Crafting Fair Trade Tourism: Gender, Race, and Development in Peru[1]

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Abstract

Craft production, fair trade, and tourism have interacted with one another since the mid-twentieth century. In Peru, artisans and aid organizations have sold craftwork for decades through a range of approaches, which include tourism projects and fair trade methods. Certain groups working with crafts in Peru and elsewhere now seek to ensure that fair trade and tourism merge formally. The goal for involved cooperatives, agencies, and organizations is for tourism to follow fair trade principles, primarily in order to assure better income for small-scale artisans, agriculturalists, and herders. In

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addition, proponents intend that what is called "responsible" or, in certain contexts, "fair trade" tourism should help smaller scale producers and laborers gain more equitable and stable relations with consumers and world markets, all without worsening the environment. Although both fair trade and tourism struggle with their own issues of inequality and sustainability, the effort to combine fair trade with tourism nevertheless seems useful to examine as part of public anthropological concerns with conditions of disparity. The potential effects of fair trade tourism, in particular on socioeconomic and environmental conditions among less powerful communities and unequally treated members of those communities, are worth exploration. Based on a review of some of the relevant scholarship, and on material from multiple ethnographic research projects in Peru, this chapter will briefly trace the background and issues of fair trade and tourism as they link together. This chapter also will consider critically some of the problems, and possibilities, of mixing fair trade with tourism and suggest points to consider for the future.

1. Introduction

> Para que no olviden como preparar los dulces, y para que siguen adelante… [So that they don't forget how sweets are made, and so that they continue to go forward…][2]

Rosa María[3] sits behind a folding table, under a shade tree at the back of a hotel located on Peru's southern coast. Although within a few meters of the hotel's swimming pool and sunbathing area, Rosa María's table stands off of the pavement, and approaching it requires crossing the hotel's grass-covered yard. To attract hotel guests willing to make that journey, Rosa María has covered her table with a lace-like cloth on which she has stacked her homemade sweets in containers dangling with labels.

2 Quote from Afro-Peruvian culinary artisan to describe the objectives of her women's cooperative in southern coastal Peru, 2013.

3 The respondent's name has been changed.

These labels display the name of the Afro-Peruvian women's cooperative of which Rosa María is a member. Also on each label is the name and contact information for the European nongovernmental organization (NGO) that supported her group's culinary fair trade enterprise as part of development toward recovery from the 2007 earthquake devastation. When asked, Rosa María expresses pride in the traditional Afro-Peruvian sweets that she makes and sells as well as in the small cooperative with which she works: the quote above is her description of one of the group's objectives.

Behind the hotel, her set up is next to two others that belong to a married couple, of which the man works to sell paintings and the woman jewelery that they respectively have done. Unlike Rosa María, these artisan vendors work without cooperative or other institutional affiliation.

Rosa María and the couple are acquainted from their shared experiences within the circuit of tourist sites and events along the Peruvian desert coast. The efforts of these artisan-vendors, to sell fair trade cooperative products side-by-side with non-affiliated goods while kept off to one side of a much larger scale conventional enterprise, are common to socioeconomic activities worldwide. The fact that, before arriving at her table, customers seeking Rosa María's fair trade culinary crafts must walk through a well-watered grassy green lawn—a surface entirely exogenous to the local desert sands—meanwhile seems both an undermining of fair trade standards of environmental and socioeconomic sustainability and the sort of compromise that frequently appears in fair trade practices.

Fig. 1 – Member of a farming community and Afro-Peruvian cooperative along the southern Peruvian coast selling her traditional home-made sweets using containers and marketing labels provided by the Italian NGO Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI), 2013 (Photo Jane Henrici)

As this ethnographic vignette indicates, fair trade does not form a tidy utopic alternative, either to the dominant economic system or to any mainstream effort at socioeconomic development, poverty reduction, or post-disaster recovery. Extensive studies by anthropologists and others of fair trade in operation have described its inconsistencies and its areas in need of improvement (cf. Jaffee, 2007; Lyon & Moberg, 2010). Among issues of concern: gender[4] and racial and ethnic group inequalities associated with both agriculture and urban work have arisen within fair trade practices. At the same time, labor and environmental protections have not always taken hold (Lyon, 2011; Moberg, 2010; Steinkopf Rice, 2010).

Nevertheless, anthropological and related research also suggests that fair, or "alternative," trade has helped address inequities in labor relations,

4 "Gender" refers to perceptions and expectations concerning characteristics and behaviors considered feminine or masculine; gender pertains to female, male, or other persons as well as to unequal relations among them.

environmental conditions, and consumer-producer relations. Although apparently limited in range and duration, and often tempered by new problems such as those mentioned, these results encourage continuing with fair trade if accompanied by efforts to make it better (Biggs & Lewis, 2009; Jaffee, 2007; Lyon, 2011).

Fair trade meanwhile has come to influence a growing range of products, projects, and service sector businesses (Lyon & Moberg, 2010). Among the many industries affected by fair trade is that of tourism (Kalisch, 2011). For its part, tourism—both conventionally commercial and as part of planned development—has long overlapped as an income source with fair trade crafts and foodstuffs through retail and export sales (cf. Henrici, 1999, 2002, 2007b; Little, 2004; Zorn, 2004).

