Yannina and artisans, although this is done minimally if translation is required, as described in the previous chapter. Clients who visited MA during my fieldwork often communicated design ideas predominantly with Yannina, whether Spanish language or time with the artisans were the hinderance. After these types of discussions, Yannina can take the planned designs and maybe a photo to the artisan she feels best would create the product or perhaps who needs financial support in the form of more orders. Product-development discussions were interesting for the ways in which clients and Yannina navigated the variety of traits that fair-trade handicrafts are required and desired to have, and how they negotiated the complicated interrelationships of traits like the traditional, modern, Northern, Southern, and authentic. A product-development meeting will be analyzed later in this chapter.

Yannina consistently asks artisans if they have made new *muestras* (samples) and encourages them to design and bring or send them to her so that she can consider their inclusion in the client catalog. Artisans will not be helped and supported and fair trade itself will not continue if clients do not place orders. Therefore, perhaps seemingly paradoxically, innovation is essential to maintaining tradition and to keep crafting skills and motifs alive (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015:20 call this the "modern-traditional symbiosis"; Grimes and Milgram 2000a; Little 2004a; Markwick 2001; Zorn 2004).

Traditions: Invented, Revived, and Introduced by Outsiders

Perhaps contradictory to expectation, traditions are not always "old," but may be "invented" (Hobsbawn 1983), or innovated purposefully, in an attempt to create a product that will be more successful in market transactions. New products often draw from local traditions held, or previously abandoned, by the community and incorporate relevant novel elements that hold value for tourists or for sale globally. The Taquilean calendar belt described by Zorn (2004) is an illustrative example. Starting from a textile design from the 1980s that recorded familial or community events, artisans incorporated old traditional designs, color, and organization but innovated changes to make the piece more appealing to tourists. The images, about half of which were newly created specifically for the belt, were generalized for each month instead of depicting actual occurrences as they traditionally had done. A paper description was also added to encourage tourist understanding but which also helps young Taquileans learn their craft and meanings (Zorn 2004; see p.98 for a photo).

In a similar way, a new trend that was gaining traction during my fieldwork was the use of brightly colored markers on the carved gourd designs. Like the calendar belt, the gourds take basic concepts already in place as "traditional" (such as complex engraved images that are naturally a light tan color) and innovate changes to appeal to Northern tastes (like the use of bright markers to color the carved spaces, see Illustrations 10 and 11 below). Pre-Colombian and Incan examples of carved gourds (*mates burilados*) display the highly intricate story-telling etching that some artisans still take the time to continue (see Illustration 12 below). It is now common, however, to have simple

pandas, penguins, snowmen, and Santa Claus motifs which can be created with relative speed, ease, and consistency as demanded by export and tourist markets (see Illustration 13 below for examples). Similar examples in the literature abound: The "face of an Indian" knitted design and President Correa's shirt designs from Ecuador (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015), woodcarving in Oaxaca (Chibnik 2003), Chulucanas pottery from northern Peru (Chan 2011), and glassblowing in Malta (Markwick 2001). These handicraft forms may all be considered "invented" in the hope of making sales and could be considered a mix of entrepreneurship and guardianship (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015), as the techniques are maintained but the designs are not traditional. Hobsbawm (1983:5) points out, "Novelty is no less novel for being able to dress up easily as antiquity"; it is often the case that innovations start from traditions (Chan 2011; Chibnik 2003; Holmquist et al. 2019; Mullin 2001; Zorn 2004). They must, however, fit into consumers' understandings of what counts as *artesanía* to remain "intelligible" (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015:32) and maintain authenticity and taste (Mullin 2001). Later sections of this chapter focus on ways in which these negotiations are done.

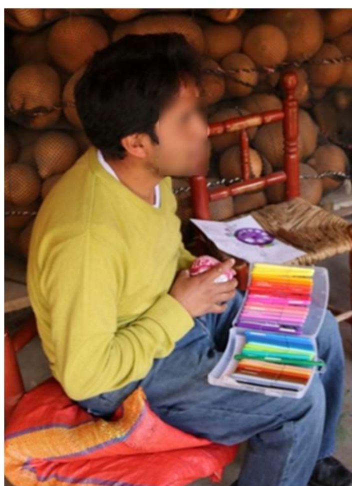


Illustration 10: *Mate Burilado* Artisan with Array of Colorful Markers (Photo by Author).

Illustration 11: An Example of a Gourd Colored with Markers (Photo by Author).

Illustration 12: Intricate, Traditional Gourd-Carving Styles (Screengrab by Author).

Illustration 13: Simpler Carved Gourds (Screengrab by Author).

Often, newly invented traditions or innovations like these are spurred by outsiders. Numerous researchers describe product development and encouragement for the community to start selling their products for the first time. Peace Corps volunteers encouraged commoditization—the sale of something that had not been sold before (Zorn 2004:168, n.8)—of a pleated dress shirt to tourists in Otavalo, Ecuador (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015) and textiles in Cusco (Zorn 2004), and an American Catholic nun distributed Chulucanas pottery around the world (Chan 2011). I was told similar stories of Peace Corps volunteers in Peru.[118] Previously considered disposable, long-necked gourds became carved birds due to encouragement from outsiders. My elderly expat friend conveyed that he and everyone else were exporting bird-shaped gourds when he was in the handicrafts business. Researchers and their spouses have encouraged commoditization of handicrafts in their fieldsites (MacHenry 2000; Eber 2000; Lynd 2000; Rosenbaum 2000; Little 2004a) or for export abroad (Causey 2000; Tiffany 2004) to give artisans a market and help them, often associations of indigenous or poor women,

[118] Chibnik (2003:222) also mentions Peace Corps volunteers who encouraged the development of an artisan market in Peru.

to earn income. Like the first fair-trade sales in the 1940s, fair trade's roots live on in benefactors' efforts to purchase large quantities of goods and bring them home to sell. I have also, of course, influenced trends in a small way by answering artisans' and MA staff's questions of American tastes and offering suggestions of products that may sell well abroad. The innovations that can be created through these partnerships can become "traditional" over time and gradually become part of the cultural commons of an area or type of craft (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015). The designs persist if they sell, even if artisans themselves find them odd. Tourists, visitors, development workers, and international markets in this way influence the "traditions" of artisanal cultures.

Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld (2015) assert that ideas that are part of a cultural commons are shared resources that are copied between artisans and add to a collective bank of ideas that can be rearranged and reused in different ways. New traditions, then, or "invasive trades," are constantly being welcomed into the collectivity, but despite being new, can still represent indigenous or place-based identity and may appear so well-established and deep-set into a community that they are not questioned as "traditional." They "become regularized as an economic patrimony" that should be "protected and handed down" (ibid.:29) in the artisanal habitus. This complexifies the discussion of design propriety as Chibnik (2003:182) explains, "the distinction between 'copying' and making a piece that has come to be thought of as 'typical' is not always clear-cut." Unlike newly adopted traditions, past artisanal traditions that had fallen out of practice, such as lacemaking in Malta, can be revitalized as an effect of tourism's growth or an emerging export market and take on the "patina of authenticity" over time

(Markwick 2001:48). Thus, ancient or recently past traditions can be reformulated or revived, or new traditions can be innovated to appease the markets brought to artisans through globalization processes of tourism and exportation.

It is therefore important to understand how artisans' and outsiders', including the WFTO's, consumers', and MA staff members' perceptions of traditions differ. The only mention of "tradition" in the WFTO Principles states that "Fair Trade recognises, promotes, and protects the *cultural identity and traditional skills* of small producers as reflected in their craft designs, food products and other related services" (WFTO 2017: emphasis added). This statement, part of the Principle "Fair Trading Practices," does not include a definition for "traditional," nor does it refer to designs as traditional, but rather artisanal skills. Following mentions of support for timely pay, prepayment, not cancelling orders, long-term relationships, and preventing copying and unfair competition, the listing of traditions and cultural identity as the final elements of the principle in a sentence standing alone makes them seem like an afterthought. Indeed, traditions are extraneous to artisans' main interests in fair trade of adequate payments and sustained orders. When I asked about an artisan's use of tradition in his products, I was told:

> *Uno tiene que innova::r, cambiar de esti:lo. >No siempre el estilo porque todos los artesanos trabajamos en el mismo estilo< creo. Porque casi todos los artesanos hacemos la misma pintura. Entonces hay que innovar, hay que cambiar la forma de pinta::r. No solamente hacer diferen- o sea diferente más que todo (pause). [...] La pintura ayacuchana es como esa digamos. En cambio en esto no hay pintura ayacuchana. Está innovado, ya.*
>
> One needs to innova::te, change the sty:le. >Not always the style because all us artisans work in the same style< I think. Because almost all of us artisans use the same painting [style]. So you have to innovate, you have to change the way of pa::inting. Not just to make it differen- or like,

> different more than anything (pause). [...] Ayacuchan painting is like this let's say. On the other hand in this [piece] there isn't Ayacuchan painting. It's innovated, see.

Tradition is discursively set in opposition to something "innovado" (innovated) and connected to the "pintura ayacuchana" (painting style of the Peruvian region Ayacucho, from where most MA artisans originate). Most artisans see the use of tradition in this same way, as mutually exclusive to maintaining "modern" designs. "Traditional" designs were discussed as being opposed to "abstract," "stylized," and "modern" pieces. Artisans used innovation to separate themselves from the generalized pack of designs that *were* traditional, and thus overdone, and I was often told that traditional items "don't sell." At the same time, many artisans explained that traditions such as Ayacuchan pottery techniques and painting styles, nativities, and figures clothed in Andean-style dress are the basis of their work. Tradition could be utilized in strategic ways but was not a point of pride to continue without modifications. Many spoke as though they did not have their own style or concern for tradition: clients told them what they wanted, and so artisans made what was requested of them.

Despite the juxtaposition of tradition and modernity in artisans' responses, many of them as well as exporters, recognize that consumers want *both* attributes. My friend who had exported Peruvian handicrafts decades ago explained to me how Pier 1 Imports purchased baskets from him. Clients and consumers had enjoyed that they were modern looking, with clean, simple designs but that they also evoked ancient motifs such as the Nazca lines.

The WFTO paperwork that I helped to complete for MA structured questions around the 10 Principles of Fair Trade and, recognizing that surveys are limited and subjective, in my experience these were ambiguously worded as well and required artisans and the interviewer to reduce complex experiences to yes or no answers without being able to explain in depth. A survey item concerning Principle 3: “Fair Trading Practices,” quoted above, contained three elements of “tradition” in one yes / no question: “Se hacen esfuerzos para utilizar las habilidades tradicionales, los materiales y los productos de la zona” (Makes efforts to utilize traditional skills, materials and products from the area). If artisans are using “traditional” skills *or* local materials *or* products from local areas, they might answer “yes” (and this seemed to be the case as I spoke with artisans), despite the “and” in the question. The local area being Lima for most artisans seems to make it possible to achieve this goal simply by buying one’s clay nearby, which many artisans did do; but supporting industrial or imported products (probable while purchasing in the city) seems inconsistent with the standards’ intentions. The question on the form also does not hold the same meaning as the principle because the WFTO interview form makes no mention of craft designs.

Where the WFTO form does mention cultural identity, in the next question, most artisans answered as though in support of diverse people they employ, not craft design; the question does not mention crafts as being connected to cultural identity, but is phrased as “[s]e apoya y se anima el respeto por el valor de la identidad cultural” (you support and encourage respect for value in cultural identity). As the question is unclearly phrased, open-ended, and lacking explanation, I was influenced during the process of

carrying out these interviews by the answers of artisans whom I had interviewed previously; so when I was asked about what the question meant, my responses influenced theirs in turn.[119] Artisans' questions for me, though, indicate the confusion behind the WFTO written prompts. In my role as volunteering interviewer, I had the final authoritative decision on whether to circle "yes" or "no," and this mostly ended affirmatively, as I was uncertain of what would happen to partnerships or during WFTO audits with the presence of "no" responses. If artisans agreed with one of the parts of the question but perhaps not the others, it still seemed to me that the answer overall could be "yes." Many responded "yes" without explanation, so it is unknown how they had understood the question. I had been told during my brief training meeting that MA was seeking a "balance" of tradition, because traditional products were not selling well, as artisans said. Some artisans said they made handicrafts with traditional materials or with traditional techniques, but with "modernized" motifs. In general, traditions have changed greatly but being able to say "yes" to comply with the WFTO's questions requires minimal use of traditions, because traditional skills *and* local materials and areas are all grouped together. Terms like "local" and "traditional" are left ambiguous on the form as is "making efforts," which may indicate any amount of interest or action. The "area" (zona) could be considered local, district, or nation-wide. In the principle, "cultural identity and traditional skills" are said to be supported but the paperwork does not clearly question artisans for their compliance with that value. The WFTO paperwork, then,

[119] During my first days in Peru in 2017, I had also undergone a training session with a previous short-term employee/volunteer of MA who went through each question in rapid Spanish.

allows for much ambiguity to be able to confidently say "yes" to compliance with the third principle.

Promoting traditional skills and cultural identity in the products' designs is broadened to the respect for cultures of workers, getting products from nearby locations, and merely using traditional materials, by which respondents could mean basic clay and gourds, even if not sourced "traditionally." All of these actions allow for "tradition" to be achieved. Just as tradition can be ancient or revived from within a culture, or imposed or adopted from outside, tradition in fair trade is open to wide interpretation and can be reached (and therefore promoted and commodified) with minimal commitment to preserving artisanal forms unchanged. In product-development and artisans' discussions of tradition, tradition is not purely dependent on historical depth or local materials. Perceived authenticity (often related, for outsiders, to perceived indigenous identity; Wilson 2010) and being handmade (to varying degrees) are also important qualities for handicrafts.

Authentic and Handmade

Like the product attribute of "tradition," "authentic" and "handmade" are negotiable attributes of handicrafts that have subjective, multiple, and socially contextual definitions. They all lend symbolic capital to products, increasing the prices at which they can be sold as long as buyers value these qualities (Bourdieu 1977; Wherry 2008a, 2008b). Either the product itself can be imbued with authenticity for qualities within its design, or the producers can be, especially if they are, or are perceived to be, indigenous. Tourists in Guatemala described by Little (2004a) were very concerned with getting the

most "authentic" handicrafts and were suspicious that vendors were trying to trick them. Beyond judging products alone, they sought clues for perceived authenticity in the *traje* that women wore or their demonstration of weaving in or near their market stalls. Those who displayed their identity in these ways were thought to represent "real" indigenous behaviors, and thus they were more worthy of tourists' patronage than men or non-indigenous vendors (ibid.); this is an example of what Wherry (2008b) has called the "aura of authenticity."[120] All vendors tended to display similar products and even compare their prices, so the way to outcompete their fellow vendors was through recognizing and exploiting the value in their perceived Mayanness. Another element of that package of attributes that contributes to authenticity is language use. In Little's (2004a) research, vendors of the artisan market in Antigua, Guatemala, use their own markers of ethnic authenticity as indígenas, Mayas, or Kaqchikeles to encourage tourists' attention. Conversely, they undermined other vendors' belonging to those categories, claiming that the others do not speak Kaqchikel, or other efforts to redirect the sale to their own market stall. In this way, language use is a marker of vendors' identity as indigenous, and therefore worthy vendors (ibid.). These categories can be easily manipulated and utilized by non-indigenous vendors who wear indigenous dress or flout "handcrafted" industrial goods to trick buyers (Wherry 2008b). Vendors in Little's (2004a:167) fieldsite recognize that they sell a "package that includes the handicraft, the

[120] Men's forms of dress did not index indigeneity to tourists. These men participated in markets without drawing attention for sales, or were avoided for being perceived to be Ladino (Little 2004a). See de la Cadena (1995) for historical and modern discourses of Indianization that allow cultural mestizaje to men but keep the women as "more Indian." These discourses confine women to Indian spaces of rural villages and discredit their city-based selling as not "work."

life behind the handicraft, a place, and their cultural identity." Since artisans in my own fieldsite are producing handicrafts for exportation and cannot directly interact with buyers, their products must alone convey placeness and authenticity, aided by the marketing messages that indicate their poverty and perhaps perceived indigeneity.

Fair-trade products can make use of the commodification of qualities such as place, poverty, and (perhaps only perceived) indigeneity as in advertising and on clients' websites. Taken outside of the context of direct sales like in tourism contexts, fair-trade consumers must find the Otherness they seek and judge authenticity from the product itself or its labeling and marketing (Tiffany 2004; Wilson 2010). Discourses within marketing, tourism, and fair trade may encourage a "freezing" of cultural practices for the sake of appealing to outsiders' expectations (Zorn 2004:161) and represent artisans' cultures as stuck in time.

