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## **Communicating Superfoods: A Case Study of Maca Packaging**

*Abstract:* In recent years there has been an explosion onto the health food scene of exotic 'superfoods': food products celebrated for their nutritional and medicinal values, derived from indigenous traditions and inserted onto the shelves of wealthy Western marketplaces. These products are presented as something between medicine and foodstuff. Placing these novel food products on the shelves of health food shops – and, increasingly, supermarkets and chemists – around the world has required that the concept of superfood be constructed and communicated to new consumers. This paper takes a closer look at the packaging of one particular superfood product, the Peruvian root maca, as well as draws upon fieldwork in the central Andes in 2014, as a case study of one point at which the superfoods concept is constructed and communicated by drawing upon contemporary discourses about the relationships between food, health, and values. The large quantity of information presented on superfood packaging serves not only to produce and reproduce the concept of superfoods, but also to communicate geographical knowledges about products sold far from their places and cultures of origin. The package in question is presented with a variety of knowledge claims, which should be read critically as representations that serve particular interests rather than as unproblematic attempts to 'defetishize' the commodity. Points of disjuncture between these knowledge claims open up spaces for contestation by other actors involved in the production and consumption of these food products.

### **Introduction**

In recent years there has been an explosion onto the health food scene of exotic 'superfoods': food products celebrated for their purported extraordinary nutritional and medicinal values, derived from indigenous culinary and healing traditions and inserted onto the shelves of wealthy Western marketplaces. These products are presented as something between medicine and food, the very word 'superfood' indicating that these are superlative edibles. Goji berries, açai, maca, quinoa, chia seed – these, among others, have become the superheroes of the grocery store. Placing these novel food products on the shelves of health food shops – and, increasingly, supermarkets and chemists – around the world has required that the concept of superfood be constructed and communicated to new consumers. Product packaging is one significant site at which such information is communicated.

This paper takes a closer look at the packaging of one particular superfood product available in Australia, the Peruvian root maca, as well as draws upon my own fieldwork in the central Andes in 2014, as a case study of one point at which the superfoods concept is constructed and communicated by evoking contemporary discourses about the relationship between food and health. With

their dual emphases on scientifically substantiated health benefits and long histories of indigenous use, superfoods represent the intersection of two popular discourses regarding how food and health are best understood and approached. The first is the discourse of 'nutritionism', a term coined by Scrinis to refer to the reductionist view of foods as made up of the sum of their nutrients.<sup>1</sup> The second is the discourse of 'nutritional primitivism', which privileges ancient or indigenous knowledge and 'natural' production practices in a nostalgic search for authenticity in the diet and its related health outcomes, in contrast to those food and health cultures and regimes seen as 'tainted' by complex modern technologies.<sup>2</sup> Both themes are represented in food and nutrition elsewhere, but come together in the concept of superfoods.

In addition, superfood products have increasingly incorporated discourses of critical consumption into their representations by showcasing environmental and ethical certifications such as 'organic' and 'fair trade'.<sup>3</sup> The use of such certifications on product packaging provides consumers with information about the circumstances of production, which is presented alongside information about how consumers should understand and use superfood products. The large quantity of information presented on superfood packaging serves not only to produce and reproduce the concept of superfoods, but also to communicate geographical knowledges about products sold far from their places and cultures of origin. The package in question is presented with a variety of knowledge claims, which should be read critically as representations that serve particular interests rather than as an unproblematic attempt to 'defetishize' the commodity. Points of disjuncture between these knowledge claims open up spaces for contestation by other actors involved in the production and consumption of these food products.

### **Case Study: Maca Packaging**

We begin with an image: a beautiful illustration of a bucolic scene featuring plump women in traditional Andean dress, bent neatly at the waist and cradling in their arms big round baskets full of pink, black, and cream coloured root vegetables. With felt hats perched atop their heads and black braids hanging either side of calm, dark skinned faces, the women are plucking turnip-like vegetables from sparse soil. The uniform tan colour of the earth contrasts with the brightness of the women's outfits, a cheerful array of blue, red, green, yellow, and orange. In the background, snow-capped mountains rise to meet a clear blue sky scattered with fluffy clouds.

This image is not a Diego Rivera painting hanging in an art gallery; it is featured on a plastic package of maca powder on the shelf of a South Australian health food store, 500 grams for forty dollars.<sup>4</sup> The package declares that this beige powder is 'The Inca Superfood' and that it is 'a source of vitamins, protein and minerals' alongside claims of 'certified organic' and 'fair trade'. Further information about the product's healthfulness, origins, and uses are provided on the back of the package. The back of the package notes that it is a product of Peru, packed in Australia by the Australian company Power Super Foods. The

company is based in New South Wales but distributes their products nationwide both via their own website and through distributors.<sup>5</sup>

Maca is a relatively new product in Australia, having only become widely available within the past ten years. It has no history of use in Australia before the late 1990s, and the entirety of the maca available in the country is imported from Peru. As such, Australian consumers have had to learn how and why to use maca. Maca has been *placed* in the Australian health food market in two senses: it has been physically put there, and it has been imaginatively constructed as a useful product for Australian consumers.

### ***Defining Superfoods***

There is a relationship between these physical and imaginative placements. Maca is positioned on the shelf grouped with other superfood products such as cacao powder, chia seeds, and goji berries. Behind this physical placement is an imaginative connection between maca and these other products that informs how maca should be encountered and used by new consumers. These foods have been collectively cast as 'superfoods', a category in between dietary supplement and ordinary foodstuff. This category is constructed in the retail setting by grouping these products together. It is also constructed for each individual product by communicating how the product should be used.