Across Peru, as this chapter briefly will describe, craft producers and piece workers as well as organizations working to help them have responded to drops in tourism and other retail sales with income through exportation, then switched back again to focus on tourism when exports fell. Neither tourism nor exportation alone typically has been sufficient to sustain local households and communities. Many artisan-producers use crafts as a supplement to other ways to feed families. At the same time, farmers, herders, and laborers, and the agencies and organizations working with them seek to avoid losing the helpful added income when conditions change. Moving between tourism, and other forms of selling crafts and services, has been an adaptation that producers and vendors have made.

While fair trade and other crafts have interacted with all types of tourism for decades, the conscious and formal merger of fair trade with tourism is a relatively new in Peru and worldwide. Advocates argue that combining fair trade principles with tourism operations should sustain households and communities better than either fair trade or tourism alone. The combination, enthusiasts claim, also might go beyond other forms of fair trade in response to intersectional[5] gender, ethnic group, and race disparities.

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5 *Intersectionality* is a feminist term as described by Kimberlé Crenshaw, to refer to the interaction among forms of oppression that affect multiple aspects of identity. Characteristics and conditions of discrimination and inequality that affect gender *intersect* with others such as ethnic and race group identity, and age, socioeconomic class, and sexuality (cf. Crenshaw, 1989).

As this chapter will discuss, the joining of fair trade with tourism is important to critically examine as part of public anthropological concerns with conditions of inequality, their effect on socioeconomic and environmental vulnerability and resilience, and possible methods to counter those. Based on an analysis of multiple sources, including ethnographic research in Peru across two decades, this chapter will describe some of the problems and possibilities of mixing fair trade with tourism and suggest directions for future work.

2. Fair trade principles and certifications

What is called "responsible," and in certain contexts developed as "fair trade," tourism is not yet as formalized as other fair trade activities have become (Strambach & Surmeier, 2013). In contrast, sectors of fair trade outside of tourism have developed complex, if contentious, formal methods to meet and label standards of practice. Fair trade participants, who include such diverse representatives as hillside subsistence pastoralists and transnational corporate executive officers, nevertheless do not all agree about what constitutes fair trade.

Fair trade certification and labeling of both organizations and their goods meanwhile have increased sales. This means that debates about membership, certification, and labeling are relevant to fair trade tourism. Formalizing responsible tourism, and using fair trade labels for its activities and goods, could affect incomes for producer-vendors such as Rosa María.

2.1 The power to trade

Fair trade is both a movement for social justice and a network for operation. Many of those involved in the movement and the network strive to have local producer- and laborer-members reach sustainable, and thus more resilient, socioeconomic levels. In general, fair trade seeks to redress structural and systemic imbalances in socioeconomic relations and environmental

conditions, although what that entails and how to do it remain under debate (Raynolds, Murray & Wilkinson, 2007).

In addition, the social justice, aid, development, disaster recovery, and producer-vendor groups involved with fair trade divide over which values and populations are more important. Addressing socioeconomic disparities in gender and racial and ethnic group relations were among fair trade objectives from the start; however, responding to issues of relative poverty and highlighting national or ethnic cultural diversity have tended to take precedence in practice (Steinkopf Rice, 2009).

By the mid-twentieth century, the fair trade movement and network sought to help small-scale producers profit enough to continue making goods and laborers to survive on their wages earned. The nineteenth-century advocacy movement behind the forerunners of the contemporary twenty-first-century network strove to challenge the effects of European colonial exploitation, American slavery, and global worker-producer hardship by means of consumer boycotts, information sharing, and preferential purchasing (Trentmann, 2007). The mid-twentieth-century movement and network sought to help small-scale producers profit enough to continue making goods and laborers to survive on their wages earned. Tactics for reaching these goals included marketing goods at higher prices, subsidizing profits, and shielding incomes from middle merchant or sub-contractor fees (Davenport & Low, 2012; Raynolds, 2012).

Fig. 2 – Traditional fair, for exchanging food for ceramics among those of different communities in the Department of Cusco, Peru, 1984 (Photo Jane Henrici)

Some supporters apparently believe, or at least would prefer, that truly fair trade would allow laborers and producers to sell services and goods directly to final consumers, with no need for middle merchants or retailers (Doane, 2010). Despite that notion, within fair trade activities, thousands of groups now operate as brokers, export-import firms, and retailers—and these include indigenous artisans who market and sell others' wares. Many such groups are incorporated, often for tax and tariff reasons, as "alternative" trading organizations (ATOs).

Although not all ATOs originated as explicitly or even implicitly fair trade, ATOs nevertheless have become critical to fair trade. ATOs vary in their objectives, structures, and methods. Local and regional ATOs seem able to operate with a flexibility sometimes needed in response to, and in spite of, relative inflexibility in the demands made by larger ATOs and foundations (Biggs & Lewis, 2009; Henrici, 2003; LeClair, 2002). At every level, most ATOs take less than conventional profits from sales, accept a range of private and public supports, and reinvest earnings into aid or direct payments for member cooperatives or households (Jones, Smith & Wills, 2012).