Despite being imposed from the outside, both by fair-trade marketing discourses and commonly held cultural beliefs, artisans can make use of the perceptions of authenticity for selling their handicrafts. Sellers of Oaxacan woodcarvings, too, made use of romanticized narratives of indigeneity, connection to nature and the past, and native folklore and spirituality even though artisans did not self-identify as indigenous or Zapotec (Chibnik 2003). Similarly, Mullin (2001) describes the rules of early 20th century American Indian handicraft markets that required products and materials to be autochthonous, handmade, decorative, and traditional. Museum collections could be used for inspiration, but innovations in colors or designs were cause for alarm, as was copying or clear influence from other indigenous groups. The modern-day Annual Santa Fe Indian

Market similarly polices indigenous art's boundaries and maintains the separation between "Indian" and "non-Indian" people and art for the commodification of authenticity (ibid.).

Consumers tend to want and assume that handicrafts are made by indigenous peoples. Wilson (2010:178) asserts that marketing discourses

> reproduce central commonsense Western assumptions of indigeneity by reifying notions of community, the harmonious relationship between indigenous peoples in the environment, gendered complementarity, and particular narratives on history, tradition, and cultural purity, ultimately suggesting that there is an indexical relationship between handicraft items and indigenous peoples.

Products' and peoples' authenticity, too, is often constructed and imposed by outsiders (Cohen 2000). As I have discussed in Chapter 3, the artisans I met in Peru did not readily refer to themselves as "indigenous," despite being Quechua-speakers and from Andean regions. In my conversations with Peruvians and Americans alike, however, artisans were expected to be indigenous, even if I had not discussed their language use, cultural traditions, or regions of origin. This draws from preconceived notions that handicrafts and indigenous peoples go together.

Despite changes in production processes, lifestyles, technology, sourcing of materials, designs, and most elements of artisanal creation, consumers prefer indigenous people to remain in the past. In their tourist demonstrations in their homes, vendors were expected to hide their electrical devices so as to comply with tourists' expectations for their lifestyles, leading to increased commodification of their "exoticism" or connection to the past (Little 2004a). Perceived indigeneity and romanticized historicity imbue artisans with "authenticity," and this carries over to their creations. But, the general

trajectory of artisanal production, like any market, shifts toward easier technologies and increased productivity (Harvey 2014). Artisans' cultures, whether they identify as indigenous or not, are dynamic and adaptable, and so they often accept these technologies, but the trend toward mechanization started long ago (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015). Faster production, increased ease, and a reduced labor force are elements of capital (Harvey 2014). Therefore, technological innovations are accepted for their improvements to production, except where they provide drawbacks that deter consumers, such as if they would go against perceptions of authenticity enough that consumers would notice. Increased speed of production, too, can degrade quality (Zorn 2004) and reduce the number of laborers that benefit from the work. But, if consumers are found, the increased production can increase income as well. Authenticity, then, needs to be negotiated with speed of production, techniques, and innovations.

An example of a technological innovation used in Peruvian handicrafts is the knitting machine. Knitting with a machine competes with handknitting but products are also considered "handmade" to the technique's proponents because someone has to program and monitor the machine and ultimately sew the various pieces together.[121] Handknitting, recognizable by variation and larger stiches, remains the preferred method for exporting and tourists, though, and producers may hide their use of machines to make sales (Zorn 2004). Yannina discourages the use of a machine by the artisans she supports. Despite the consistency in sizing and in an intricate color pattern, one artisan assured her

[121] See Chibnik (2003:197-9) for ways in which Mixe wood carvers made use of machines for carvings, allowing them to create many more pieces than those using hand tools. Advertising messages discussed the pieces as handmade without clarification.

that all hats were made by hand, but she knew that he was at least in possession of a knitting machine. The use of such an apparatus aided in production but could be a point of shame to artisans who recognize the symbolic value of producing purely handmade goods. Machine knitted products can be intricate in patterns, colors, more consistent in sizing, and for these reasons they can sell well and are enjoyed by consumers. This innovation along with using synthetic fibers, sheep's wool or blends instead of purely alpaca wool are ways to cut corners on quality, which may varyingly save artisans or clients money (Zorn 2004).

Other examples of changes toward simplicity can be seen in ceramics, now painted with acrylic paints after the firing in the kiln instead of the previous method of painting first with glaze, the colors of which would appear more strongly after firing so it was difficult but imperative to apply them with precision. Colors were inconsistent, though, and they varied within and between pieces. Since exporters and consumers prefer consistency, variety, and bright colors, the naturally made orange, black, red, and white glaze colors were replaced with store-bought water-based paints over time. Materials like clay and yarn used to have to be made by the artisans. Clay had to be mixed and fermented and yarn was made with wool and dyed by hand by artisans themselves. Now, artisans purchase most of the clay and yarn they use.

Carved gourds, too, have changed. The artisans used to have to blow on smoldering twigs to get the color onto gourds or rub charred grasses mixed with lard into the etched gourds in order for the recessed areas to become blackened. Now, the etchings are burnt with blow torches and the artisan can control the flow of air and the size of the

flame with a foot pedal. These technological innovations allowing for increased safety and more controlled airflow have become commonplace. Dyeing gourds, too, has become common, using red, green, fuchsia, orange, and other synthetic dyes.

Handicrafts have still not reached industrial scales, and so the distinction between "traditional" and "modern" can remain. Although new technologies are adopted and products are innovated and become traditional, long-held traditions that do continue in their original use sometimes are incompatible with consumer tastes and do not become commoditized. For example, the large ceramic vessels used for *chicha* (corn beer) storage in Chulucanas do not interest consumers nor comply with export capacities due to their size and weight (Chan 2011). These types of products, as well as techniques that do not appeal to consumers or see the return on investment of time and effort in the market often lose the interest of the artisan community as well (ibid.).

Qualities of Fair-Trade Handicrafts: "Losing Identity"

Traditions and authenticity, as has been explained, allow for changes to occur and invasive trades are welcomed for their selling potential; exporters however, may feel uncomfortable with the differences, considering other traits they feel to be important to be falling by the wayside. In an interview in October 2017, Yannina told me that she feels that she and the others at MA are "losing identity" (estamos perdiendo identidad) because people are no longer buying "ethnic things" (cosas étnicas). An example is the artform brought from the Spaniards called *retablo*, originally a portable tryptic used for conversion and worship. Now, artisans incorporate Andean or Peruvian motifs such as

local festivities, dances, and events. For export, MA orders miniature snowmen "retablo" Christmas-tree ornaments made from eggshells (see Illustration 14 below).

Illustration 14: Snowman's Family Ornament Sold by Ten Thousand Villages, U.S. (https://www.tenthousandvillages.com/4f3020b47eb575ff053-0776573ec35ad).

In the following excerpt, Yannina explains her concern for products losing their identity:

> Yannina*: Otra cosa que me choca mucho es (pause) el (pause) los diseños(.) que ya no hay:-(.) estamos hablando de un comercio justo donde queremos que nuestra identidad se refleje en las piezas. Ya no lo e:s. Ya. no. lo es. […] Lo más que me preocupa es que estamos perdiendo identi°dad. Identidad.°*
> Melissa*: De qué:- qué tipo [de identidad?*
> Yannina*: [Mira. Cuando ellos hacen un producto? Tú puedes ver identidad peruana, verdad?*
> (([Pause of a few seconds when Yannina reaches for this nativity and puts it onto the desk in front of me.))
> Melissa: *O::h, wow. ((laughing)) Lo veo.*
> Yannina: *Está Rusia. Qué es eso? Quién lo puede hacer? Puede hacer Chile, puede hacer uh, China, puede hacer no sé! Quién sea. […] Me entiendes, está perdiendo toda la identida:d y es porque (pause) °no están pidiendo° °°cosas étnicas ahorita.°° Nada étnico. °La gente se cansó de lo étnico.° °°Qué podemos hacer con la gente que sólo trabaja cosas étnicas?°° °Toda esa gente que hacía retablos,° °°no estamos trabajando con e:llos. Toda esa gente que hacía esta cosa, ya no compra. Ya no compra!°°*

Yannina: Another thing that really strikes me is (pause) the (pause) the designs(.) that there just isn't:-(.) we're talking about a fair trade where we want our identity to be reflected in the pieces. It just i:s not. It. just. is not. [...] The thing that worries me most is that we are losing id°entity! Identity.°
Melissa: Of wha:t- what type [of identity?
Yannina: [Look. When they make a product? You can see Peruvian identity, right?
((Pause of a few seconds when Yannina reaches for a product and puts it onto the desk in front of me)).
Melissa: O::h, wow. ((laughing)) I see.
Yannina: It's Russia. What is that? Who could make it? It could be Chile, it could be uh, China, it could be I don't know! Whoever. [...] You understand, we're losing all the ide:ntity and it's because (pause) °they aren't ordering° °°ethnic things right now.°° Nothing ethnic. °People got tired of the ethnic things.° °°What can we do with the people that only work in ethnic things?°° °All the people that used to make retablos,° °°we aren't working with the:m. All those people that used to make this thing, now no one is buying them. They just don't buy!°°

Nativities, like this "Peruvian" one, are being found alongside new ones, such as the "Russian" one (Illustration 15 below). When Yannina showed me the latter product, she said that it could have been made in Chile or China, or anywhere. Yannina said that the Russian nativity, like other designs, "no refleja al Perú" (doesn't reflect Peru). Instead, artisans are trying to work on more "modern" and globalized designs because they are what clients want. In her discussion of changing client desires, Yannina discursively connected Peruvian identity and "ethnic things" and later contrasted these characteristics with "more modern" designs. A Peruvian look, then, is set in opposition to modernity, reflecting an understanding of "authenticity" as something situated in the past and related to indigenous identity. Pieces deemed modern, though, retain many of the same design elements and processual steps, but, in this case, depict another country's

Holy Family, because the main design of nativity scene is not changed. Yannina thus discusses Peruvianness as about form, not technique or material.

Illustration 15: Peruvian-Style Nativity (Left) and Russian-Style Nativity (Right) (Photos by Author).

Artisans, too, want to create products with "Peruvian" identity. One ceramist said he would like to see Peruvian-made useful products like plates and bowls in hotels in place of Chinese products that most use. For a promising young ceramist, nativities that are "styled" (estilizados) are doing well. He explains, "Al menos el José mantiene su- su gorrita no? Su chullito[122] no. Pero la María así no:- No se puede diferenciar este es de Peru. No. Entonces puede jugar (pa') con cualquier sitio." (At least the Joseph has his- his little cap, right? His Andean hat, right. But the María doe:sn't- You can't differentiate that this is from Peru. Right. Then it could go (for-) with any place.)

[122] From the Quechua word "ch'ullu," a knitted hat with ear flaps.

Tradition as Place-Based

In their meetings to innovate new handicraft designs, Yannina, artisans, and visiting Northern clients draw on varying classifications of taste such as colors, size, and shape, while also discussing practical concerns such as shipping regulations, packing needs, and costs. Unlike mass-produced industrial products, ethical, artisanal, or high-end products often contain indices of their places of origin which imbue them with value-adding authenticity (Cavanaugh 2007; Heller 2014; Meneley 2004, 2007; Mullin 2001; Paxson 2010; Pratt 2007; Trubek 2008). "Peruvianness," however, is often compromised in favor of more "worldly" or "trendy" designs that suit the tastes of the Northern clients.

The clients from a United States-based fair-trade store, Gifts that Give, visited Manos Amigas in May, 2017, five months before, and perhaps influencing, my October interview with Yannina. In a product-development meeting with these clients, lasting about one and a half hours, the buyer, Amelia, and the associate store manager, Evelyn, discuss sample products and current trends with Yannina. This interaction came at the end of the meeting and in it, Evelyn gives out what she calls "trade secrets" from her experience in her store. She compares earrings made of carved gourd that Yannina has just shown her to a similar product from the Philippines.

> But I think that would be- I would be interested in supporting that because for us in the store that would be I think an easier sell? Because to to mention that it's made from gou:rd and gourd's a traditional craft from Peru:~I mean that's kind of how- [to Melissa] I'm sort of giving away trade secrets here- but um like these um (pause) uh earrings from the Philippines that are made with(.) capiz? Which is a traditional, um, uh, material used there and um, and so it's used in a lot of other things and so, um, it's really not just- not just *from* there but it's, like(.) it's a piece of the Philippines basically that you take with you. And so people really, um, they identify with that. […] when people find out that it's made with an

> interesting material, that's a traditional material, um, they get really excited. And we don't have- we have, um, in the store anyway we have some jewelry that's made with, um, bone? So it'd be nice to have(.) a beautifu:l vegan alternative for- for people.

The "trade secrets" of which Evelyn speaks here indicate the importance of stories for fair-trade handicraft sales. The "mention" of the product's status as a "traditional craft from Peru" and being of a "traditional material" makes it an "easier sell" for consumers, since tradition and authenticity are important symbolic elements that consumers seek. Evelyn makes a direct correlation between an "interesting" material and a "traditional" one that customers in her store can "identify with" and that makes them "really excited." What she does not explicitly reference, though, is the interpersonal connection that she, as a store associate sharing the story of her firsthand experiences with artisans conveys to her customers. Her story, intermixing details from her interactions with artisans, observations of the artisanal techniques they use, and recognition of their poverty, ingenuity, and strength in the face of hardship spreads her own excitement and inspiration far outward. Despite giving the "traditional material" all of the credit in her explanation above, stories are an essential element of the "easier sell" that she describes. Evelyn's own experiences, and her role as enthusiastic participant in the rippling out of these experiences, are undermined here but are what constitutes the essence of fair trade.[123]

In the above quote, Evelyn compares earrings from Peru to earrings from the Philippines. Both are made from what she calls traditional materials but which have not

[123] Brown (2013:67) gives a detailed account of his own experience as the conveyor of an artisans' story while he was serving as a volunteer in a Ten Thousand Villages store. He explained how he told the story for months after meeting the artisan and that it seemed like an "effective" selling strategy, giving the product "additional value."

necessarily traditionally been used to make earrings. As Evelyn explains, capiz, a material made from the shells of windowpane oysters, has been used in many applications. The traditional materials are not merely "from" the country but, she says, they are "a piece of the Philippines," as are, in her comparison, the gourds a piece of Peru like Peruvian identity or like any other natural resource would be. As she explains this connection, her gestures may remind one of plants emerging from the earth (see Illustration 16 below). After bringing her hands up with fingers spread, she then draws her hands toward her body, as she says that these materials are something that the customers can take with them and with which they can identify. Customers, though, need to be taught the importance of materials through in-store stories told by associates or in product descriptions. Evelyn says that these types of earrings would be an "easier sell" and that they would be a "beautiful vegan alternative" (provided that they are made by means of a new process, not the method using lard), but the knowledge of the material composition of the earrings is something that customers need to "find out." The use of the

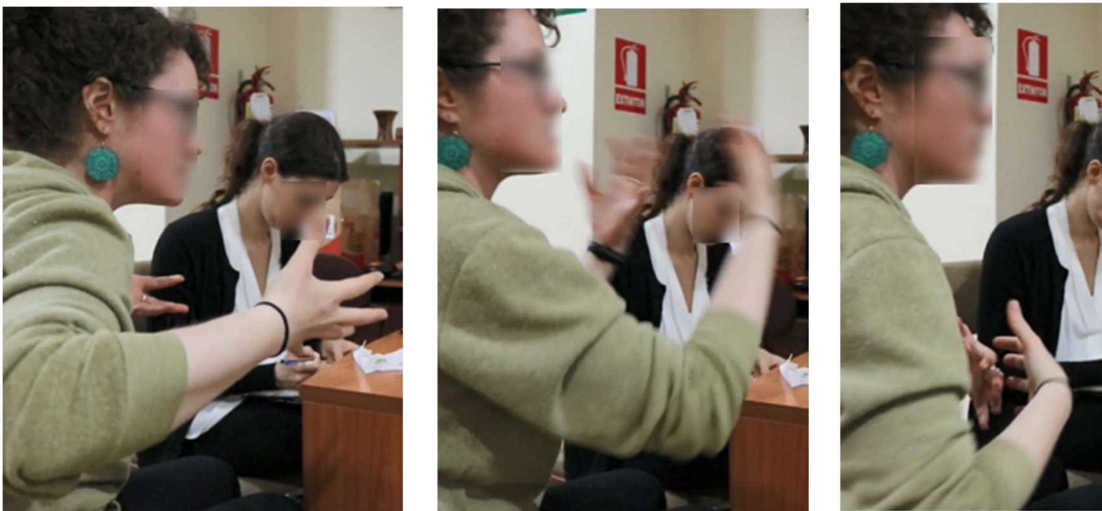


Illustration 16: Evelyn's Gestures with "a Piece of the Philippines" (Screengrabs by Author).

passive voice that erases her own and other store associates' roles in customers' ability to find out about the products' materials is interesting; she reduces her own involvement in the process of creating the "easier sell." Perhaps this is due to the importance Evelyn seeks to place on the traditional carved gourd material, discursively making *it* the important element that makes the product effective, despite the involvement of associates (or at least, written product descriptions) having a critical role in the process. Evelyn explains how the customers "find out" about the products' material compositions while jerking her head as though enacting them hearing something or doing a double take. Finding out, though, is directly related with customers getting "really excited."