During the 1950s–1960s, ATOs were launched to ensure that small-scale producer-members would make profits higher than with conventional sales (Davenport & Low, 2012). Some ATOs sought sustainable income. Other

ATOs sought sales as supplements to farming, fishing, or herding or, to a lesser extent, wage jobs (LeClair, 2002; Steinkopf Rice, 2009; Wilson, 2010).

ATOs have competed, as well as partnered, with both conventional and governmental entities to sell goods through specialty shops, tourist sites, and international export businesses—and that includes across Peru. Studies in Peru also demonstrate that ATOs have provided leadership and career opportunities for women, particularly those from more advantaged socioeconomic and ethnic groups, as well as for men of a range of backgrounds. Yet, the contributions of ATOs have not equally benefitted members and staff of diverse genders, racial groups, or ethnicities. At the same time, ATOs have continued to gain influence since they have become responsible for fair trade certification and labeling (Henrici, 2002, 2003, 2007a; Mariñas Tapia, 2013).

2.2 The power to name

Certification and labeling have affected fair trade operations at every level, including that of local craft producers engaged with tourism. As observed elsewhere, with respect to ATO operations among Peruvian handicraft producer-vendors selling to tourists and through export out of small villages and poorer urban neighborhoods, to name or label is an act of power—although one that might not be acknowledged (Henrici, 2003, 2010). Particularly if aimed at redressing social injustices, the power to grant or deny legitimacy, authenticity, rank, or in-group status should be open and subject to outside review by others. However, much of fair trade labeling and marketing have been criticized for operating in secret and seemingly capriciously rather than openly and with consistency (Jaffee, 2009; Lyon & Moberg, 2010). At the same time, labeling by ATOs arguably has fostered fair trade credibility and consumption more than otherwise would have been possible. Moreover, fair trade certification and the provision of recognized labels have enabled goods to be marketed and sold independently of the specified shops and supply chains among consumers that some argue once limited fair trade ATO operations and constrained their member-producers (Davenport & Low, 2012).

Formal fair trade certification is a relatively recent contribution to fair trade operations. In 1988, the Dutch Foundation of Max Havelaar reportedly began to certify products that it assessed complied with specific fair trade standards then created its own label with which to mark—and market—eligible coffee beans sold in the Netherlands. Since that time, fair trade certification and labeling have become bureaucratic. Max Havelaar, Fairtrade Foundation, and TransFair International joined with specialty ATOs called "Labeling Initiatives" (LIs), and various marketing organizations in 1997 to form Fairtrade Labelling Organizations (FLO) (Reed, 2012). In 2004, that FLO divided into two independent units, one for certification support and the other for auditing, and the certification unit was named Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (also FLO). FLO is now the principal source for stamping commodities as fair trade around the world; although primarily working with foodstuffs, FLO also assesses qualifying cotton and artisan-mined gold, and its labels have helped drive marketing and sales for all of these goods (Hilson & Kamlongera, 2012).

Fair trade certification and labeling have helped agricultural goods increase sales, yet not all of the populations involved have benefitted. Reportedly, men typically manage fair trade crops while women are displaced as farmers without new opportunities coming in at equal levels (Lyon, 2011). Seeking certification meanwhile costs producer-vendors money and time, and may pressure cooperatives and other member groups to meet externally set rather than locally guided principles of what constitutes "fair". Finally, combined with changes among trade agreements and other opportunities that favor certain products over others, FLO labels have encouraged certain agricultural goods to rise relative to crafts within fair trade.

Crafts were central to fair trade at its start and for much of its history. The fair trade movement and network encouraged the overlap of crafts with forms of tourism that were marketed as at least partly educational, cultural, or alternative. International craftwork for tourism and export sales during the second half of the twentieth century became the primary rather than subsidiary activity for a number of families, communities, NGOs, and commer-

cial businesses in various nations including Peru (Cohen, 2000; Henrici, 1999; Little, 2004; Mahoney, 2012; Wilson, 2010; Zorn, 2004). Crafts lacked fair trade certification despite having been part of fair trade from the start.

Craft sales through fair trade and tourism gave new income opportunities to women and men of minority ethnic and racial groups in multiple contexts. ATOs, agencies, and customers nevertheless often treated these household and community members unequally so that disparities appeared or continued. Power imbalances remained part of both fair trade and more conventional craft commerce with respect to gender as well as other intersectional features of identity (Little, 2004; Steinkopf Rice, 2010). As the next section of this chapter will show, such tensions have affected producer-vendors in Peru.

In 1989, the International Federation of Alternative Trade (IFAT) formed in order to bring together small-scale crafts producers with ATOs, and negotiate on producers' behalf with transnational agencies such as the World Trade Organization. In 2004, IFAT created the Fair Trade Organization label for member groups that met the international group's standards. In 2008–09, IFAT became known as the World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO), as regional member ATOs took on a greater role in the larger group's governance. The members changed the organization's name in part to show a more deliberate association with fair trade principles and practices (Davenport & Low, 2012).

Meanwhile, WFTO members across continents and hemispheres continued to debate how their association might certify and label craft products, not only groups, to reassert craftwork within fair trade as an income source among poorer producers. Fans of craftwork certification posited that increased and more diversified sales could only benefit greater numbers of producers, including more marginalized segments of populations. Proponents also said that certified craftwork might be even more in line with fair trade principles of sustainability than other fair trade products, if better able to help producers become financially resilient to damages from sudden

fashion shifts among customers and to other fluctuations, and even disasters (cf. Henrici, 2003; Bradshaw, 2013).

Frictions formed between regional and local craft and groups demanding—and even creating—their own labels (Davenport & Low, 2012; Mahoney, 2012). During that same time period, certain fair trade agricultural cooperatives figured out a way to circumvent the increasing costs of obtaining FLO certification, work independently from FLO authority, and claim trust as well as affordability as part of fair trade ethics. These groups formed Participatory Guarantee Systems based on producer-based certifications with local or regional peer reviews (Castro, 2014).

However, other issues beyond certification might have affected lowered sales and status for crafts relative to foodstuffs in fair trade. Shifts in international trade agreements and fashions also affected international craftwork sales during the last part of the 1990s through the first decade of the 2000s. Such changes in turn also related to how smaller scale crafts—in contrast to what is labeled either as fine art or as mass manufacture—tend to be marketed and consumed. Items sold variously as indigenous, authentic, artistic, religious, ethnic, heritage, or traditional form a special challenge relative to foodstuffs for comparative evaluation in terms of quality, methods of production, as well as marketing. Unfortunately, costs for raw materials and labor to make those goods have continued to rise while the items themselves compete with mass-produced wares that might appear similar and be sold as if hand- or home-made (Henrici, 1999, 2007b; Little, 2004; Littrell & Dickson, 2010; M'Closkey, 2010; Wilson, 2010).

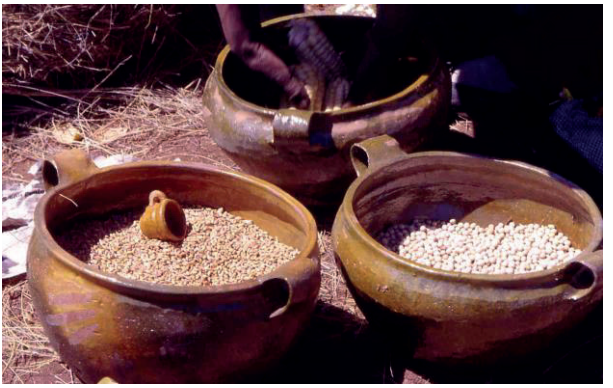

Fig. 3 – Trading ceramics for the amount of food that can fill them in the Department of Cusco, Peru, 1984 (Photo Jane Henrici)

Despite such complications, proponents of fair trade certification of crafts asserted that product labeling could help restore if not expand markets for craftwork. Advocates argued moreover that certification and expanded craft sales would help women and other more marginalized producers in particular supplement the subsistence activities that earlier handicraft fair trade could not sustain and that agricultural fair trade did not protect. Primarily—especially if the power to name or label were not controlled exclusively by larger ATOs or the WFTO—craft certification could provide greater local and producer control over the power to sell.

2.3 The power to sell

Without product certification and labeling, fair trade crafts working with fair trade ATOs were to be sold only through designated fair trade shops and websites. That limitation reportedly made it even more difficult for fair trade goods to compete with cheaper mass- and machine-made items that might also claim hand-made or traditional cultural origins and social justice objectives (Steinkopf Rice, 2009). In addition, some artisans seemingly found the shop model to be more charity-like than sustainable (Hutchens, 2010). Fair trade labels, advocates argued, would free crafts from all such constraints.

WFTO responded to members' debates surrounding product certification, and to the producer-based certification rebellion against FLO, by creating a Participatory Guarantee System (GS) for crafts in 2011. In 2013, WFTO added a Product Label: member organizations that obtain peer and self-certification through the GS process may earn the WFTO Label for products and services. The WFTO GS Label claims to signify that the designated group operates using fair trade principles, as do its business partners, producer-vendors, and retailers (Castro, 2014).

This WFTO guarantee of the fair trade status of supply chain associates of members, in addition to members and their goods and services, could be a response to concerns about FLO labeling. Although all goods that FLO certifies must meet specific fair trade organizational and processing criteria, the commodities may be produced and sold by for-profit conventional businesses. Increasingly, that arrangement seems to be happening at a mass rather than small community or group scale. The FLO and certain of its LI members, notably former member TransFair USA, have received criticism for providing too much in the form of interaction with conventional commerce and too little in the way of equality and empowerment (Reed, 2012).

For its part, TransFair USA left the FLO in 2011, and the re-named Fair Trade USA continues to grant fair trade labels to products and practices counter to what some consider fair trade principles. In particular, Fair Trade USA has supported estate laborers, and defends doing so with the argument that larger scale producers can be ethical and smaller scale producers exploitative (Raynolds, 2012). As controversial as these points may be, they are useful to consider with regard to fair trade tourism and WFTO and other labeling.

In fair trade, claims to counter socioeconomic inequalities tend to portray those inequalities as between consumers/tourists and producers/locals. The two populations appear within fair trade rhetoric typically without overlap and as if corresponding neatly to the so-called global North and South (Henrici, 2003). Meanwhile, socioeconomic development efforts, even those aimed at humanitarian aid and social justice, tend not to acknowledge their own part in environmental damage (Bradshaw, 2013). Neither fair trade nor

planned development tourism typically recognize, much less explicitly address, socioeconomic inequalities related to gender and minority group identities within and among producer/local households, communities, and nations, while avoiding further environmental harm.