Fair-trade customers may also be concerned with shopping in other ethical categories, so Evelyn is reminded of a third kind of earring that they sell in their store with another material, bone, which would not attract vegan consumers (nor should the shell), a concern she is used to commonly hearing from her young midwestern, progressive urbanite customers. So, although all are seen to be traditional, meeting a customer's ethical needs beyond fair trade is considered during product development. Evelyn's comparison also indicates how she connects a product's materials and country of origin. She does not, however, discursively link the complete product with the country. Instead it is the *traditional material* that is linked with the Philippines. It is this perceived traditional essence that allows for interest, excitement and the symbolic capital that can make it an "easier sell" for the retailers.

Earlier in this product-development meeting, Yannina presented other earrings to the clients. These contained spondylus, or thorny oyster shell, a material that has been

used in Peru since pre-Incan times and that could certainly have also been presented or discussed as being of "traditional material." It did not prompt the same kind of reaction from Evelyn that the gourd earrings did. Evelyn and Amelia may not have had prior experience with spondylus, but they do have numerous experiences with gourd, both in Peru and in their company from other countries' handicrafts. Evelyn and Amelia had met up with Yannina and me in Huancayo, in the region of Junín, and traveled to Cochas, the town in which the *mates burilados* (carved gourds) are produced. There, we met with artisans who told the clients, through Yannina as translator, about their crafting process and life stories (discussed in Chapter 4). These firsthand experiences will inform the ways that they talk about Peru, artisans, and the artisanal processes with customers, in Evelyn's case, and with other company buyers in Amelia's case. In other words, the personal connection these clients have to gourds because of their visits to those artisans' workshops most likely contributes to their belief that products made from gourds will be highly marketable to customers. But customers have most likely not had these experiences. They also consider many other product attributes in their decisions to purchase, and so liking the material, without knowing its cultural significance, puts all similar materials from different countries on the same footing for consumers.

Everyone involved with product development with MA wants to make products that sell well and also comply with fair-trade standards, but there seems to be discordance as to how this should be done. To clients, "traditional" *materials* indicate products' countries of origin, so their design motifs do not need to be traditional or indicative of the country of origin to ensure salability or to meet fair-trade standards to them. For Yannina,

however, nativities made to look like they are from Russia, other countries, or without a specific origin, signal a loss of Peruvian identity. She recognizes that completely traditional goods, as well as innovated but old (pen holders, for example) do not sell well, but that traditional Peruvianness needs to find its way nonetheless into the products.

Conclusion

Due to the ambiguity of the WFTO's definition of "traditional skills" and "cultural identity," companies like Yannina's are forced to make what their clients request, or what seems to sell well, in order to stay in business. Gourd is contextualized as traditional and representative of Peru for clients, which affords it symbolic capital to sell to Northern consumers. The clients who visited will be able to advertise the products made from gourd using stories from their personal experiences with artisans and knowledge of this material's historical and cultural significance in Peru. In this way, Northern tastes, filtered through clients' experiences in the South, influence fair-trade product design and discourses of Peruvian identity and tradition. Those working in the Global South may feel like Yannina, however, and consider that "Peruvian identity" is being lost in fair-trade handicraft products. The power, then, to translate the WFTO Principles in the product designs falls to Northern buyers who seek to appeal to their consumers, leaving Yannina to feel that they are "losing" their sense of themselves in their art and artisans to steer away from making products they feel are traditional for the sustained potential of continuing to produce *artesanía* at all.

Northern and Southern fair traders draw on disparate understandings of tastes and Northern consumers' desires need to be translated by producers in the Global South,

sometimes necessitating the modification of traditions (Chibnik 2003; Grimes and Milgram 2000a). Northern clients and Yannina find value in indexing Peruvian origin in different and conflicting ways. For U.S.-based clients, indexing Peruvian identity in products seems to be desirable in relation to its material composition, and not form, but for Yannina, the form is what most represents her country. The changing market's interest toward more utilitarian pieces and "modern" designs causes her to think that they are losing identity, a proxy for authenticity, in the handicrafts they export.

Although fair-trade organizations claim to support local traditions and cultural continuity, Northern clients need to know the products will get orders, be of high-enough quality for consumers to not find faults, and at least on the surface be ethical enough for conscientious consumers to not be put off from buying. The artisans who can make products of high-enough quality are often also able to sell in other venues, receive more orders, and are generally better off than those whose quality of workmanship is poorer. As has been discussed for tourism marketplaces, some artisans become the go-to, famous "artists" (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015) even though others fall through the cracks, may not receive orders, or may have concerned exporters like Yannina scrounging through magazines and dreaming up pieces they could create that would help their financial situations. Artisans in my fieldsite live dispersed throughout Lima and Andean regions so competition is not as direct as that which Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld (2015) observed between vendors within the same marketplace.[124] Artisans

[124] Some artisans know each other or are related. The situation is not the same as that of having an "artisan community," though. Most artisans selling with MA are spread all around the huge city of Lima. Gourd carvers, however, do live in Cochas, a small town famous for that craft.

with whom I worked still faced challenges, though, like price undercutting by buyers, competitive bid-down processes, design copying, and competition on a global scale.

Although tradition "no vende" (doesn't sell), it is incorporated into "new" innovations. Steps are taken to guard designs against copying and to mitigate the risks of innovation, but eventually invasive traditions spread throughout marketplaces, whether or not they are successful. Designs undergo tiny tweaks so as to *not* be considered copies and artisans, without typically having access to the knowledge of Northern trends, stick with lines of products that were not selling well. Risk has to be considered for the time and money that artisans invest in new design innovation. Outright design appropriation, as M'Closkey (2000, 2010) shows, still occurs, even within fair-trade organizations. What counts as "authentic" or to "belong" to a place thus blurs even further and traditions do not have to be old or well-established themselves (e.g. the Taquilean calendar belt and Chulucanas pottery), although they frequently contain long-held elements. Clearly, cultural influence, innovation, and changing traditions have always been part of any culture or artisanal tradition and the handicrafts market, by seeking to define and commodify tradition and authenticity, may end up freezing them in place (Zorn 2004). The market, on the other hand, can push cultural change ever faster through consumer-driven intervention until "tradition" means almost as little as that the piece is made from clay or gourd, traditional materials.

Part of perceived authenticity includes a sense of the place of origin of a product. While tourism requires products to remind consumers of the place of origin as authenticity and place are commodified in the products, a sense of place or

“Peruvianness” in the fair-trade export market seems sufficiently achieved for consumers through materials and techniques, not designs and motifs. As the WFTO does not define “traditional skills” and “cultural identity,” and the auditing paperwork allows for broad ranges of affirmative responses, change is welcomed in fair trade for the sake of accommodating Northern consumers’ interests even at the expense of what those in the South like Yannina feel diminishes their display of identity. The open-ended nature of the fair-trade principles allows for broad compliance and increased viability for artisans and organizations to uphold them, despite their own observations that they are “losing identity” and that “tradition doesn’t sell.”

Competition can occur between artisans working with the same fair-trade organization, as MA is better able to support those artisans whose workshops are close-by to the office and whose work is of the highest quality and unique enough to be able to fill a niche for their clients. Despite Yannina’s best efforts to distribute her own and clients’ ideas, those who are able to fulfill orders on time, hire workers, maintain their own stock of proprietary designs or a unique niche, work with numerous exporters, and produce high-quality materials are most successful. More broadly, artisans compete outside of MA with other Peruvian artisans, mostly making similar items, in tourist shops where ideas can get copied very quickly. In order to make a sale, artisans undercut each other in a “bid-to-the-bottom cycle of home-based self-exploitation” (Antrosio and Colloredo-Mansfeld 2015:146), as store owners and even fair-trade clients bargain for the lowest prices. Pieces can be remade on a global scale, too, from Chinese or other industrial factories that can make what look like Peruvian products, like Machu Picchu magnets, for

cheaper prices, high quality, very quickly, and of numerous designs. Finally, Peruvian products are placed on store shelves next to Indian, Vietnamese, Dominican, Congolese, Mexican, Malian and other products of the Global South. Pottery traditions from other countries could fill a consumer's need for a nativity to give as a gift or a planter for their garden; gourds from the Philippines could provide alternative birdhouses or earrings.

Although fair trade does offer a market for artisans with long-term buying relationships, products have to be constantly innovated by individual artisans to make orders come in from Northern clients who mediate the interests of their customers. Artisans have to attempt to understand the trends of Northern consumers, maintain high quality, deliver to exporters on time, worry about setting prices high enough to cover expenses and make some profit off which to live but not so high as to ruin their chances of competing or receiving large orders. The translation of Northern tastes into their artisanal products may result in a loss of certain production techniques because to maintain them would not allow for products to be made fast or consistently enough. "Traditional" things "don't sell," but the innovations made by artisans and their organizations are still "authentic" in the sense of bringing past techniques into modern more industrial innovations, being "handmade," and involving design adaptation to make them appeal to Northern tastes.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION: "TRADE" MAY HAVE WON OUT OVER "FAIR," BUT AT LEAST "FAIR" IS OUT THERE

In this dissertation, I have described the various benefits and shortcomings for artisans who work with a fair-trade handicrafts-distributing organization in Lima. In this final chapter, I synthesize major findings of the previous chapters in terms of multiple "sustainabilities": of the organization; of artisans' indigenous languages, cultural elements, and artisanal traditions; of environmental impacts; and of fair trade in general as an alternative market. I discuss how fair-trade implementation requires negotiation of the "triple bottom line" of "people, planet, and profit" (Elkington 1997).

Sustainabilities can come into competition with each other because different aspects of the organization need to be kept in balance. Additionally, different actors in the fair-trade network may have different opinions as to how principles should be upheld and implemented. A key point of discrepancy falls at the divide between the Global South and Global North; consumers and clients from the North are often those whose preferences—whether explicitly or implicitly defined and shared—become implemented. I have demonstrated how fair trade can perpetuate unequal power relationships, and these may contribute to sustained poverty and the dependence of Southern producers on Northern consumers. Producers in Peru feel this disparity in their encounters with fair-trade exporters and international clients as they negotiate their own identities and their products' attributes. Artisans' stories and products need to retain consumers' interest if fair trade is to remain sustainable, and this requires manipulation and compromise within the various sustainabilities of fair trade.

Environmental Sustainability

Environmental sustainability is the most common referent for "sustainability" in general. The WFTO includes this type of sustainability as their Principle 10, "Respect for the Environment." In this principle, the WFTO explains that all of the organizations it certifies support purchases of raw materials locally, reduced energy consumption, minimized waste and environmental impact, transportation by sea, and biodegradable packing materials (WFTO 2017). Artisans with whom I spoke were proud of the steps they had taken to minimize their environmental impacts. Many had upgraded their gas- or wood-burning kilns to electric ones, conserved water and electricity for lighting, recycled and reused their packaging (such as newspapers or cardboard), and used water-based acrylic paint for their ceramics. Almost everything was re-used within Manos Amigas as well: cardboard boxes, plastic bags, and even pieces of tape. The organization sometimes used reclaimed cardboard boxes found discarded on the street or in markets.

MA and the artisans who work with the organization are concerned for environmental sustainability, but also interesting is that the structure of fair trade requires a global distribution of products, most often from the Global South to North, over hundreds or thousands of miles. Having short supply chains with fewer intermediaries and using sea transport does reduce energy usage compared to air travel, but there is still much ground to cover after arrival in the importing country, where retailers distribute products online or sell directly to consumers. Fair trade is more focused on people than on the environment, but in recent years the environmental movement's pressure has encouraged increased use of recycled and upcycled materials in products, and these are

now used even for store fixtures and décor (Valentina 2019). Low and Davenport (2005b) consider the increased environmental sustainability of fair trade to be a strategy consistent with mainstreaming, the sale of fair-trade goods by large-scale companies in conventional sales venues, because it can make fair trade competitive with other ecologically driven initiatives and grow the consumer base. In this way, increased focus on environmental sustainability may have contributed to the fair-trade movement's growth and interest in mainstreaming. Unlike corporations using mainstreaming and "greenwashing," smaller organizations are taking important steps to maintain environmental sustainability.

Manos Amigas' Long-Term Sustainability

During fieldwork, I learned of numerous issues that made me question the long-term economic sustainability of Manos Amigas. Orders remain inconsistent and below their pre-recession levels. That impacts the organization, as it misses out on the percentage that clients pay on each product. MA has turned to fair-trade tourism as a means of broadening its offerings to consumers in the Global North.

Beyond tourism, MA's goal for sustainable business is to meet the consumer's interests in new products. Yannina is constantly working with artisans and clients to innovate new products as well as promoting the existing products in the catalogs distributed to clients. Artisans often seek other markets as well, and they sell with local stores, in artisan fairs, and through other exporters, both fair-trade and conventional. MA staff told me that they were considering starting to work with pima-cotton baby clothes or organic food products like chocolate and coffee in order to maintain viability. Yannina

also continues to attend *Rueda de Negocios* events—government-supported meetings around the country that bring artisans into contact with potential exporters of their products. She hopes to help poor and struggling artisans, but recognizes that Northern consumers look for high-quality pieces; producers must maintain that quality when making large quantities of pieces for export.

Since fair trade encourages working with only poor and marginal producers, MA ends their partnerships with artisans if and when they achieve a high enough economic status and have many other venues in which to sell. Successful artisans, though, are those who bring in the biggest orders for the organization. There is currently at least one artisan working with Manos Amigas that seems to have enough other clients to be economically stable on his own, but the future of the organization itself could be put into further jeopardy if it were to stop working with him. At the same time, the long-term sustainability of MA is related to their variety of product offerings and overall pool of artisans, some of whom are becoming elderly. When artisans retire or turn to other work, their children, in some cases, take over their parents' work or inherit their ceramic molds. In other cases, original artisans sell their ceramics molds to other artisans with whom MA may begin to work instead. I have spoken to many artisans who hope that their children will become professionals, and whose children either already had, or that artisans thought would seek out, careers other than in *artesanía.* The organization can begin new partnerships when needed, though; new artisans often contact Yannina to discuss partnerships. Artisanal fairs where she can make new connections are quite common, and often government-supported, in Lima and other Peruvian cities. In fact, MA's

sustainability is challenged not by the prevalence of artisans, but by market saturation.[125] Despite the challenges and trade-offs of handicraft production, there are plenty of artisans and plenty of products that could be improved upon for exportation.[126] Demand from the Global North is perhaps a more difficult issue, as fair-trade sales have leveled off in recent years (Moberg 2014). MA staff know that similar products made in other countries, of cheaper quality and sold for cheaper prices, are major sources of competition. In her six or so years working with MA, Sam said that she has seen its exportation reduced by forty percent.

In order to be sustainable for "people" and "planet," fair-trade organizations need to remain in business, making products that appeal to international clients and helping as many artisans as possible while maintaining personal relationships. As discussed in Chapter 2, growth of an organization better allows it to afford fair-trade certification. Rob at Artesanía de Alegría, for example, fears his business's growing too much, but he is already not directly acquainted with many of the artisans from whom he purchases. Economic sustainability or the "profit" in Elkington's (1997) triple bottom line keeps the rest of the system going. Acknowledging this dependence, artisans who visit fair-trade

[125] Moberg (2016) and Shreck (2002) discuss the market saturation of fair-trade bananas and oversupply of coffee led to the coffee crisis (a major driver of the growth of fair trade in the early 2000s). The demand for many other kinds of fair-trade produce is likewise too low, leading farmers to sell their fair-trade-certified goods on conventional markets; earning less income (even if it means working at a loss) is better than wasting crops and earning no income at all.

[126] A concern for handicraft exportation is that quality has to be high. The representative with whom I spoke at Hecho con Cariño explained that they currently have more textiles than they can sell and that they have limited their purchases to every other month (a change from every month). The weavers are paid when the product is delivered, though, so they do not have to wait for it to sell to receive payment. MA's artisans only make products that have been ordered, so they are not waiting for payment either, but orders may be few and far between.

events and companies in the Global North commonly say that the best help that importers can give is to "keep placing orders." One of the WFTO Principles, "Promoting Fair Trade," encourages the perpetuation of fair trade through honest advertising and marketing, raising awareness about fair trade, and sharing information with customers. In my experience, this outreach could be more strongly implemented by MA. Artisans' stories were updated by volunteers and a willing anthropologist, social media was updated irregularly, and websites featured photos of artisans who were no longer producing handicrafts for the organization. Improvements could be made to the availability of information that consumers, and indeed artisans, can access about fair trade.