3. Tourism and fair trade

> [Trabajamos] con los jóvenes del distrito para que se valoran su cultura. [(We work with) the district youth so that they value their culture.][6]

Fair trade comprises only a relatively limited portion of global commerce, while tourism continues to expand. Women, as well as men from indigenous and mixed ethnic and racial group identities, have increased their participation relative to that of men of colonial ancestry and elite backgrounds after decades of international tourism (Cleverdon & Kalisch, 2000; United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO] and United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women [UN Women], 2011). At the same time, and as with fair trade, research finds men and women of minority group status to be involved principally in under-paid and over-exploited areas of tourism rather than in independent, decision-making, and entrepreneurial activities (Babb, 2012; Bolles, 1997; Henrici, 2007b; Wilson & Ypeij, 2012). Meanwhile, although exceptions exist, both fair trade and tourism need improvement with regard to socioeconomic and other inequalities as well as with sustainability.

3.1 Tourism and socioeconomic development

Multiple ethnographic research projects, conducted in Peru across two decades, explore trade and tourism interactions. Early investigations in Peru found that both governmental and NGO-ATO entities began in the 1960s to

6 Quote from the president of an Afro-Peruvian artisanal NGO in El Carmen, Peru, describing one of the group's programs for fostering handicrafts and musical performances marketed to tourists, 15 June 2013.

invest into tourism. The objective of this investment was to use tourism activities, including the making and selling of crafts, to stimulate income for Peruvians. Other than within the operations of select NGO-ATOs, however, these investments seldom addressed structural inequalities and more sustainable development, which would include mitigating conventional development's harm to the environment. Moreover, socioeconomic development involving tourism in Peru has tended to incorporate specific training for men and other training for women. Development tourism in Peru, even that incorporating fair trade, has tended to maintain certain hierarchies as it has created new ones.

Peruvian hierarchies among gender, racial groupings, and ethnicity are contextual, intersectional, socioeconomic, and political. The categories that Peruvians use to describe themselves and sometimes discriminate against each other vary in meaning, particularly among different economic activities and different regions of the nation (S. Greene, 2007). At the same time, different ecological regions of Peru have been associated since at least the precolonial Inca Empire with different cultural groups and, since colonization, with racialized groups as well. This latter shift began as Spanish colonizers brought, along with African-descent soldiers, artisans, and slaves, European ideas concerning race as a method of classifying humans. For the nearly five hundred years since, the descendants of the colonizers have combined assumptions in Peru regarding physical difference with those regarding ethnic or cultural difference and, in turn, used such assumptions to justify occupational, educational, and legal restrictions or rights. Peruvians in the 2000s made legislative changes toward a version of multiculturalism; nevertheless, many Peruvians continue to distinguish in social, economic, and other terms those considered relatively more marked in their skin, hair, and facial features and languages, beliefs, and customs. While Asian and Middle Eastern ancestry Peruvians might receive prejudicial treatment, Peruvians who are considered more likely to face discrimination generally are lumped into one of three categories of racial and ethnic identity that are intersectional with socioeconomic class and geographic region. The first group consists of the peoples of the Peruvian Amazon River Valley with their multiple languages who are

regarded as indigenous yet, when compared with those of purportedly Inca-ancestry who speak Quechua or Aymara or who claim kinship with those who do, are portrayed by other Peruvians as relatively more "tribal" and less "noble." The second and largest group consists of the Peruvians who speak Quechua or Aymara, who formerly lived primarily in the Andean Mountain valleys and peaks, and who have been the majority among Peruvian agricultural, mining, and urban laborers for centuries; this group is tied to Peruvian concepts of indigeneity and peasantry. The third group of Peruvians are those of African descent who principally live along the Pacific coast and who suffer from what some consider an invisible heritage, one that juxtaposes being among both the conquered and the conqueror, non-Indian and non-white, and middle class and laborer: contrasting identities that seem to cancel one another out in the multiculturalism debates that center on a concept of culture as if it could be considered apart from intersecting racial or socioeconomic class identities (S. Greene, 2007, 2012). Fair trade and tourism in Peru affect and are affected by both hierarchies and intersectionalities.

The Peruvian town of Pisac is an established part of the tourist circuit in the southern Andean Mountains that includes the major attraction of Machu Picchu. Tourists have arranged trips for over a century to the valley village and its central market. Into that marketplace, members of surrounding mountain communities wearing traditional clothing descend on Sundays, to sell their farm products, attend church, and meet with others who have similarly descended as well as representatives of the district government. These Quechua-speaking mountain-dwellers, along with nearby archaeological ruins, draw tourists to the village and vendors to meet those tourists.

By the mid-twentieth century, nonlocal artisan-vendors were coming to Pisac on Sundays to sell goods and take profits. To compete, roughly a dozen village men studied at a ceramic school that the Peruvian national government sponsored for them in the early 1960s. Years later, these trained men and their wives used their positions within artisans' associations to obtain government travel grants and further opportunities. The men and their families were able to build houses, own cars, and occasionally attend university

from ceramics sales. Some men attributed their financial gains to the government program. Others expressed independence from any affiliation or support beyond their local religious festival dance troupe, national political party, favorite soccer team, and church.