Sustainable Cultures and Languages

Fair-trade principles contain little in specific reference to indigenous peoples, languages, or even non-Western cultures. At the end of Principle #3, "Fair Trading Practices," one sentence affirms that "Fair Trade recognises, promotes and protects the cultural identity and traditional skills of small producers as reflected in their craft designs, food products and other related services" (WFTO 2017). Despite this being a minor part of the principle, a focus of this research was to understand the extent to which fair trade did or did not support Quechua-speaking and Andean migrant artisans. As described in Chapter 3, the artisans affiliated with MA most often do not self-identify as "indigenous" per se, but as being from various Andean regions and as *quechuahablantes*. They, or their parents or grandparents, were and are Quechua-speakers, and some artisans self-identify as descendants of pre-Columbian Huari or Huanca peoples. However they identify,

influenced by the targeted violence that they suffered during Peru's internal conflict, their relationships to the mountainous regions and their being Quechua-speakers were reasons for which they were discriminated against when they migrated to urban areas. None of the Manos Amigas staff members could speak Quechua or Aymara, nor did they pay much attention to the support of languages in their daily activities because of their orientation to artisans' identities as Spanish-speaking urban businesspeople.[127] Instead of seeking nonverbal, visual means of communication (as analyzed by Henrici 2003), their communication was only in Spanish, frequently tense, and often in written form, despite some artisans' low levels of education and literacy.[128] Outside of communications with MA, some artisans spoke indigenous languages in certain domains, such as in the workshop, with family, or in their neighborhoods; but most who had children did not speak an indigenous language with them. Parents felt that, since Quechua was taught in universities in Lima, their children could learn to speak it as adults if they chose to do so.

Just as MA did not align with a goal of explicitly supporting indigenous languages, its support of elements of cultural identities was also limited. The product-

---

[127] The representatives of the fair-trade stores in Cusco with whom I spoke indicated the importance for their organizations of employing at least one person who could speak the indigenous languages used by their affiliated artisans, or working with associations whose staff members could speak those languages. Cultural continuity in the form of weaving and artisanal traditions were also highly valued and organizations in Cusco worked to preserve them. By virtue of working on a smaller scale than MA, having close relationships with artisans, not placing orders for specific items but allowing artisans to continue to make more or less what they desire, and selling to tourists in Cusco rather than exporting to the North, these organizations are better positioned to encourage continuity of traditions without interference.

[128] Communication could be tense because, for example, artisans were reprimanded if they consistently missed deadlines or had large amounts of *fallas.* Yannina was described as "like a mother" by some artisans (see Chapter 4); this conveys a level of familiarity and love, but also respect and deference to her authority as the artisans' boss and the gatekeeper between them and clients.

development discussions between Northern clients and MA staff members involved negotiating meanings and usage of various product attributes. “Tradition” was variously interpreted as being a matter of products’ materials by the international visitors and a matter of design by the Peruvian participants. Clients, of course, hold a powerful position in product-design discussions, and, whether in the design phase or through their orders, they are ultimately the ones who decide what is available for sale in their stores and businesses. Production techniques have changed drastically through artisans’ participation in export markets. Orders are larger, materials and equipment should be environmentally friendly, and consistency is required (beyond the passable “imperfections” that are said to create “authenticity”). “Tradition,” then, is flexibly and broadly defined, which allows international consumers to dictate product designs and perpetuates the dominance of the Global North. Artisans’ work now requires greater consistency, quality, and speed along with risky, expensive, and time-consuming innovation so that products can compete globally. Constantly changing trends in the North effectively create the “traditions” of the South; this calls into question how sustainable artisanal traditions are in fair-trade exporting organizations.[129]

---

[129] Fair trade provides a market for artisanal products that otherwise oversaturate local tourism markets, though. By exporting handicrafts products, then, fair trade offers support for their continued production, albeit with Northern influences. It is interesting to note that South–South and North–North forms of fair trade are up-and-coming (Cotera Fretel et al. 2009). Mostly, though, Peruvian locals are not the targets of handicraft sales for fair-trade organizations either in Lima or Cusco. I was told that Peruvians mostly seek cheaper goods (such as souvenirs in Cusco) and do not have a strong sense of what fair trade is. The presence of *BioFerias* (bio-fairs, like farmers’ markets), sustainability-certified wood products, and artisanal fairs like *Ruraq Maki* that appeal to locals and foreigners alike may indicate that elite Peruvians are becoming interested in more ethically produced goods and direct artisan-to-consumer sales.

Even without overturning the existing framework of Northern dominance in fair trade, artisans could reinvigorate their traditions as they appear in their handicrafts. Organizations should seek to create deeper understanding of and demand for purely handmade (as opposed to machine-knit, for example), unique, and culturally particular pieces that are true to artisans' aesthetics and that also appeal to consumers' interests. Artisans' traditions, like their self-identification practices, are flexible, and should be free to fluctuate to respond to their urban contexts, their livelihoods, and their individual interests. Fair-trade organizations would more strongly support artisans by allowing them to participate more meaningfully and frequently in product-design discussions, and by ensuring that translation between clients and artisans is bidirectional and transparent. Artisans need to be included in these discussions in order to be able to share their own ideas of how to put forth their identities and traditions through their products; and they also need to be kept informed of global trends and preferences in order to be able to continue to innovate desirable products and maintain economic sustainability.

The Sustainability of Fair Trade

Fair trade has grown from its original small-scale origins, selling within religious and politically focused markets, to being on supermarket and superstore shelves throughout the Global North. This is in large part because some fair-trade certifiers (but not the WFTO or FTF) have allowed for mainstreaming so that fair-trade goods can reach broader markets. Mainstreamed fair trade is no longer radical or novel, and seeing the labels on corporate products dilutes their symbolic value for consumers, leading to doubt about the ostensibly ethical modes of production behind the products. When fair-trade

products reach increased numbers of consumers, they must compete with other kinds of products, and this seems to contribute to the pressure for certifiers to relax their principles.

In theory, fair trade may be well positioned within ethical-consumerism markets to successfully approach sustainability in numerous ways, in that it seeks to support marginalized producers for the long-term, reduce poverty, and maintain cultural identities. But attempts to strengthen non-economic sustainabilities may ultimately lead to fair-trade organizations' failure to remain viable. Compromising on social or environmental sustainabilities can lead to a lack of values or a dilution of fair-trade principles, as has occurred, some contend, through mainstreaming and fair-washing. For MA, for example, spending time and money to train artisans in new techniques or trends may not result in higher quantities ordered; and, with their slim margins and precarious markets, this sort of capacitation may fall to the wayside (and largely seems to have done so). In order to reach all of the sustainability goals laid out in their guiding principles, small-scale fair-trade organizations will need creative solutions and should remain carefully focused on their missions.

As fair trade and other ethical consumerism trends grow, the push for corporations to maintain an air of morality, or at least avoid negative press about processes occurring in their commodity chains, has increased the importance of corporate social responsibility (CSR) offices (Burchell and Cook 2006; Richey and Ponte 2011). This perpetuates the neoliberal notion that corporations should promote development and alleviate poverty (Dolan 2010a). Furthermore, fair-trade marketing and principles draw

on neocolonial power relations that take for granted Northern actors' entitled positions as able, and knowledgeable about how, to help Southern producers (Hussey and Curnow 2013). The dichotomy that fair-trade marketing perpetuates between the North and the South establishes the Northerners as good and capable of empowering others, as does CSR in general, and homogenizes countries and peoples of the South as similarly marginal, destitute, and Other (ibid.). Due to the "ethical turn" in consumerism, consumers have become more socially and environmentally engaged and the presence of ethically labelled products such as fair-trade, organic, cage-free, pesticide-free, sweatshop-free, and many more iterations have proliferated (Brown 2015:157; see Barham 2002:353 for a list of "green food labels"). As consumers are seeking more ethical products, some fair-trade markets are mainstreaming and allowing large-scale companies' goods to hold the certification. Entire industries can become tainted (if only minimally and for a short time) by news of unethical treatment in sweatshops or of human-rights abuses (in chocolate production, for example), despite the majority of farmers' upholding of international labor standards (Berlan 2012). Scholars have claimed that this growth of civic engagement through purchases and boycotts started in relation to the shift toward neoliberal global policies that made people feel that they had less access to political power through conventional means, leading them instead to corporations as a means of political action and of making positive changes in the world (Brown 2015; Low and Davenport 2006; Simon 2011). But corporations, for their part, fair-wash using mainstreamed products rather than making much positive change. This is a part of what

Harvey (2014:286), following Peter Buffet's terminology, calls the "growth of the charitable industrial complex" which, he warns,

> mainly reflects the need to increase "conscience laundering" for a world's oligarchy that is doubling its wealth and power every few years in the midst of economic stagnation. Their work has done little or nothing in aggregate to deal with human degradation and dispossession or proliferating environmental degradation.

The fair-trade market is positioned within conventional trade and, as Fridell (2006) asserts, fair trade is compatible with neoliberal globalization. Other research has demonstrated that fair trade draws on the same discourses used in conventional capitalism. For example, talk in fair-trade stores focuses on product attributes and prices, as do fair-trade mass-distributed emails (Krug 2014, 2015). Brown (2009, 2013), too, explains how consumers downplay their own morality and shift conversations from morals toward product attributes like taste, quality, and price, in order to form solidarity with others. Because it is so closely aligned with, and succumbs to, the same problems as conventional capitalism, fair trade likewise cannot be fully sustainable. Capital and sustainability are in contradiction, as the former requires continual compounding growth and increasing consumption (Harvey 2014). In sum, fair trade comes up against the "contradictions of capital" while also attempting to maintain ethics that are in further contradiction and cannot disrupt the structures that keep the poor poor (ibid.).

Fair trade is also similar to conventional trade in that it perpetuates inequalities among staff, clients, and artisans, leading to artisans' being excluded from many of the decisions involving them. There are even inequalities among different artisans, as some have greater access to markets than others. Their locations in relation to the MA

headquarters, access to tourists, markets, ceramic molds and designs, the internet, information on trends, dominant-language skills, artisanal techniques, high-quality materials and production equipment, talent, and, perhaps for some, commodified indigeneity or language use, are all factors in their success. These forms of symbolic, cultural, and social capital are converted to economic capital by artisans in different ways (Bourdieu 1977) and can lead to unequal access to clients, orders, and therefore income.

Fair-trade labels help to lead consumers into thinking that conventional trade is *not* "fair." They help to draw attention to conditions of production, especially in the Global South, that cause consumers concern or even guilt, which they are made to feel they can alleviate through their purchases of fair-trade and other products with ethical certifications. Neoliberal and developmental discourses position poverty alleviation within the purview of private corporations and organizations, as opposed to states, in such a way that the onus of social responsibility falls on Northern consumers. In other words, fair trade positions consumers as central actors in alleviating poverty for producers. Through clients' work in product-development meetings with producer organizations, consumers' desires are translated into products that can be purchased. Artisans' livelihoods, traditions, and children's educations rest on these innovations' success in the Global North. Additionally, because clients' desires are not transparently translated into Spanish for artisans' benefit, artisans are left unaware of information that could help them to succeed. In these ways, fair trade perpetuates relations of dominance and subordination between the Global North and the Global South (Dolan 2010a:148).

“Trade” May Have Won out over “Fair,” but at Least “Fair” Is out There

In many cases, fair trade is becoming only slightly more ethical than conventional trade (Marston 2013) as the two markets meet up in the mediocre middle. I anticipate that those fair-trade organizations and other ethical brands that are most rigorously governed by principles of remaining socially and environmentally ethical will continue to serve as examples for other such organizations. Mainstreaming has divided fair-trade consumers and scholars into different camps; the two approaches to implementing fair trade may be considered to be diverging. I am therefore in partial agreement with a prediction by Bob Chase (quoted in DeCarlo 2007:61), who, at the time he made it, was the CEO and president of SERRV International. He said,

> I think increasingly many people see Fair Trade as a way to ‘polish the rough edges of the capitalist system,’ to make the current system a bit more gentle. I think a move in this direction will result in the absorption of the movement into the mainstream capitalist system with little fundamental change in the global or local economies.

What Chase did not account for in his prediction are the most devoted, small-scale, mission-led fair-trade organizations, such as MA and the other Peruvian organizations discussed in this dissertation. I expect that those organizations that are most strongly dedicated to fair trade, whether certified or not, will become further differentiated from mainstreamed large-scale fair-trade businesses. Consumers who seek radical responses to conventional practices of global capitalism will most strongly support the form of fair trade that is vigorously upheld with stringent human- and planet-focused practices. To compete with mainstreamed varieties that are easier for consumers to find and obtain, mission-led fair-trade organizations will need clear, focused, thorough, and transparent

communication throughout their supply networks in order to differentiate their ethical practices from those of corporations that are using the fair-trade certification to hide unsavory practices—in other words, fair-washing.

The mainstreamed variety of fair trade may influence conventional trade practices to some extent and contribute to the improvement of all agricultural processes (the industry where mainstreaming most affects fair trade), if only minimally. Overall, though, the numerous small-scale fair-trade (and other ethical) organizations are already taking considerable steps to support marginalized producers and the environment while working within the constraints imposed on them by capital. It is these smaller-scale and rigorously mission-driven organizations that are most sustainable in the long term. Their continuity, however, will depend on whether they can successfully and creatively negotiate the demands of sustaining sales while supporting producers. Part of this sustainability will be dependent on educating consumers about the differences among fair-trade labels that represent either mainstreamed or mission-led organizations. The WFTO and FTF, for example, only certify "mission-led" organizations. For these certifiers, the entire organization is certified, rather than merely a few product lines, as is done for major corporations that obtain certification by FLOCERT (of Fairtrade International).

From their central position in the fair-trade implementation process, MA staff serve as intermediaries between the Global North and South. As mediators in a crucial juncture in the commodity network, they need to be aware of and to share global trends, speak multiple languages in order to be able to translate, communicate with a variety of

people, advance fair-trade protocols, find clients to order their products, and travel to visit clients and attend fair-trade conferences in order to understand the global reach of this alternative market and to share artisans' stories and challenges. MA is also in a midpoint position in regards to its moderate size and reach, with 25 clients. Some fair-trade organizations are able to visit their producers with more regularity than MA can and, if they sell only in one brick-and-mortar store, as do the fair-trade organizations that I visited in Cusco, they do not have to be concerned with exportation laws, tariffs, and shipping arrangements. There are trade-offs like these at every level of fair-trade implementation. Smaller organizations may be able to maintain closer relationships but not to afford fair-trade certification, and therefore appear less formal or perhaps less ethical to consumers. Larger organizations may have more complex networks to maintain but also perhaps more income to be able to support more staff to oversee implementation. It is therefore important to recognize that fair-trade certification can obscure practices and that uncertified organizations may treat producers just as ethically, if not more so, than those with a certification do. Of course, another essential consideration is that some certifications involve more rigorous standards than others.

Through Manos Amigas, artisans are paid on time, earn more for their products, and enjoy long-term relationships that build respect and provide help in times of emergencies. Not all fair-trade organizations offer the same level of camaraderie or ethical comportment. In Peru, artisans told me that some of the fair-trade exporting organizations, and especially non-fair-trade companies, were inconsistent, paid late, bargained artisans' prices down, and generally treated artisans poorly. Although affiliated

artisans have seen economic gains and have become more self-sufficient business people because of MA's support over the years, the organization could do more to help them overcome poverty and to become successful artisans. This dissertation has shown that fair trade often misses opportunities to include artisans in encounters with clients and in product development, and train them in international trends. Harnessing video technology would go a long way toward these efforts. Fair-trade clients could distribute videos about the trends that they are seeing to the organizations with which they work, and these videos could then be distributed to artisans. By utilizing these technologies in the headquarters, artisans could also be involved in meetings regarding their products without having to take the time and spend the money to journey there physically. Ideally, artisans would have more input and control over their product designs and would be able to include traditional elements as they desire.

Henrici (2010:284) asserts that "fair trade fails except in the short term and within specific instances to make either local exchanges or the global market more equitable and secure." Indeed, fair trade at Manos Amigas does work and has worked for artisans in the short-term, but this was more the case before the global recession than after. The organization is making a difference in artisans' lives by giving them a market (albeit an unpredictable one) on which to sell their products and by allowing them to send their children to school. Fair trade's long-term sustainability is not secure, but the next generation has in many cases been able to reduce the pains of poverty and to seek professional positions and higher education. Their lives are quite different from those of their parents, who faced war, migration, and discrimination because of their origins and

their Quechua-language use. The negotiated identity that artisans cultivate as urban migrants has now empowered their children. They have the agency to choose whether they wish to reinvigorate aspects of their culture, traditions, and the languages of their parents, and whether they wish to live as urban mestizos or to maintain aspects of both identities.

My recommendation to consumers is to research the brands that they frequently purchase. They should recognize that there is great diversity within the fair-trade market and that not all certifications have the same criteria. Whether products we purchase are fair-trade-certified or not, we as consumers should ask for more social and environmental justice from the companies from which we purchase. We should keep in mind, too, that even fair-trade purchases contribute to neocolonial structures of inequality and dependence that harm people and the planet. Under neoliberal policies, markets are deregulated and human issues are considered to fall outside of state control. Therefore, the responsibility of development and poverty alleviation falls to organizations and companies as opposed to governments, and individual consumers are expected to be able to make change by "voting with their dollars." But capitalism can never be sustainable and can be seen as the actual "barrier" to fair-trade sustainability (Gunderson 2013:115). Grimes (2005:246) summarizes these concerns well: "Fair traders realize that corporations' promotion of material goods as the road to happiness is untrue and unhealthy for people and the planet. Yet they, too, promote the purchasing of goods" (for similar critiques of green consumption in general, see Wilk 2012, 2013).

Because fair trade works within the structures of capitalism, it is plagued by the same contradictions as conventional trade that make it inherently unsustainable. The best compromise that I can recommend between, on one hand, the contradictions of capital and the dominance asserted over the South by the North through fair-trade discourses and, on the other hand, the support that mission-led fair-trade organizations provide to producers and their families is for consumers to demand continual improvements and increasing transparency from producers and to research the production practices behind their purchases whenever possible. Mission-driven, producer-led and -owned cooperatives and organizations should be considered the preferable options. When we need to make purchases, we should do as much as we can to make sure that they are as "fair" and "ethical" as possible for producers.

Artisans' stories, and the client–artisan encounters through which they are created, are key elements of the fair-trade supply chain and the importance of the alternative market that sets it apart from conventional trade. This research has been uniquely positioned to be able to access and analyze the discourses that are utilized in the encounters that bring Peruvian fair-trade organization staff and artisans into face-to-face communication with North American and European clients. Artisans' stories ripple out from the client–artisan encounters, impacting fair-trade relations in stores, within importing companies, and in marketing contexts. The encounters that I have analyzed represent a quintessential element of what constitutes fair trade, and by participating in them, clients, artisans, and staff formulate solidarity, build trust, and perpetuate and affirm what it means to "do" fair trade. They celebrate and perform compliance to fair-

trade principles, and socialize new participants into correct fair-trade behaviors and to enact effective future encounters.

By paying attention to the quotidian discourses of commonly occurring conversations of fair trade, I have demonstrated the important work language does at cross-cultural junctures that occur not only in fair trade, but in many business, non-profit, and development contexts. The linguistic anthropological approach that I have taken, involving making audiovisual recordings, transcribing, and analyzing the dynamics of everyday communication, allows for increased understanding of how concepts surrounding ethical production and product-development are formulated, affirmed, taken up, contextualized, and recontextualized across cultures, countries, socioeconomic classes, languages, and between the Global North and Global South. Fair trade spans the globe, but also reveals itself in a simple smile between an artisan and a client.

POSTSCRIPT

Social distancing. Quarantine. Stay-at-home orders. Lock-down. Flattening the curve. COVID-19. Novel Coronavirus. *Pandemic.* March 2020 has been a stressful and scary time to be a student, scholar, linguistic anthropologist, and human on the planet. Much has changed and has been variously disheartening, inspiring, and intriguing over the past few weeks: the speed at which we are collaborating and converting our lives to online spaces; the connections we are forming even while not leaving our homes; the neologisms like “quarantini”; the thousands of memes and videos taking over social media; the ways in which information is distributed at break-neck speed by the CDC, often to be ignored by our leaders; talk-show hosts and news anchors broadcasting from their homes; the shared sense of camaraderie and understanding as community members wait patiently in lines standing six feet apart, wearing masks, many of which are homemade, as the skeleton crews behind plexiglass panels complete our check-outs; smiling and waving to neighbors we have never met as we pass on our walks around the park or block even though we cross the street to avoid getting close. We are all in this together, we commonly hear. And all of our lives have been changed.

I defended this dissertation via Zoom, a previously fairly niche online platform that became a vehicle for work and social “gatherings” after we started to self-isolate and when stay-at-home orders were put in place. The weeks leading up to my March 27, 2020 dissertation defense were tense, nerve-wracking, confusing, fearful, distracting, and sobering. Would I be traveling back to Pennsylvania to enjoy seeing my friends and family and have a “real” defense? Would I have to learn a new platform and change all of

my long-awaited plans? Would I even have a defense at all? Would anyone show up? Could I even avoid checking the news constantly, stay focused, maintain my own health, contain my feelings of helplessness and guilt concerning others' safety, and manage to successfully defend?

Thanks to the tireless efforts of my advisor, the patience of my committee while pivoting their practices to change their courses to be taught online, and the College and University for implementing flexible policies, this dissertation was the first in the history of the Temple University Anthropology Department to not be defended in person. About 45 people were in attendance, and, despite feeling previously that something had been taken from me, I now feel extremely grateful that it was such a pleasant and enjoyable moment for family, friends, and colleagues to learn about my research, share comments and suggestions, and even transition to a "reception" feeling at the end, complete with sharing toasts and stories about my path as a student.

Despite my defense as a moment of celebration and joy, the COVID-19 Pandemic will, it seems, long have impacts on our economy, healthcare system, preparedness, families, and memories. Only time will tell how fair trade and this research are impacted by the hard months and years we face ahead. Yannina told me by email that so far, the artisans with whom she works still have handicrafts orders to complete and none had yet shown symptoms of having contracted the virus. Peru's president, Martín Vizcarra, quickly closed the country's borders to contain the spread of the virus, giving people in the country who needed to leave 24 hours to find a departing flight. Thousands of tourists, though, became "stuck" in the country, some without medicines and away from

family. Armed guards and police enforce Peruvians' strict curfews and people who have to leave their homes were wearing masks in public well before the same was true in the U.S. These stringent measures have helped to keep cases of the virus relatively low thus far in Peru, unlike in the U.S. Because Manos Amigas's artisans mostly have small family workshops and employ workers who can paint ceramic pieces at home, they have the flexibility to continue producing while maintaining physical distance. The ingenuity, creativity, sense of humor, and courage I have gotten to know in many Peruvians will serve them well in these "unprecedented times."

As this dissertation has explained, fair-trade stores, importers, and exporters were shutting their doors during my 2017 fieldwork. The visiting Italian client, Chiara, told artisans about how her organization was still feeling the impacts from the 2008 recession. Ten Thousand Villages, the largest and original fair-trade handicrafts organization in the U.S., has closed numerous stores in the last few years; its sprawling and beautiful flagship store in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, with café and hand-knotted-rug room, was set to close as of the fateful month, March 2020, and the pandemic has surely upset plans to find another location, if that is indeed the goal.

As is clear throughout this dissertation, visits from international clients to producer organizations are essential elements of fair-trade implementation, and they are key moments in the production of the stories and interpersonal connections that make fair trade important, different from conventional trade, and sought after by consumers. In my 2017 fieldwork, clients from the company I call Gifts that Give had the budget to travel about one time per year for these visits. I expect that many factors of the COVID-19

Pandemic—consumers hit by the economic plunge, unemployment, and health costs leading to fewer discretionary purchases; uncertainties about health and wellness; increased workloads for employees dealing with new problems; and organizations losing money and perhaps employees—will have a serious impact on fair trade in general and, in turn, on the frequency of client–artisan visits. As shopping is increasingly done online and in the comfort of one's home, the sense of wonderment upon entering a fair-trade store, similar to the experience I had as a child in the Ten Thousand Villages processing room, is less commonly felt. The sensory experience of visiting a fair-trade handicrafts store is one in which the colors and textures of products, the stories told by store associates from their knowledge of producers and the fair-trade mission, and the informative signage conveying photos of artisans come together to make shopping more than an errand, but a joyful *event*. Losing brick-and-mortar stores and limiting client visits to artisans will be major challenges that fair trade will need to address in coming years if it is to survive in the same capacity it does now.

At the moment, fair-trade certifiers and organizations are encouraging consumers to make purchases online, support local small businesses, donate, and comply with CDC recommendations to remain at home (the World Fair Trade Organization is using the Twitter hashtag #stayhomelivefair). Physical audits have been postponed by FLOCERT until April 22, putting a pause on new certifications, but they have implemented a "remote audit" system for existing certifications (Fairtrade International 2020). Global trade in general will face challenges like delays in shipping, shortages of shipping containers, volatile commodity sales prices (ibid.), and consumer uncertainty and

insecurity. When people have lost jobs, are unsure of their financial futures, and are living day to day, the desire for, and ability to purchase, “cute” handicrafts is reduced. Then again, what better time could there be, if you are able, to send a friend a beautiful pair of earrings for her important Zoom meeting, or buy a cheerful ceramic piece to brighten your home, the place where you will be for the foreseeable future?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Tom. 2014. “Brands Must Embrace the Future of Fully Conscious Consumption.” *The Guardian* website, Apr. 23. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/brands-data-conscious-consumption.

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 2012. “Modeling Convergence: Towards a Reconstruction of the History of Quechua-Aymaran Interaction. *Lingua* 122:461-69.

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 2014. “Endangered Languages with Millions of Speakers: Focus on Quechua in Peru.” *JournaLIPP* 3:1-12.

Agar, Michael. 2011. “Making Sense of One Other for Another: Ethnography as Translation.” *Language & Communication* 31:38-47.

Allen, Catherine J. 2002. *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. First published 1988.

Allpa. N.d.-a. “Our Story.” *Allpa* website. Accessed Feb. 20, 2020. https://allpaperu.com/our-story/.

Allpa. N.d.-b. “The Artisans.” *Allpa* website. Accessed Feb. 20, 2020. https://allpaperu.com/artisans/.

Amazon Handmade. N.d. “About.” *Amazon Handmade* website. Accessed Nov. 13, 2019. https://www.amazon.com/handmade-about/b?node=17004334011.

Anagnos, Chloe. 2019. “Fast Fashion on its Last Legs—Thank Millennials.” *Intellectual Takeout* website, Feb. 12. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.intellectualtakeout.org/article/fast-fashion-its-last-legs-thank-millennials.

Antrosio, Jason, and Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld. 2015. *Fast, Easy, and in Cash: Artisan Hardship and Hope in the Global Economy.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy.” *Economy, Theory, Culture and Society* 7:295-310.

Aranguri, Cesar, Brad Davidson, and Robert Ramirez. 2006. "Patterns of Communication through Interpreters: A Detailed Sociolinguistic Analysis." *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 21 (6): 623-29.

Austin, Timothy. 2017. "Stalking Horses: Fieldwork and the IRB." *Practicing Anthropology* 39 (4): 28-30.

Babb, Florence E. 2011. *The Tourism Encounter: Fashioning Latin American Nations and Histories.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Babb, Florence E. 2018. "Gender and Sexuality in the Andes." In *The Andean World*, edited by Linda J. Seligmann and Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, 403-17. London: Routledge.

Babb, Florence E. 2019. "Culture and Economy in the Urban Global South: Braided Inequalities among Andean Migrants in Lima, Peru." In *The Popular Economy in Urban Latin America: Informality, Materiality, and Gender in Commerce*, edited by Eveline Dürr and Juliane Müller, 133-51. New York: Lexington Books.

Bacon, Christopher. 2005. "Confronting the Coffee Crisis: Can Fair Trade, Organic, and Specialty Coffees Reduce Small-Scale Farmer Vulnerability in Northern Nicaragua?" *World Development* 33 (3): 497-511.

Bailey, Benjamin. 1997. "Communication of Respect in Interethnic Service Encounters." In *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, 114-36. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Barham, Bradford L., and Jeremy G. Weber. 2012. "The Economic Sustainability of Certified Coffee: Recent Evidence from Mexico and Peru." *World Development* 40 (6): 1269-79.

Barham, Elizabeth. 2002. "Towards a Theory of Values-Based Labeling." *Agriculture and Human Values* 19:349-60.

Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc. 2015. "Fairtrade Goodness: How Ben & Jerry's Ingredients do Good." *Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Inc.* website, Oct. 15. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.benjerry.com/whats-new/2015/fairtrade-goodness.

Berg, Ulla D. 2015. *Mobile Selves: Race, Migration, and Belonging in Peru and the U.S.* New York: New York University Press.

Berlan, Amanda. 2012. "Good Chocolate? An Examination of Ethical Consumption in Cocoa." In *Ethical Consumption: Social Value and Economic Practice*, edited by James G. Carrier and Peter G. Luetchford, 43-59. New York: Berghahn Books.

Besky, Sarah. 2010. "Colonial Pasts and Fair Trade Futures: Changing Modes of Production and Regulation on Darjeeling Tea Plantations." In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 97-122. New York: New York University Press.

Besky, Sarah. 2014. *The Darjeeling Distinction: Labor and Justice on Fair-Trade Tea Plantations in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. First published 1979.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language & Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brink-Danan, Marcy. 2015. "Faith in Conversation: Translation, Translanguaging, and the British God Debate." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 25 (2): 173-94.

Brown, Keith R. 2008. "Framing a Fair Trade Life: Tensions in the Fair Trade Marketplace." In *Lived Experiences of Public Consumption,* edited by Daniel Thomas Cook, 179-202. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brown, Keith R. 2009. "The Social Dynamics and Durability of Moral Boundaries." *Sociological Forum* 24 (4): 854-76.

Brown, Keith R. 2011. "Interaction Ritual Chains and the Mobilization of Conscientious Consumers." *Qualitative Sociology* 34:121-41.

Brown, Keith R. 2013. *Buying into Fair Trade: Culture, Morality, and Consumption*. New York: New York University Press.

Brown, Keith. 2015. "Consumer Politics, Political Consumption and Fair Trade." In *Handbook of Research on Fair Trade*, edited by Laura T. Raynolds and Elizabeth A. Bennett, 157-73. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Brulotte, Ronda. 2009. "'Yo Soy Nativo de Aquí': The Ambiguities of Race and Indigeneity in Oaxacan Craft Tourism." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 14 (2): 457-82.

Bunten, Alexis C. 2008. "Sharing Culture or Selling Out? Developing the Commodified Persona in the Heritage Industry." *American Ethnologist* 35 (3): 380-95.

Bunten, Alexis C. 2015. *"'So, How Long Have You Been Native?': Life as an Alaska Native Tour Guide.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Burchell, J. and J. Cook. 2006. "Confronting the 'Corporate Citizen': Shaping the Discourse of Corporate Social Responsibility." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 26 (3/4): 121-37.

Bureau of International Labor Affairs. N.d. "Child Labor and Forced Labor Reports: Peru." *U.S. Department of Labor* website. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/resources/reports/child-labor/peru.

Caselli, Clara, Stefania Mittiga, and Laure Jongejans. 2006. *El Desafío del Comercio Justo en América Latina: El Caso del Sector Artesanal.* Lima, Peru: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Católica Sedes Sapientiae.

Causey, Andrew. 2000. "The Hard Sell: Anthropologists as Brokers of Crafts in the Global Marketplace." In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes, and B. Lynne Milgram, 159-74. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Cavanaugh, Jillian R. 2007. "Making Salami, Producing Bergamo: The Transformation of Value." *Ethnos* 72 (2): 149-72.

Chan, Anita Say. 2011. "Competitive Tradition: Intellectual Property and New Millennial Craft." *Anthropology of Work Review* 32 (2): 90-102.

Cherro Osorio, Sandra Guisela, and Gary Best. 2015. "A Case Study on Culture Brokers and their Role in Tourism Management in the Indigenous Community of Taquile Island in Puno, Peru." *International Journal of Tourism Research* 17:347-55.

Chibnik, Michael. 2003. *Crafting Tradition: The Making and Marketing of Oaxacan Wood Carvings*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Chick, J. Keith. 1990. "The Interactional Accomplishment of Discrimination in South Africa." In *Cultural Communication and Intercultural Contact*, edited by Donal Carbaugh, 225-52. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Chidlow, Agnieszka, Emmanuella Plakoyiannaki, and Catherine Welch. 2014. "Translation in Cross-Language International Business Research: Beyond Equivalence." *Journal of International Business Studies* 45:462-582.

Clifford, James. 2013. *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Cohen, Jeffrey H. 2000. "Textile Production in Rural Oaxaca, Mexico: The Complexities of the Global Market for Handmade Crafts." In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes, and B. Lynne Milgram, 129-42. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Collins, James, and Stef Slembrouck. 2006. "'You Don't Know What They Translate': Language Contact, Institutional Procedure, and Literacy Practice in Neighborhood Health Clinics in Urban Flanders." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 16 (2): 249-68.

Conroy, Michael E. 2007. *Branded!: How the 'Certification Revolution' is Transforming Global Corporations.* Gabriola Island, BC, Canada: New Society Publishers.

Coronel-Molina, Serafín M. 2015. *Language Ideology, Policy and Planning in Peru.* Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Cotera Fretel, Alfonso. 2009. "El Comercio Justo y su Aporte al Desarrollo Humano, Inclusivo y Solidario en América Latina." In *Comercio Justo Sur-Sur: Problemas y potencialidades para el desarrollo del comercio justo en la Comunidad Andina de Naciones,* edited by Alfonso Cotera Fretel, Astrid Van Den Berg, Jean-Baptiste Cavalier, Luis Felipe Avella Villegas, Roberto Guerrero Vargas, Jenny Sánchez Perugachi, and Antonio Romero Reyes, 15-36. Lima, Peru: Grupo Red de Economía Solidaria del Perú (GRESP).

Darnell, Regna. 2000. "Translation." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9 (1-2): 251-54.