Fig. 4 – Male workers, paid by the piece, hand painting mold-made ceramic whistles for tourist sales and export in Pisac, Peru, 1989 (Photo Jane Henrici).

Disagreements occasionally arose in the town, not only about the histories of craftwork in the area, but also about materials and motifs to be used and about who could make and sell. Although aimed at improving disparities, crafts and tourism in Pisac were not always fair trade in principle or practice.

In particular, the Peruvian government program had helped villagers, primarily of mixed European and indigenous ethnicity, to compete with outsiders of mixed or European heritage from larger urban centers. In turn, the village artisan-vendors made use of their kinship and trade relations throughout the Andes Mountains to hire networks of piece workers—often from the poorest of indigenous farming communities—and initially forbade them from selling to tourists or importers and from working with ATOs.

Fig. 5 – Man carrying piecework handicrafts, from a farming community in the higher mountain altitudes, down into the valley village of Pisac, Peru with its tourist market, 1996 (Photo Jane Henrici)

One group of Quechua-speaking males, trained and subcontracted in ceramic piecework at villager-set rates, decided in 1989 to seek more opportunities. These *comuneros* agreed, despite villager injunctions, to try to make profits through selling ceramics directly to tourists or through export. To get assistance with their proposed cooperative enterprise, the artisans asked a visiting anthropologist for help contacting ATOs. The *comuneros* sent their request down from the mountainside written on a tiny piece of paper and carried by motorbike: the messenger braked in the Pisac street just long enough to pass the note to the surprised anthropologist before driving on. Despite the group's clandestine effort, their employers soon had word of the contact, yet could not stop the subsequent flow of information and sales to the mountainside residents. After the note's delivery, however, village artisan-producers lectured the anthropologist about the dependency that certain populations (unnamed) had on NGOs and ATOs, and the corrupt politicization of such dependency and aid (Henrici, 1999).

Fig. 6 – Women from a farming community in the higher mountain altitudes, selling their hand-woven piece work to a middle merchant with a registered stall within the tourist market of the southern highland valley village of Pisac, Peru, 1989 (Photo Jane Henrici)

Gender disparities compounded disparities affecting ethnic group identity. By the late 1980s, those individuals who were considered by locals to be capable of making the hand-painted ceramics that had come to be associated with the region were almost all men, although prior to tourism development women also customarily made handicrafts. At the same time, and as had been part of ancient custom in the region, women were the primary vendors. If needed, men could sell and women could make the simpler crafts that in this part of Peru became feminized, such as jewelry and knitwear. A new gender gap thus formed in the area, even as tourism development brought rapidly multiplying new socioeconomic opportunities for mixed-ancestry families that had started out poorer relative to others in the valley village. Initially, tourism development as implemented in Pisac granted limited local control and environmental sustainability while it created new hierarchies in the powers to sell and to make (Henrici, 2002).

As the above account suggests, although tourism development can improve conditions for one formerly marginalized portion of the population, it might do so by taking advantage of others. Both sets of artisan-producers sought to

supplement farm or other income and keep household members from having to work as laborers or servants. Eventually, in part through governmental and ATO assistance, the two sets gained independent income from tourism and crafts (Henrici, 1999, 2007b).

3.2 Tourism alternating with trade

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Peruvian craft producers began using kinship and other links across even greater distances in order to transport handicrafts and keep up sales. The combination of droughts, hyperinflation, and violence in Peru affected local crops and herds as well as international tourism. Exporting crafts became even more critical for households and communities (Henrici, 2002, 2003). Alternating between export and tourism sales was an informal adaptation, taken on by groups throughout Peru, and fair trade as it involved ATOs was part of that.

Peruvian NGOs and ATOs, often directed and staffed by middle and upper class women and men of European and sometimes African and Asian ancestry—and sometimes by indigenous men—evolved during the late 1980s and early and mid-1990s based primarily in the capital of Lima. These groups operated as middle partners to add to community and household income through handicraft sales, whether for reinvestment in traditional agriculture, fishing, or herding, or to perpetuate ancient or folkloric art forms. The push to make craftwork either supplemental or sustaining required that even greater quantities be sold, which NGO/ATOs assisted through shops in Lima, international export, artisan-entrepreneur capacity building, and microcredit loans (Henrici, 2003, 2007a).
Peruvian women meanwhile gained in their level of authority and control over assets at every level of production and trade. Over time, both indigenous male and female Peruvian participants also gained more socioeconomic options with respect to fair trade and tourism.

Elayne Zorn notes with respect to tourism and crafts elsewhere in Peru that, after initial investments, gaining local decision-making and at least partial control over resources is critical to sustaining producer-vendors beyond just

temporarily increased incomes and moving groups toward addressing broader socioeconomic imbalances (Zorn, 2004). Gradually, and particularly through social justice struggles on the part of select Peruvian ATOs (Henrici, 2002, 2003), local decision-making, profit-sharing, self-evaluation, and fair trade labeling extended among diverse communities. Moreover, this effort expanded opportunities for both men and women across Peru (Henrici, 2007a; Mariñas Tapia, 2013).