Davidson, Brad. 2000. "The Interpreter as Institutional Gatekeeper: The Social-Linguistic Role of Interpreters in Spanish-English Medical Discourse." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4 (3): 379-405.

Davidson, Brad. 2001. "Questions in Cross-Linguistic Medical Encounters: The Role of the Hospital Interpreter." *Anthropological Quarterly* 74 (4): 170-78.

de la Cadena, Marisol. 1995. "'Women are More Indian': Ethnicity and Gender in a Community near Cuzco." In *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*, edited by Brooke Larson, Olivia Harris, and Enrique Tandeter, 329-48. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

de la Cadena, Marisol. 2000. *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

De Pelsmacker, Patrick, Liesbeth Driesen, and Glenn Rayp. 2005. "Do Consumers Care about Ethics? Willingness to Pay for Fair-Trade Coffee." *The Journal of Consumer Affairs* 39 (2): 363-85.

DeCarlo, Jacqueline. 2005. "Fair Trade: Crafts, Commodities, and Curriculum." *International Educator* 14 (3): 4-6.

DeCarlo, Jaqueline. 2007. *Fair Trade: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

del Pino, Ponciano, and José Carlos Agüero. 2014. *Cada Uno, Un Lugar de Memoria: Fundamentos Conceptuales de Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social.* Lima: Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social.

Doane, Molly. 2010. "Relationship Coffees: Structure and Agency in the Fair Trade System." In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 229-57. New York: New York University Press.

Doherty, Bob, Iain A. Davies, and Sophi Tranchell. 2013. "Where Now for Fair Trade?" *Business History* 55 (2): 161-89.

Dolan, Catherine S. 2010a. "Fractured Ties: The Business of Development in Kenyan Fair Trade Tea." In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 147-75. New York: New York University Press.

Dolan, Catherine S. 2010b. "Virtual Moralities: The Mainstreaming of Fairtrade in Kenyan Tea Fields." *Geoforum* 41:33-43.

Dove, Michael R. 2006. "Indigenous People and Environmental Politics." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35:191-208.

Eber, Christine E. 2000. "That They Be in the Middle, Lord: Women, Weaving, and Cultural Survival in Highland Chiapas, Mexico." In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes, and B. Lynne Milgram, 45-64. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Eklöf, Niina, Maija Hupli, and Helena Leino-Kilpi. 2014. "Nurses' Perceptions of Working with Immigrant Patients and Interpreters in Finland." *Public Health Nursing* 32 (2): 143-50.

Elkington, John. 1997. *Cannibals with Forks: The Triple Bottom Line of 21st Century Business*. Gabriola Island, BC, Canada: New Society Publishers.

Enfield, Nicholas J. and Stephen C. Levinson. 2006. "Introduction: Human Sociality as a New Interdisciplinary Field." In *Roots of Human Sociality: Culture, Cognition and Interaction*, edited by Stephen C. Levinson and Nicholas J. Enfield, 97-125. New York: Berg.

Faier, Lieba, and Lisa Rofel. 2014. "Ethnographies of Encounter." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43:363-77.

Fair Trade Winds. N.d. "Guide to Fair Trade Labels." *Fair Trade Winds* website. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.fairtradewinds.net/guide-fair-trade-labels/.

Fairtrade International. 2020. "Fairtrade Together: COVID-19 Briefing." *Fairtrade International* website, Apr. 6. Accessed Apr. 10, 2020.

Falconi, Elizabeth. 2016. "Transborder Contact: Shifting Patterns of Linguistic Differentiation in a Zapotec Transborder Community." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 240:87-118.

Fallah, Maisam, and Omid Akbari. 2017. "The Role of Medical Translator/Interpreter in Bringing Satisfaction to Health Tourists at Razavi Hospital." *Razavi International Journal of Medicine* 5 (1): e42739.

Faudree, Paja. 2013. *Singing for the Dead: The Politics of Indigenous Revival in Mexico.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Fisher, Carolyn. 2007. "Selling Coffee, or Selling Out? Evaluating the Consequences of Different Ways to Analyze the Fair-Trade System." *Culture and Agriculture* 29 (2): 78-88.

Fridell, Gavin. 2004. "The Fair Trade Network in Historical Perspective." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue Canadienne D'études du Développement* 25 (3): 411-28.

Fridell, Gavin. 2006. "Fair Trade and Neoliberalism: Assessing Emerging Perspectives." *Latin American Perspectives* 33 (6): 8-28.

Fridell, Gavin. 2007a. "Fair-Trade Coffee and Commodity Fetishism: The Limits of Market-Driven Social Justice." *Historical Materialism* 15:79-104.

Fridell, Gavin. 2007b. *Fair Trade Coffee: The Prospects and Pitfalls of Market-Driven Social Justice.* Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.

Fridell, Gavin. 2014. "Fair Trade Slippages and Vietnam Gaps: The Ideological Fantasies of Fair Trade Coffee." *Third World Quarterly* 35 (7): 1179-94.

Friedrich, Paul. 1989. "Language, Ideology, and Political Economy." *American Anthropologist* 91:295-312.

Gagné, Natacha, and Benoît Trépid. 2016. "Introduction to Special Issue: Colonialism, Law, and the City: The Politics of Urban Indigeneity." *City & Society* 28 (1): 8-22.

Gal, Susan. 2015. "Politics of Translation." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 44:225-40.

García, Ofelia. 2009. "Education, Multilingualism and Translanguaging in the 21st Century." In *Multilingual Education for Social Justice: Globalising the Local*, edited by Ajit Mohanty, Minati Panda, Robert Phillipson, and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, 128-45. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

García Canclini, Néstor. 1993. *Transforming Modernity: Popular Culture in Mexico.* Translated by Lidia Lozano. Austin: University of Texas Press.

García-Sánchez, Inmaculada M. 2010. "Serious Games: Code-Switching and Gendered Identities in Moroccan Immigrant Girls' Pretend Play." *Pragmatics* 20 (4): 523-55.

García-Sánchez, Inmaculada M. 2014. *Language and Muslim Immigrant Childhoods: The Politics of Belonging.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

García-Sánchez, Inmaculada, and Marjorie Faulstich Orellana. 2006. "The Construction of Moral and Social Identity in Immigrant Children's Narratives-in-Translation." *Linguistics and Education* 17 (2006): 209-39.

García-Sánchez, Inmaculada M., Marjorie Faulstich Orellana, and Megan Hopkins. 2011. "Facilitating Intercultural Communication in Parent-Teacher Conferences: Lessons from Child Translators." *Multicultural Perspectives* 13 (3): 148-54.

Gestión. 2019. "¿Cuál es el Sueldo Mínimo en el Perú y Cómo ha Evolucionado en el Tiempo?" *Gestión* website, June 26. Accessed Nov. 13, 2019. https://gestion.pe/tu-dinero/finanzas-personales/sueldo-minimo-peru-aumento-nnda-nnlt-252048-noticia/.

Goodman, Michael. 2004. "Reading Fair Trade: Political Ecological Imaginary and the Moral Economy of Fair Trade Foods." *Political Geography* 23:891-915.

Goodman, Michael K., and Agatha Herman. 2015. "Connections in Fair Trade Food Networks." In *Handbook of Research on Fair Trade*, edited by Laura T. Raynolds and Elizabeth A. Bennett, 139-56. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Goodwin, Charles. 2006. "Human Sociality as Mutual Orientation in a Rich Interactive Environment: Multimodal Utterances and Pointing in Aphasia." In *Roots of Human Sociality: Culture, Cognition and Interaction*, edited by Stephen C. Levinson, and Nicholas J. Enfield, 97-125. New York: Berg.

Goodwin, Charles, and Marjorie Harness Goodwin. 2004. "Participation." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, 222-44. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Greathouse-Amador, Louisa M. 2005. "Tourism and Policy in Preserving Minority Languages and Culture: The Cuetzalan Experience." *Review of Policy Research* 22 (1): 49-58.

Grimes, Kimberly M. 2005. "Changing the Rules of Trade with Global Partnerships: The Fair Trade Movement." In *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*, edited by June Nash, 237-48. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Grimes, Kimberly M., and B. Lynne Milgram, eds. 2000a. *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy.* Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Grimes, Kimberly M., and B. Lynne Milgram. 2000b. "Introduction: Facing the Challenges of Artisan Production in the Global Market." In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes, and B. Lynne Milgram, 3-10. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Grodnik, Ann, and Michael E. Conroy. 2007. "Fair Trade Coffee in the United States: Why Companies Join the Movement." In *Fair Trade: The Challenges of Transforming Globalization,* edited by Laura T. Raynolds, Douglas Murray, and John Wilkinson, 83-102. New York: Routledge.

Gumperz, John J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gunderson, Ryan. 2013. "Problems with the Defetishization Thesis: Ethical Consumerism, Alternative Food Systems, and Commodity Fetishism." *Agriculture and Human Values* 2014 (31): 109-17.

Harrison, K. David. 2007. *When Languages Die: The Extinction of the World's Languages and Erosion of Human Knowledge.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, David. 2010. *A Companion to Marx's Capital.* New York: Verso.

Harvey, David. 2014. *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Heller, Monica. 2007. "Bilingualism as Ideology and Practice." In *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, edited by Monica Heller, 1-22. Palgrave Macmillan.

Heller, Monica. 2010a. "Language as Resource in the Globalized New Economy." In *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*, edited by Nikolas Coupland, 349-65. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Heller, Monica. 2010b. "The Commodification of Language." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:101-114.

Heller, Monica. 2014. "The Commodification of Authenticity." In *Indexing Authenticity: Sociolinguistic Perspectives,* edited by Véronique Lacoste, Jakob Leimgruber, and Thiemo Breyer, 136-55. Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Henrici, Jane. 2003. "Non-Governmental Organizations and Craft Producers: Exchanges South and North." *Visual Anthropology* 16:289-313.

Henrici, Jane. 2007. "Free Trade, Alternative Trade and Women in Peru: A First Look." *Journal of Developing Societies* 23 (1-2): 145-57.

Henrici, Jane. 2010. "Naming Rights: Ethnographies of Fair Trade." In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 283-98. New York: New York University Press.

Hill, Jane H. 2008. *The Everyday Language of White Racism.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hill, Michael Douglas. 2013. "Growing up Quechua: Ethnic Identity, Narrative, and the Cultural Politics of Childhood Migration in Cusco, Peru." *Childhood* 20 (3): 383-97.

Hirsch, Eric, and Kyle Jones. 2018. Hip Hop and Guinea Pigs: Contextualizing the Urban Andes. In *The Andean World*, edited by Linda J. Seligmann, Linda J. and Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, 555-70. London: Routledge.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1983. “Introduction: The Inventing of Traditions.” In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, 1-14. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hogue, Emily J., and Pilar Rau. 2008. “Troubled Water: Ethnodevelopment, Natural Resource Commodification, and Neoliberalism in Andean Peru.” *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 37 (3/4): 283-327.

Holmquist, Anna, Mats Manusson, and Mona Livholts. 2019. “Reinventing Tradition: Exploring the Creation of New Meaning through Innovations Involving Craft-Based Design.” *Creativity and Innovation Management* 28 (1): 124-37.

Hornberger, Nancy H. 1998. “Language Policy, Language Education, Language Rights: Indigenous, Immigrant and International Perspectives. *Language in Society* 27 (4): 439-58.

Hornberger, Nancy H. 2014. “Until I Became a Professional, I was Not, Consciously, Indigenous”: One Intercultural Bilingual Educator’s Trajectory in Indigenous Language Revitalization.” *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 13:283-99.

Hornberger, Nancy H., and Kendall A. King. 2001. “Reversing Quechua Language Shift in South America.” In *Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective*, edited by J. A. Fishman, 166-94. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Hornberger, Nancy H. and Serafín M. Coronel-Molina. 2004. “Quechua Language Shift, Maintenance, and Revitalization in the Andes: The Case for Language Planning.” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 167:9-67.

Hornberger, Nancy H., and Karl F. Swinehart. 2012. “Not Just Situaciones de la Vida: Professionalization and Indigenous Language Revitalization in the Andes.” *International Multilingual Research Journal* 6 (1): 35-49.

House, Juliane. 2015. *Translation as Communication Across Languages and Cultures*. New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

Howard, Philip H., and Daniel Jaffee. 2013. “Tensions Between Firm Size and Sustainability Goals: Fair Trade Coffee in the United States.” *Sustainability* 5 (1): 72-89.

Huarcaya, Sergio Miguel. 2018. "Plurinationality, Indigeneity, Neoliberalism, and Social Movements." In *The Andean World*, edited by Linda J. Seligmann and Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, 571-86. London: Routledge.

Huayhua, Margarita. 2014. "Racism and Social Interaction in a Southern Peruvian *Combi*." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (13): 2399-2417.

Huayhua, Margarita. 2018. "Labeling and Linguistic Discrimination." In *The Andean World,* edited by Linda J. Seligmann and Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, 418-35. London: Routledge.

Hudson, Ian, and Mark Hudson. 2003. "Removing the Veil? Commodity Fetishism, Fair Trade, and the Environment." *Organization and Environment* 16 (10): 413-30.

Hudson, Ian, Mark Hudson, and Mara Fridell. 2013. *Fair Trade, Sustainability and Social Change.* New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Hussey, Ian, and Joe Curnow. 2013. "Fair Trade, Neocolonial Developmentalism, and Racialized Power Relations." *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* 5 (1): 40-68.

Hussey, Ian, and Joe Curnow. 2016. "Fair Trade: From Solidarity to the Standardization of Neocolonial Relations." *Darkmatter Journal* website*,* Apr. 2. Accessed Jan 14, 2020. http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2016/04/02/fair-trade-from-solidarity-to-the-standardization-of-neocolonial-relations/.

Hymes, Dell, ed. 1971. *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI). 2018. "Perú: Perfil Sociodemográfico Informe Nacional. Censos Nacionales 2017: XII de Población, VII de Vivienda y III de Comunidades Indígenas." *Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI)* website. Aug. Accessed Sep. 6, 2018. https://www.inei.gob.pe/media/MenuRecursivo/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1539/libro.pdf.

Intercrafts Peru. 2019. "Associations CIAP." *Intercrafts Peru* website. Accessed Nov. 13, 2019. http://intercraftsperu.com/export/artisan/?lang=en.

Jackson, Jean. 2003. "Translating the Pain Experience." In *Translation and Ethnography: The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding,* edited by Tullio Maranhão and Bernhard Streck, 172-94. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Jackson, Jean E., and Kay B. Warren. 2005. “Indigenous Movements in Latin America, 1992-2004: Controversies, Ironies, New Directions.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34:549-73.

Jacquemet, Marco. 2014. “Transidioma and Asylum: Gumperz’s Legacy in Intercultural Institutional Talk.” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 23 (3): 199-212.

Jaffee, Daniel. 2007. *Brewing Justice: Fair Trade Coffee, Sustainability, and Survival.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jaffee, Daniel. 2012. “Weak Coffee: Certification and Co-Optation in the Fair Trade Movement.” *Social Problems* 59 (1): 94-116.

Jaffee, Daniel, and Philip H. Howard. 2010. “Corporate Cooptation of Organic and Fair Trade Standards.” *Agriculture and Human Values* 27 (4): 387-99.

Jansson, Gunilla and Cecilia Wadensjö. 2016. “Language Brokering in Multilingual Caregiving Settings.” *Communication & Medicine* 13 (3): 277-90.

Jansson, Gunilla, Cecilia Wadensjö, and Charlotta Plejert. 2017. “Managing Complaints in Multilingual Care Encounters.” *Multilingua* 36 (3): 1-33.

Johnson, Pierre, ed. 2003. *Comercio Justo: Propuestas para Intercambios Comerciales Solidarios al Servicio de un Desarrollo Sostenible.* Serie Economía Solidaria. Fundación Charles Léopold Mayer para el Progreso del Hombre (FPH) y Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas (CBC). Alianza por un Mundo Responsable, Plural y Solidario. Paris: Ediciones Charles Léopold Mayer. Cuzco, Peru: Imprenta de Centro Bartolomé de las Casas.

Kettler, Peter. 2019. “We Love Coffee. Are We Willing to Pay the Price?” *Fairtrade International* website, Jun. 5. Accessed Feb. 17, 2020. https://www.fairtrade.net/news/we-love-coffee-are-we-willing-to-pay-the-price.

Kimeldorf, Howard, Rachel Meyer, Monica Prasad, and Ian Robinson. 2006. “Consumers with Conscience: Will They Pay More? *Contexts* 5 (1): 24-29.

King, Robin Levinson. 2015. “The Ethics of Etsy.” *The Star* website, March 10. Accessed Oct. 2, 2019. https://www.thestar.com/business/2015/03/10/the-ethics-of-etsy.html.

Kistler, S. Ashley. 2014. *Maya Market Women: Power and Tradition in San Juan Chamelco, Guatemala.* Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Kleine, Dorothea. 2008. “Negotiating Partnerships, Understanding Power: Doing Action Research on Chilean Fairtrade Wine Value Chains.” *The Geographical Journal* 174 (2): 109-23.

Knobloch, Patricia J. 2019. “An Early Intermediate Period Deposit of Huarpa Style Ceramics from the Site of Huari, Department of Ayacucho, Perú.” *Who was Who in the Middle Horizon Andean Prehistory* website. Accessed Dec. 20, 2019. https://whowaswhowari.sdsu.edu/HuarpaNPms4Web.html.

Krug, Melissa K. 2014. “From Principles to Purchases: Comparing Entextualized and Conversational Discourses of Fair Trade.” Paper presented at the Temple Linguistics Conference: Language, Linguistics, and Life. Philadelphia, PA, May 2014.

Krug, Melissa K. 2015. “‘Othering’ Through Email: Utilization of Fair-Trade Discourses in Email Mailing Lists.” Unpublished Manuscript. Temple University, Philadelphia.

Krupic, Ferid, Mikael Hellström, Mirza Biscevic, Sahmir Sadic, and Nabi Fatahi. 2016. “Difficulties in Using Interpreters in Clinical Encounters as Experienced by Immigrants Living in Sweden.” *Journal of Clinical Nursing* 25:1721-28.

Krystallidou, Demi, and Peter Pype. 2018. “How Interpreters Influence Patient Participation in Medical Consultations: The Confluence of Verbal and Nonverbal Dimensions of Interpreter-Mediated Clinical Communication.” *Patient Education and Counseling* 101 (10): 1804-13.

Kvietok Dueñas, Frances J. 2019. “Youth Bilingualism, Identity and Quechua Language Planning and Policy in the Urban Peruvian Andes.” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Creative Commons.

La Serna, Miguel. 2018. “Revolutions and Violence.” In *The Andean World*, edited by Linda J. Seligmann and Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, 340-54. London: Routledge.

LeClair, Mark S. 2002. “Fighting the Tide: Alternative Trade Organizations in the Era of Global Free Trade.” *World Development* 30 (6): 949-58.

León, Juan Pablo. 2017. “Cantagallo: Shipibas Acusan a Exclusiva Marca Kuna de Copiar sus Diseños.” *Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica (CAAAP)* website, Sep. 15. Accessed Oct. 14, 2019. http://www.caaap.org.pe/website/2017/09/15/cantagallo-shipibas-acusan-a-exclusiva-marca-kuna-de-copiar-sus-disenos/.

Levi, Primo. 1989. *The Drowned and the Saved.* New York: Vintage/ Random House.

Levinson, Stephen C. 2006. “On the Human ‘Interactional Engine.’” In *Roots of Human Sociality: Culture, Cognition and Interaction*, edited by Stephen C. Levinson and Nicholas J. Enfield, 39-69. New York: Berg.

Linton, April. 2012. *Fair Trade from the Ground Up: New Markets for Social Justice*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Linton, April, Cindy Chiayuan Liou, and Kelly Anne Shaw. 2004. “A Taste of Trade Justice: Marketing Global Social Responsibility via Fair Trade Coffee.” *Globalizations* 1 (2): 223-46.

Little, Walter E. 2004a. *Mayas in the Marketplace: Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Identity.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Little, Walter E. 2004b. “Outside of Social Movements: Dilemmas of Indigenous Handicrafts Vendors in Guatemala.” *American Ethnologist* 31 (1): 43-59.

Little, Walter E. 2005. “Getting Organized: Political and Economic Dilemmas for Maya Handicrafts Vendors.” *Latin American Perspectives* 32 (5): 80-100.

Little, Walter E. 2008. “Living within the Mundo Maya Project: Strategies of Maya Handicrafts Vendors.” *Latin American Perspectives* 35 (3): 87-102.

Littrell, Mary Ann, and Marsha Dickson. 1999. *Social Responsibility in the Global Market: Fair Trade of Cultural Products.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Littrell, Mary Ann, and Marsha Dickson. 2010. *Artisans and Fair Trade: Crafting Development.* Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.

Logan, Joy. 2009. “Constructing Indigeneity in Argentina: At the Crossroads of Mountaineering, Tourism, and Re-Ethnification.” *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 14 (2): 405-31.

Low, Will, and Eileen Davenport. 2005a. “Has the Medium (Roast) Become the Message? The Ethics of Marketing Fair Trade in the Mainstream.” *International Marketing Review* 22 (5): 494-511.

Low, Will, and Eileen Davenport. 2005b. “Postcards from the Edge: Maintaining the ‘Alternative’ Character of Fair Trade.” *Sustainable Development* 13:143-53.

Low, Will, and Eileen Davenport. 2006. “Mainstreaming Fairtrade: Adoption, Assimilation, Appropriation.” *Journal of Strategic Marketing* 14:315-27.

Luetchford, Peter G. 2005. "Economic Anthropology and Ethics." In *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, edited by James G. Carrier, 390-404. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Luetchford, Peter G. 2012. "Consuming Producers: Fair Trade and Small Farmers." In *Ethical Consumption: Social Value and Economic Practice,* edited by James G. Carrier and Peter G. Luetchford, 60-80. New York: Berghahn Books.

Lynd, Martha. 2000. "The International Craft Market: A Double-Edged Sword for Guatemalan Maya Women." In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes, and B. Lynne Milgram, 65-83. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Lyon, Sarah. 2006a. "Evaluating Fair Trade Consumption: Politics, Defetishization and Producer Participation." *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 30 (5): 452-64.

Lyon, Sarah. 2006b. "Just Java: Roasting Fair Trade Coffee." In *Fast Food/ Slow Food: The Cultural Economy of the Global Food System,* edited by Richard R. Wilk, 241-58. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Lyon, Sarah. 2007. "Maya Coffee Farmers and Fair Trade: Assessing the Benefits and Limitations of Alternative Markets." *Culture and Agriculture* 29 (2): 100-12.

Lyon, Sarah. 2010. "A Market of Our Own: Women's Livelihoods and Fair Trade Markets." In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 125-46. New York: New York University Press.

Lyon, Sarah. 2011. *Coffee and Community: Maya Farmers and Fair-Trade Markets.* Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Lyon, Sarah. 2013. "Coffee Tourism in Chiapas: Recasting Colonial Narratives for Contemporary Markets." *Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment* 35 (2): 125-39.

M'Closkey, Kathy. 2000. "Part-Time for Pin Money": The Legacy of Navajo Women's Craft Production." In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes and B. Lynne Milgram, 143-58. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

M'Closkey, Kathy. 2010. "Novica, Navajo Knock-Offs, and the 'Net: A Critique of Fair Trade Marketing Practices." In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 258-82. New York: New York University Press.

MacCannell, Dean. 1984. “Reconstructed Ethnicity: Tourism and Cultural Identity in Third World Communities.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 11:375-91.

MacHenry, Rachel. 2000. “Building on Local Strength: Nepalese Fair Trade Textiles.” In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes and B. Lynne Milgram, 25-44. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Mannheim, Bruce. 2015. “All Translation is Radical Translation.” In *Translating Worlds: The Epistemological Space of Translation,* edited by Carlo Severi and William F. Hanks, 199-220. Chicago: Hau Books.

Mannheim, Bruce. 2018. “Three Axes of Variability in Quechua: Regional Diversification, Contact with Other Indigenous Languages, and Social Enregisterment.” In *The Andean World*, edited Linda J. Seligmann, Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, 507-23. London: Routledge.

Maranhão, Tullio. 2003. “Introduction.” In *Translation and Ethnography: The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding,* edited by Tullio Maranhão and Bernhard Streck, xi-xxvi. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Maranhão, Tullio and Bernhard Streck, eds. 2003. *Translation and Ethnography: The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding.* Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Markwick, Marion C. 2001. “Tourism and the Development of Handicraft Production in the Maltese Islands.” *Tourism Geographies* 3 (1): 29-51.

Marr, Tim. 2011. “‘Ya No Podemos Regresar al Quechua’: Modernity, Identity, and Language Choice among Migrants in Urban Peru. In *History and Language in the Andes*, edited by Paul Heggarty and Adrian J. Pearce, 215-38. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marston, Andrea. 2013. “Justice for All? Material and Semiotic Impacts of Fair Trade Craft Certification.” *Geoforum* 44:162-69.

Marx, Karl. 1992. *Capital: Volume I: A Critique of Political Economy.* Translated by Ben Fowkes. New York: Penguin Books. First published 1867.

Mauthofer, Tatjana, Elisabeth Schneider, Susanne Johanna Väth, and Friederike von Cölln. 2018. “Follow up Study – Assessing the Impact of Fairtrade on Poverty Reduction through Rural Development. *Fairtrade Deutschland* website, May 15.

Accessed Feb. 10, 2020. https://www.fairtrade-deutschland.de/fileadmin/DE/01_was_ist_fairtrade/05_wirkung/studien/2018_ceval_studie-fairtrade-und-laendliche-entwicklung_komplett.pdf.

Maynard, Dylan. 2015 "Imagined Communities, Tangible Limits: Sendero Luminoso and the Incongruity of Marxism and Nationalism." *International Social Science Review* 91 (4): 1-20.

McArdle, Louise, and Pete Thomas. 2012. "Fair Enough? Women and Fair Trade." *Critical Perspectives on International Business* 8 (4): 277-94.

Meneley, Anne. 2004. "Extra-Virgin Olive Oil and Slow Food." *Anthropologica* 46 (2): 165-76.

Meneley, Anne. 2007. "Like an Extra Virgin." *American Anthropologist* 109 (4): 678-87.

Mezzadra, Sandro, and Naoki Sakai Sakai. 2014. "Introduction to Issue 4." *Translation: A Transdisciplinary Journal* website. Accessed Jan. 2, 2019. http://translation.fusp.it/issues/issue-4. (No longer available).

Mignolo, Walter D. and Freya Schiwy. 2003. "Double Translation: Transculturation and the Colonial Difference." In *Translation and Ethnography: The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding,* edited by Tullio Maranhão and Bernhard Streck, 3-29. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Milgram, B. Lynne. 2000. "Reorganizing Textile Production for the Global Market: Women's Craft Cooperatives in Ifugao, Upland Philippines." In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes, and B. Lynne Milgram, 107-28. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Mintz, Sidney. 1971. "The Socio-Historical Background to Pidginization and Creolization." In *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, edited by Dell Hymes, 481-96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moberg, Mark. 2008. *Slipping Away: Banana Politics and Fair Trade in the Eastern Caribbean.* New York: Berghahn Books.

Moberg, Mark. 2010. "A New World? Neoliberalism and Fair Trade Farming in the Eastern Caribbean." In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 47-71. New York: New York University Press.

Moberg, Mark. 2014. "Certification and Neoliberal Governance: Moral Economies of Fair Trade in the Eastern Caribbean." *American Anthropologist* 116 (1): 8-22.

Moberg, Mark. 2016. "Market's End: Fair-Trade Social Premiums as Development in Dominica." *American Ethnologist* 43 (4): 677-90.

Moberg, Mark, and Sarah Lyon. 2010. "What's Fair? The Paradox of Seeking Justice through Markets." In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 1-23. New York: New York University Press.

Moeran, Brian. 2006. *Ethnography at Work.* New York: Berg.

Molinié, Antoinette. 2018. "'Indian' Identity and Indigenous Revitalization Movements." Translated by Jonathon Repinecz. In *The Andean World,* edited by Linda J. Seligmann and Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, 373-88. London: Routledge.

Moreno, Martín, and R.S. Oropesa. 2012. "Ethno-Racial Identification in Urban Peru." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (7): 1220-47.

Moseley, Christopher, ed. 2010. "Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd ed." *UNESCO* website. Accessed Jan. 15, 2016. http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas.

Moseley, William G. 2008. "Fair Trade Wine: South Africa's Post-Apartheid Vineyards and the Global Economy." *Globalizations* 5 (2): 291-304.

Mosaic. 2014. "Experience Peru – 2014 Learning Tour Travel Log." *Ten Thousand Villages*, *U.S.* website, Feb. 12. Accessed Oct. 13, 2019 https://www.tenthousandvillages.com/mosaic/experience-peru-2014-tour-travel-log/.

Moser-Mercer, Barbara. 2002. "Simultaneous Interpretation: A Theoretical Model and Its Practical Application." In *The Interpreting Studies Reader,* edited by Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger, 178-202. New York: Psychology Press.

Muehlmann, Shaylih. 2008. "'Spread your Ass Cheeks': And Other Things that Should Not Be Said in Indigenous Languages. *American Ethnologist* 35 (1): 34-48.

Muehlmann, Shaylih. 2016. "'Languages Die like Rivers': Entangled Endangerments in the Colorado Delta." In *Endangerment, Biodiversity, and Culture*, edited by Fernando Vidal and Nélia Dias, 41-61. New York: Routledge.

Mullin, Molly H. 2001. *Culture in the Marketplace*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Murray, Douglas L., and Laura T. Raynolds. 2007. "Globalization and its Antinomies: Negotiating a Fair Trade Movement." In *Fair Trade: The Challenges of Transforming Globalization*, edited by Laura T. Raynolds, Douglas Murray, and John Wilkinson, 3-14. New York: Routledge.

Murray, Douglas, Laura T. Raynolds, and Peter L. Taylor. 2003. "One Cup at a Time: Poverty Alleviation and Fair Trade Coffee in Latin America." *Center for Fair & Alternative Trade* website, Mar. Accessed Mar. 6, 2019. https://cfat.colostate.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/63/2009/09/One-Cup-at-a-Time.pdf.

Murray, Douglas, Laura T. Raynolds, and Peter L. Taylor. 2006. "The Future of Fair Trade Coffee: Dilemmas Facing Latin America's Small-Scale Producers." *Development in Practice* 16 (2): 179-92.

Nathan, Nicole. 2018. "The Holy Spirit as Translator: Religious Fellowship During Cross-Linguistic Mission Encounters." Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting: Resistance, Resilience, Adaptation. San Jose, CA, Nov. 2018.

Nicholls, Alex, and Charlotte Opal. 2005. *Fair Trade: Market-Driven Ethical Consumption.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Nourse, Jennifer W. 2002. "Who's Exploiting Whom? Agency, Fieldwork, and Representation among Lauje of Indonesia." *Anthropology and Humanism* 27 (1): 27-42.

Ochs, Elinor, and Lisa Capps. 2001. *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Okazaki, Akira. 2003. "Making Sense of the Foreign": Translating Gamk Notions of Dream, Self, and Body." In *Translation and Ethnography: The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding,* edited by Tullio Maranhão and Bernhard Streck, 152-71. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Orellana, Marjorie Faulstich. 2009. *Translating Childhoods: Immigrant Youth, Language, and Culture.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Pasquandrea, Sergio. 2011. "Managing Multiple Actions through Multimodality: Doctors' Involvement in Interpreter-Mediated Interactions." *Language in Society* 40 (4): 455-81.

Paulmann, Silke, and Ayse K. Uskul. 2014. "Cross-Cultural Emotional Prosody Recognition: Evidence from Chinese and British Listeners." *Cognition & Emotion* 28 (2): 230-44.

Paxson, Heather. 2010. "Locating Value in Artisan Cheese: Reverse Engineering *Terroir* for New-World Landscapes." *American Anthropologist* 112 (3): 444-57.

Pell, Marc D., Laura Monetta, Silke Pulmann, and Sonja A. Kotz. 2009. "Recognizing Emotions in a Foreign Language." *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 33:107-120.

Planas, Maria-Elena, Barend Middelkoop, Viviana Cruzado, and Annemiek Richters. 2016. "Navigating Ethnicity in Peru: A Framework for Measuring Multiple Self-Identification among Indigenous Quechua Women." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 11 (1): 70-92.

Portocarrero, Gonzalo. 2017. "Sendero Entrampado, por Gonzalo Portocarrero." *El Comercio* website, Sept. 13. Accessed Feb. 11, 2020. https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/columnistas/sendero-entrampado-gonzalo-portocarrero-noticia-457665-noticia/

Prasad, Monica, Howard Kimeldorf, Rachel Meyer and Ian Robinson. 2004. "Consumers of the World Unite: A Market-Based Response to Sweatshops." *Labor Studies Journal 29* (3): 57-79.

Pratt, Jeffrey. 2007. "Food Values: The Local and the Authentic." *Critique of Anthropology* 27 (3): 285-300.

Price, Joshua M., and María Lugones. 2003. "Problems of Translation in Postcolonial Thinking." *Anthropology News,* 44 (4): 7-9.

Pritzker, Sonya E. 2011. "The Part of Me that Wants to Grab: Embodied Experience and Living Translation in U.S. Chinese Medical Education." *Ethos* 39 (3): 395-413.

Quine, Willard Van Orman. 1960. *Word and Object.* Cambridge, MA: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Rasmussen, Susan J. 2010. "Performing Culture: A Tuareg Artisan as Cultural Interpreter." *Ethnology* 49 (3): 229-48.