3.3 Tourism and fair trade

The stated objectives of fair trade tourism are: to use combined aspects of tourism and trade to reduce poverty; meet standards of responsibility and sustainability through complying with certain expectations regarding the environment; and raise equity and empowerment among all human participants. The nation of South Africa has tested this approach, along with its FTTSA standard and certification model, and now includes in this mix craft sales along specified "craft routes" (Kalisch, 2011; Krause, 2005; Strambach & Surmeier, 2013).

Fig. 7 – Men from a mountain farming community after performing music at their fair trade tourism cooperative, above the valley village of Pisac, Peru, 2006 (Photo Jane Henrici)

By 2006 in Peru, fair trade tourism had become part of the mix that ATOs and member cooperatives turned to among alternating sources of income. Tourism in general once again had risen in the region to support development activities among smaller scale producers and vendors. This took place as travel patterns and trade agreements continued to change, and as periods passed in which crafts did not sell as well as previously through export, and as agricultural and herding activities became even more industrialized than in the past. Both community-based and resort tourism meanwhile had moved out of niche areas and into the communities, towns, and suburbs along Peru's expanding highway system.

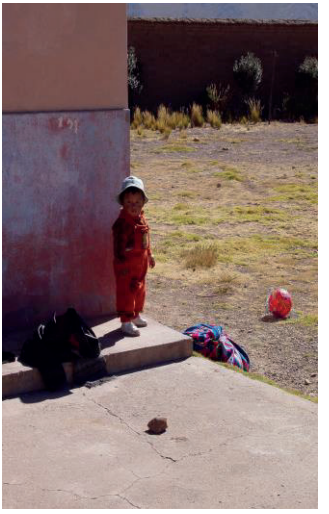

Fig. 8 – (Left) Women community and cooperative members meeting to discuss handicrafts and home-stay tourism in Juliaca, Peru with a representative of the ATO MINKA Fair Trade SRL, 2007 (Photo Jane Henrici)

Fig. 9 – (Right) Son of a woman cooperative member playing outside while his mother attends a meeting in Juliaca, Peru to discuss handicrafts and home-stay tourism, 2007 (Photo Jane Henrici)

As within South Africa, fair trade tourism within Peru came about through a combination of local labor and public and private investments among community-based homestays, similar to those launched decades earlier on the island of Taquile (Zorn, 2004). Ethnographic research in 2006 in Peru included observations and interviews with women and men in rural and

semi-rural sites participating—at all levels of decision-making, production, and sales—in fair trade tourism. Crafts combined with tourism through more established wares such as Peruvian ceramics and sweaters, as well as more recently evolved fair trade culinary crafts and plant products such as soaps, creams, and medicines.

In 2006, the Peruvian fair trade tourism network operated through somewhat unreliable transit systems, relatively more dependable kinship connections, and international commerce regulations. By 2013, the infrastructure combining fair trade and tourism across Peru had expanded much further, and ATOs and cooperatives used their internet sites to sell craftwork, book reservations and tours, and solicit support.

Fair trade merged with tourism in Peru in a formal manner with respect to the standards to be followed, then added the labeling to be used. Both Peruvian crafts and tourist activities now make use of WFTO guarantees. The designated goods and packages sold by Peruvian producer cooperatives and ATOs employ fair trade marketing and fair trade labels.

Following decades of experience in the highlands of Peru, fair trade tourism seems to be achieving better outcomes than earlier forms of either tourism or fair trade. While more extensive examination of this relatively evolved system would be useful, another question that arises is whether newer fair trade tourism projects have also proven to be effective among other, also marginalized, Peruvians.

3.4 Toward a fair chance in tourism

In 2013, as part of an ethnographic project along the southern coast of Peru in the areas damaged by the 2007 earthquake, women and men in smaller communities and poorer neighborhoods recounted the lack of governmental support they received during the recovery period to rebuild either their homes or their subsistence sources. Women in particular reported that they were not given shelter, much less assistance toward reconstruction, if they lacked property titles to show where their houses had stood: women might

lack property titles if they had never paid for formal ownership, or if the titles were placed only in the name of household males. In one case, a woman reported during an interview arranged by human rights NGO workers assisting with the recovery that her sister had the documents to prove she was the landowner, yet had been denied her claim regardless.

Moreover, women interviewed described continued higher incidents of gender-based violence relative to their lives prior to the disaster. Women also detailed a new and general lack of access to affordable food, unlike conditions before the earthquake, brought about by the large-scale reconstruction development in the area that supplanted smaller scale orchards and farms and destroyed smaller scale artisanal fishing along the Pacific coast.

Issues of race and ethnicity in the region meanwhile have compounded those of gender. In the Peruvian media following the 2007 earthquake, race was occasionally noted to mark the suffering and skills of those affected, since certain of the affected communities were predominantly Afro-Peruvian. That low-income, wage-dependent, and female-headed households apparently also predominated among the little towns and worker communities remained unstated as a feature either of the region or of the recovery. At the same time, much of what seemed an international largesse failed to make its way to the actual reconstruction of the homes and infrastructural systems that were destroyed, much less to support any serious investment in tourism development among those most harmed (Polastro, 2008). In June 2013, a Peruvian congressional report was released concerning recovery fund fraud. Although the governmental investigation did not mention gender, race, or ethnicity as features of the disaster or of the misappropriated funds, the relatively greater vulnerability of those most affected by the damages, if not outright discrimination, no doubt contributed to the ease with which the manipulations took place.