Raymisa. 2019. "About Us." *Raymisa* website. Accessed Feb. 20, 2020. https://www.raymisa.com/about-us/.

Raynolds, Laura T. 2002. "Consumer/Producer Links in Fair Trade Coffee Networks." *Sociologia Ruralis* 42 (4): 404-24.

Raynolds, Laura T. 2004. "The Globalization of Organic Agro-Food Networks." *World Development* 32 (5): 725-43.

Raynolds, Laura T., and Elizabeth A. Bennett. 2015. "Introduction to Research on Fair Trade." In *Handbook of Research on Fair Trade*, edited by Laura T. Raynolds, and Elizabeth A. Bennett, 3-23. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Raynolds, Laura T., and Michael A. Long. 2007. "Fair/Alternative Trade: Historical and Empirical Dimensions." In *Fair Trade: The Challenges of Transforming Globalization,* edited by Laura T. Raynolds, Douglas Murray, and John Wilkinson, 15-32. New York: Routledge.

Raynolds, Laura T., Douglas Murray, and Peter Leigh Taylor. 2004. "Fair Trade Coffee: Building Producer Capacity via Global Networks." *Journal of International Development* 16:1109-21.

Reddy, Michael. 1979. "The Conduit Metaphor." *Metaphor and Thought 2*:285-324.

Reynolds, Jennifer F., and Marjorie Faulstich Orellana. 2009. "New Immigrant Youth Interpreting in White Public Space." *American Anthropologist* 111 (2): 211-23.

Reynolds, Jennifer F., and Marjorie Faulstich Orellana. 2015. "Translanguaging within Enactments of Quotidian Interpreter-Mediated Interactions." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 24 (3): 315-38.

Richey, Lisa Ann and Stefano Ponte. 2011. *Brand Aid: Shopping Well to Save the World.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Romero Reyes, Antonio. 2009. "El Comercio Justo en el Perú." In *Comercio Justo Sur-Sur: Problemas y Potencialidades para el Desarrollo del Comercio Justo en la Comunidad Andina de Naciones*, edited by Alfonso Cotera Fretel, Astrid Van Den Berg, Jean-Baptiste Cavalier, Luis Felipe Avella Villegas, Roberto Guerrero Vargas, Jenny Sánchez Perugachi, and Antonio Romero Reyes, 137-64. Lima, Peru: Grupo Red de Economía Solidaria del Perú (GRESP).

Roseberry, William. 1996. "The Rise of Yuppie Coffees and the Reimagination of Class in the United States." *American Anthropologist* 98 (4): 762-75.

Rosenbaum, Brenda. 2000. "Of Women, Hope, and Angels: Fair Trade and Artisan Production in a Squatter Settlement in Guatemala City." In *Artisans and Cooperatives: Developing Alternative Trade for the Global Economy,* edited by Kimberly M. Grimes and B. Lynne Milgram, 85-106. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Rowland, Michael Pellman. 2018. "Millennials are Driving the Worldwide Shift Away from Meat." *Forbes* website, Mar. 23. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.forbes.com/sites/michaelpellmanrowland/2018/03/23/millennials-move-away-from-meat/#32324104a4a4.

Rubel, Paula G., and Abraham Rosman. 2003a. "Introduction: Translation and Anthropology." In *Translating Cultures: Perspectives on Translation and Anthropology*, edited by Paula G. Rubel and Abraham Rosman, 1-22. New York: Berg.

Rubel, Paula G., and Abraham Rosman, eds. 2003b. *Translating Cultures: Perspectives on Translation and Anthropology*. New York: Berg.

Ruben, Ruerd, Ricardo Fort, and Guillermo Zúñiga-Arias. 2009. "Measuring the Impact of Fair Trade on Development." *Development in Practice* 19 (6): 777-88.

Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Sánchez, Liliana, and Elisabeth Mayer. 2018. "Linguistic Attitudes toward Shipibo in Cantagallo: Reshaping Indigenous Language and Identity in an Urban Setting." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 22 (4): 466-87.

Sauter, Disa A., Frank Eisner, Paul Ekman, and Sophie K. Scott. 2010. "Cross-Cultural Recognition of Basic Emotions through Nonverbal Emotional Vocalizations." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America (PNAS)* 107 (6): 2408-12.

Scollon, Ron, and Suzanne Wong Scollon. 2001. *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. First Published 1995.

SCS Global Services. N.d. "Starbucks C.A.F.E. Practices: Ensuring Ethical Sourcing for Coffee." *SCS Global Services* website. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. www.scsglobalservices.com/services/starbucks-cafe-practices.

Sebba, Mark. 1997. *Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Serrv International. N.d. "Manos Amigas." *Serrv International* website. Accessed Nov. 13, 2019. https://www.serrv.org/product/manos-amigas/peru.

Shankar, Shalini. 2008. *Desi Land: Teen Culture, Class, and Success in Silicon Valley*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Shreck, Aimee. 2002. “Just Bananas? Fair Trade Banana Production in the Dominican Republic.” *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food* 10 (2): 13-23.

Silverstein, Michael. 1996. “Encountering Language and Languages of Encounter in North American Ethnohistory.” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 6 (2): 126-44.

Silverstein, Michael. 2003. “Translation, Transduction, Transformation: Skating ‘Glossando’ on Thin Semiotic Ice.” In *Translating Cultures: Perspectives on Translation and Anthropology*, edited by Paula G. Rubel and Abraham Rosman, 75-105. New York: Berg.

Simon, Bryant. 2011. “Not Going to Starbucks: Boycotts and the Out-Sourcing of Politics in the Branded World.” *Journal of Consumer Culture* 11 (2): 145-67.

Sinervo, Aviva and Michael D. Hill. 2011. “The Visual Economy of Andean Childhood Poverty: Interpreting Postcards in Cusco, Peru.” *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 16 (1): 114-42.

Sleptsova, Marina, Heidemarie Weber, Andrea C. Schöpf, Matthias Nübling, Naser Morina, Gertrud Hofer, and Wolf Langewitz. 2017. “Using Interpreters in Medical Consultations: What is Said and What is Translated – A Descriptive Analysis using RIAS.” *Patient Education and Counseling* 100 (2017): 1667-71.

Smith, Julia. 2007. “The Search for Sustainable Markets: The Promise and Failures of Fair Trade.” *Culture and Agriculture* 29 (2): 89-99.

Smith, Julia. 2010. “Fair Trade and the Specialty Coffee Market: Growing Alliances, Shifting Rivalries. In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 28-46. New York: New York University Press.

Smith, Kimbra. 2016. “*Like the Chameleon who Takes on the Colors of the Hills*: Indigeneity as Patrimony and Performance in Coastal Ecuador.” *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 21 (1): 19-38.

Starbucks. 2017. “Global Social Impact: 2017 Performance Report.” *Starbucks* website. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://globalassets.starbucks.com/assets/8c1f8c07efde407e9d48bfaf518c0b45.pdf.

Starbucks. 2019. “Goals & Progress: Coffee Purchasing.” *Starbucks* website. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.starbucks.com/responsibility/global-report/ethical-sourcing/coffee-purchasing.

Stephen, Lynn. 2005. “Women’s Weaving Cooperatives in Oaxaca: An Indigenous Response to Neoliberalism.” *Critique of Anthropology* 25 (3): 253-78.

Stoddart, Paul. 2011. “Development through Fair Trade: Candour or Deception?” *Economic Affairs* 31 (1): 131-34.

Streck, Bernhard. 2003. “Translation as Pontificium: The Task of the Humanities.” In *Translation and Ethnography: The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding,* edited by Tullio Maranhão and Bernhard Streck, 195-208. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Sullivan, Colleen. 2018. “Abimael Guzmán.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* website, Dec. 2. Accessed Jan. 19, 2020. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abimael-Guzman.

Sumida Huaman, Elizabeth. 2014. “‘You’re Trying Hard, but it’s Still Going to Die’: Indigenous Youth and Language Tensions in Peru and the United States.” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 45 (1): 71-86.

Suranovic, Steven. 2015. “The Meaning of Fair Trade. In *Handbook of Research on Fair Trade,* edited by Laura T. Raynolds and Elizabeth A. Bennett, 45-60. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Swinehart, Karl F. 2012a. “The Enregisterment of *Colla* in a Bolivian (Camba) Comedy.” *Social Text* 30 (4, 113): 81-102.

Swinehart, Karl. 2012b. “Tupac in their Veins: Hip-Hop Alteño and the Semiotics of Urban Indigeneity.” *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 16: 79-96.

Ten Thousand Villages, and Mennonite Central Committee. 2011. “MCC and Ten Thousand Villages Announce New Partnership Relationship.” *Mennonite World Review* website, July 4. Accessed Nov. 13, 2019. http://www.mennoworld.org/archived/2011/7/4/mcc-and-ten-thousand-villages-announce-new-partner/.

Ten Thousand Villages, Canada. 2019. “Tiny Matchbox Tree-Topper Snowman Scene.” *Ten Thousand Villages Canada* website. Accessed Oct. 2, 2019. https://www.tenthousandvillages.ca/shop/en/all-products/6114073-tiny-matchbox-tree-topper-snowman-scene.html. (Available when product is in stock).

Ten Thousand Villages, U.S. N.d.-a. “Manos Amigas.” *Ten Thousand Villages, U.S.* website. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.tenthousandvillages.com/manos-amigas.

Ten Thousand Villages, U.S. N.d.-b. "The Start was a Humble One." *Ten Thousand Villages, U.S.* website. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://www.tenthousandvillages.com/about-history/.

Thomason, Sarah G., 2001. *Language Contact: An Introduction*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Tiffany, Sharon W. 2004. "'Frame that Rug!': Narrative of Zapotec Textiles as Art and Ethnic Commodity in the Global Marketplace." *Visual Anthropology* 17 (3-4): 293-318.

Tihanyi, Catherine. 2004. "An Anthropology of Translation." *American Anthropologist* 106 (4): 739-742.

Torres, Alfredo. 2017. "Al Rescate del Censo, por Alfredo Torres." *El Comercio* website, Oct. 29. Accessed Nov. 1, 2017. https://elcomercio.pe/opinion/columnistas/rescate-censo-alfredo-torres-noticia-469570-noticia/.

Trubek, Amy B. 2008. *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Urciuoli, Bonnie. 1995. "Language and Borders." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:525-46.

Urciuoli, Bonnie. 1996. *Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experiences of Language, Race, and Class.* Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Valentina. 2019. "Inside our New Maker-to-Market Spaces." *Mosaic: A Blog from Ten Thousand Villages* website, Oct. 24. Accessed Jan. 24, 2020. https://www.tenthousandvillages.com/mosaic/inside-our-new-maker-to-market-spaces/.

Varul, Matthias Zick. 2008. "Consuming the Campesino: Fair Trade Marketing Between Recognition and Romantic Commodification." *Cultural Studies* 22 (5): 654-79.

Varul, Matthias Zick and Dana Wilson-Kovacs. 2008. "Fair Trade Consumerism as an Everyday Ethical Practice – A Comparative Perspective: An ESRC-funded Research Project at the University of Exeter." *University of Exeter* website, June. Accessed Feb. 11, 2020. https://people.exeter.ac.uk/mzv201/FT%20Results.pdf.

Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility*. Routledge.

Viatori, Maximilian. 2007. “Zápara Leaders and Identity Construction in Ecuador: The Complexities of Indigenous Self-Representation.” *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 12 (1): 104-33.

Wadensjö, Cecilia. 2008. “Community Interpreting.” In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies,* edited by Mona Baker, and Gabriela Saldanha, 43-48. New York: Routledge. First published 1998.

Weismantel, Mary. 2005. “Afterword: Andean Identities: Multiplicities, Socialities, Materialities.” In *Natives Making Nation: Gender, Indigeneity, and the State in the Andes*, edited by Andrew Canessa, 181-93. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Weismantel, Mary, and Stephen F. Eisenman. 1998. “Race in the Andes: Global Movements and Popular Ontologies.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17 (2): 121-42.

Wherry, Frederick F. 2008a. *Global Markets and Local Crafts: Thailand and Costa Rica Compared*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wherry, Frederick F. 2008b. “The Play of Authenticity in Thai Handicraft Markets.” In *Lived Experiences of Public Consumption: Encounters with Value in Marketplaces on Five Continents*, edited by Daniel T. Cook, 13-30. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wilk, Richard. 2012. “Thinking Big about Consumerism.” *HuffPost* website, Dec. 19. Accessed Feb. 6, 2020. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/thinking-big-about-consum_b_2317917.

Wilk, Richard. 2013. “Green Consumerism is No Solution.” *HuffPost* website, Jun. 14. Accessed Feb. 6, 2020. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/green-consumerism-is-no-solution_b_3437457.

Wilson, Patrick C. 2010. “Fair Trade Craft Production and Indigenous Economies: Reflections on “Acceptable” Indigeneities.” In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 176-197. New York: New York University Press.

Woolard, Kathryn A. 2004. “Codeswitching.” In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, 73-94. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

World Fair Trade Organization. 2017. “10 Principles of Fair Trade.” *World Fair Trade Organization* website, Nov. Accessed Feb. 24, 2020. https://wfto.com/fair-trade/10-principles-fair-trade.

World Fair Trade Organization. 2019. “WFTO Membership Fee Policy Paper.” *World Fair Trade Organization* website, April. Accessed Oct. 10, 2019. https://wfto.com/sites/default/files/Membership%20Fee%20Policy%202019_1.pdf.

World Fair Trade Organization. N.d-a. “About Us.” *World Fair Trade Organization* website. Accessed Oct 10, 2019. https://wfto.com/about-us.

World Fair Trade Organization. N.d.-b. “How to Stay a WFTO Guaranteed Fair Trade Organisation.” *World Fair Trade Organization* website. Accessed Oct 10, 2019. https://wfto.com/members-and-products/staying-with-us.

World Fair Trade Organization. N.d.-c. “Members Directory.” *World Fair Trade Organization* website. Accessed Oct 10, 2019. https://wfto.com/who-we-are#members-directory.

World Fair Trade Organization. N.d.-d. “What we Do.” *World Fair Trade Organization* website. Accessed Oct. 13, 2019. https://wfto.com/what-we-do.

Wortham, Stanton. 2001. *Narratives in Action: A Strategy for Research and Analysis.* New York: Teachers’ College Press, Columbia University.

Wright, Caroline. 2004. “Consuming Lives, Consuming Landscapes: Interpreting Advertisements for Cafédirect Coffees.” *Journal of International Development* 16:665-80.

Wroblewski, Michael. 2012. “Amazonian Kichwa Proper: Ethnolinguistic Domain in Pan-Indian Ecuador.” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 22 (1): 64-86.

Wroblewski, Michael. 2014. “Public Indigeneity, Language Revitalization, and Intercultural Planning in a Native Amazonian Beauty Pageant.” *American Anthropology* 116 (1): 65-80.

Yrigoyen, María del Carmen. 2017. “Voluntarias del Censo Soportaron Maltratos y Falta de Organización.” *El Comercio* website, Oct. 29. Accessed Feb. 12, 2020. https://elcomercio.pe/peru/voluntarias-censo-soportaron-maltratos-falta-organizacion-noticia-469573-noticia/.

Ziegler, Catherine. 2007. *Favored Flowers: Culture and Economy in a Global System.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ziegler, Catherine. 2010. “Fair Flowers: Environmental and Social Labeling in the Global Cut Flower Trade.” In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies,* edited by Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg, 72-96. New York: New York University Press.

Zorn, Elayne. 2004. *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island.* Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

APPENDIX A

NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION

Symbol	Meaning
Underline	Emphasis, Stress
.	Lowered Pitch
?	Raised Pitch
!	High Pitch, Excitement
(pause)	Long Pause
(.)	Short Pause
,	Suspended Intonation
( )	Unintelligible
(words)	Unclear
[…]	Portion Omitted (a few seconds, to a few minutes)
::	Lengthening of Previous Vowel or Syllable
de-	Trails Off
~	No Time Between
[addition]	Addition for Clarification
((chuckles))	Nonverbal Vocal Behavior
=	Latching with Previous Utterance
[	Overlapping Talk
< >	Slower Pace of Talk
> <	Faster Pace of Talk
° °	Quiet Talk
°° °°	Very Quiet Talk

Chapters 1 and 2 use common conventions for written Spanish and English such as question marks only for questions and punctuation at the beginning and end of Spanish phrases for increased readability. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 utilize the conventions listed above.

English translations are my own throughout the dissertation. English translations include the above transcription conventions in the corresponding places to match quotations originally in Spanish. This was done to help English-readers "hear" quotations in a similar way they were said.

Translations, and indeed transcripts, are meant to help readers follow the analysis, but cannot adequately convey the full range of meanings present in the original utterances.

Transcripts usually omit the interjecting sounds I made while interviewing, like "um," "ah," "oh," "ok," "wow," "mhmm," or briefly clarification-type questions. This helps to continue flow of conversation and simplify transcripts.

I transcribed Quechua-inflected vowels, if and when they occurred, with conventional Spanish spellings.