Human rights agencies meanwhile have remained active and focused on improving access to new homes, better sanitation, and household food security in the southern coastal region of Peru. Locally-based Peruvian race and women's rights groups have worked to help Afro-Peruvian girls and women

as well as those of other ethnicities and boys and men to counter discrimination and, where not defeating popular and mass media stereotypes, perhaps to make selective use of them.

For example, Rosa María's Afro-Peruvian organization, Las Morenas, was supported with funding from the Italian COOPI so that post-disaster local women could make money through culinary fair trade tourism. As described earlier, the activity involves producing and selling traditional artisanal sweets packaged in containers with printed labels. In addition to the information listed earlier, those labels display a stereotypic cartoon image of an Afro-Peruvian woman's face that is very much like those denounced in publications and a successful lawsuit by the Afro-Peruvian rights group LUNDU.[7] This portrayal in fair trade tourism sales is deliberate, although whether its users consider it subversive remains unclear. Indeed, Peruvian NGO/ATOs tend to employ imagery in their training and outreach materials that depict individuals with straight hair and narrow eyes to represent those of indigenous or European and indigenous mixed ancestry; Afro-Peruvian imagery even within social justice work often remains either absent or, as in this case, very particular (cf. S. Greene, 2012).

Arguably, if recovery practice using fair trade tourism builds on stereotypes, then *it is using* vulnerability to stimulate calls for governmental protections and donor supports. Conversely, the concept of capability, or what might make a person or place resilient, becomes a feature to celebrate as though needing neither ongoing investment nor aid to be sustainable. Within this conventional paradigm, it can be hard to separate admiration and demonstration of pride in culture and resiliency from a circumscription of opportunity. As Rosa María sold her fair trade culinary crafts in 2013, Las Morenas as a cooperative faced its final year of COOPI assistance.

Conventional approaches to tourism development and disaster recovery could have been inverted in Peru. If that had happened, then governmental

7 http://lundu.org.pe/ [last access 30.06.2015]

and NGO/ATO support could have gone instead to improve smaller scale farming and fishing in the area for the women and men who, in fact, were primarily farmers, farm laborers, and artisanal fisher-folk prior to the quake. This could have occurred while being attentive to issues of the environment, and to those of disaster displacement and economic migration. Participation in fair trade confectionary production for tourism meanwhile could have been supplemental rather than the exclusive investment. Indeed, prior to the earthquake, traditional crafts in tourism sales were limited in the area to either very peripheral work, or conversely to that by those who were Afro-Peruvian restaurant employees and music specialists (Léon, 2009).

Instead, the bulk of international development and recovery money that made it to the smaller communities along the southern coast went toward what interviewed women state is the massive destruction of local fishing and the delicate desert coastline for a new natural gas plant and intensified export-driven agricultural businesses. In addition, at this point, fair trade tourism has little chance of being sustainable much less improve socioeconomic relations, given that the same recovery funds that failed to arrive for low-income family housing also appear to have arrived for local tourism development.

4. Conclusion

Women and men, notably those experiencing racial and ethnic group discrimination, reportedly are finding new opportunities in fair trade tourism where it has become most established, in South Africa (K. Greene, 2012). As this chapter has described, various communities and organizations working in parts of Peru also have built up, across several decades, working projects of fair trade tourism.

Meanwhile, women around the world—particularly where organized and able to push against fair trade's gaps and weaknesses—appear to be building resilient livelihoods on craft manufacture and sales through export (Hutch-

ens, 2010; Jones, Smith & Wills, 2012) that may be supplemented by tourism, particularly through homestays (K. Greene, 2012; Henrici, 2003). Yet, in other marginalized communities, women continue to face disparity and discrimination even where fair trade tourism has been initiated.

The merger of fair trade with tourism, while making fair trade tourism more standardized and formal, has been argued as potentially yielding more equitable, sustainable, and participatory socioeconomic development than investment in either fair trade or tourism alone (Kalisch, 2011). Proponents argue that fair trade tourism could address both environmental sustainability and social justice concerns. To be effective, research in Peru suggests that fair trade tourism should be accompanied by local control over standards, labels, and profits. Such local control, however, must balance with protections and investments by nonlocal public and private entities.

At the same time, all forms of control in fair trade tourism activities—over the power to name, sell, and make—should be transparent and accountable. Moreover, the fact that socioeconomic disparities can exist at every level, and throughout populations, calls for more explicit recognition in fair trade and tourism development.

Other concerns that continue to need examination regarding fair trade tourism are with fair trade's weaknesses in general (Jaffee, 2007), its relatively narrow role in tourism despite decades of interaction in particular (Krause, 2005; Strambach & Surmeier, 2013), and its problems specifically associated with crafts of different types (Hutchens, 2010; Wilson, 2010). As anthropology and other disciplines continue to critically examine and challenge conditions of disparity, particularly those interacting with gender and its intersectional ethnic and racial group identities, fair trade tourism seems important both to investigate as well as to improve.

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