The packaging establishes the appropriate setting in which maca should be consumed by providing 'Suggested Uses': 'Mix ¼ teaspoon up to 1 heaped teaspoon into daily smoothies, cereal, yoghurt, juice, baked goods, etc.'. Thus maca powder is established as an ingredient to use in food preparations, not a supplement to be taken on its own. Despite the fact that mixing maca powder into a smoothie or sprinkling it over cereal is a food preparation, consumed as part of a meal or snack, there is a similarity between the idea of adding a daily teaspoon of maca to one's breakfast and taking a multivitamin supplement each morning. By communicating how consumers should use maca, it is placed in an ambiguous category between food and medicine – the category of superfoods.

Placing maca as a superfood implies that it is beneficial for the consumer on two accounts: it is extremely healthy as proven by science, and its healthfulness is also supported by a long history of indigenous knowledge. Its health benefits are thus doubly verified through two different, but not necessarily oppositional, knowledge frameworks regarding what qualities make a food 'healthy'.

### ***Nutritionism***

The first knowledge framework referenced on the maca packaging is that of nutritionism, which Scrinis defines as 'a reductive *focus* on the nutrient composition of foods as the means for understanding their healthfulness, as well as [...] a reductive *interpretation* of the role of these nutrients in bodily health'.<sup>6</sup> Under the paradigm of nutritionism, the invisible actions of nutrients on the body dominate understandings of food and health. In particular, superfoods have arisen against a backdrop of what Scrinis calls the 'era of functional

nutritionism'. Since the mid-1990s, nutritional research, dietary advice, and popular discourse has moved beyond the avoidance of 'bad' nutrients such as saturated fat and has shifted focus to increasing consumption of 'good' nutrients such as antioxidants.

In communicating maca's healthfulness, the packaging uses the language of nutritional science, describing the product as 'a source of vitamins, protein, and minerals', 'high vegetarian protein (20+ amino acids), vitamins, and too many minerals/trace elements to list', and as a 'nutrient-rich food'. The communication of this kind of scientized health information to consumers is typical of the era of functional nutritionism, in which foods are increasingly viewed not only in terms of their macro- and micronutrient contents, but also in terms of the impacts of particular nutrients on bodily functions and health outcomes as measured by biomarkers.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the production of this kind of information is the focus of scientific studies, many of which are at least partially funded by industry.<sup>8</sup> By communicating maca's excellent nutrient profile, the package argues for the 'functional' benefit of consuming maca. In this sense, superfoods such as maca can be seen as a type of 'functional food' in that they tend to be marketed using nutrient content or health benefit claims.

However, unlike many other functional foods, superfoods are not nutritionally engineered, fortified, or enhanced foods; rather, they are whole foods such as chia seeds or minimally processed foods such as dried and powdered maca. They are a product of functional nutritionism in that their development, promotion, and consumer popularity relies on an understanding of the relationship between food and health in terms of the sufficient consumption of the right nutrients. But they are also a backlash against formulated functional foods, a 'natural' way to get those nutrients without relying on a technological fix. Like other functional foods, their healthfulness is validated through a framework of scientific knowledge. But they also skirt the problem of consumer distrust of technologically developed and highly processed foods by further validating their healthfulness through frameworks of folk and indigenous wisdom and naturalness.

### ***Primitivism and the Natural***

While the concept of superfoods embraces the premise of functional nutritionism – that foods are made up of specific nutrients that directly impact health outcomes – they also challenge the reductive aspect of this discourse that equates the health value of supplemental nutrients with those occurring naturally in foods. Superfoods challenge the discourse of functional nutritionism in two ways. The first is by offering an alternative framework for validating knowledge about food and health, which I call the framework of folk and indigenous wisdom. Within this framework, knowledge about food and health is valued not because it has been demonstrated using the scientific method but because it has been passed down through generations and carries an aura of tradition and authenticity. In superfoods discourse, the framework of folk and indigenous wisdom does not displace the paradigm of functional nutritionism; rather, the two types of knowledge are often presented side by side.

The maca packaging presents the framework of folk and indigenous wisdom in addition to that of nutritionism by declaring that maca is 'The Inca Superfood' and describing it as 'truly ancient'. Further, it refers to the purported Peruvian 'belief' that it is 'a powerful enhancer of well-being and vigor' that enables Peruvians 'not just to exist but thrive in the stressful intensity of their high altitude climate'. Language is important here and suggests that knowledge in this framework is produced and valued differently than it is within scientific frameworks; knowledge takes the form of 'beliefs' rather than 'facts' and refers to general 'well-being and vigor' and 'thriving' rather than specific nutrients and their particular bodily impacts.

The image also communicates this framework by depicting indigenous women wearing traditional dress harvesting maca by hand into woven baskets. The indigenous appearance of the harvesters, the manual harvest method, the way in which the women are dressed, and the baskets they carry suggest a sense of tradition and authenticity. Through this combination of words and images, maca's healthfulness is presented as validated via its authenticity. However there is a gap between this image and practice which calls into question the origins and purposes of this representation. During fieldwork I observed that harvesters rarely wore traditional dress, they gathered harvested roots into large plastic sacks rather than carrying baskets, and they did not harvest entirely manually but used a small hand tool to loosen roots from the soil.

The second challenge to the discourse of functional nutritionism is in the valuing of the natural over the technological. This naturalism presents a challenge to the material manifestation of functional nutritionism in the form of fortified, enhanced, or otherwise modified functional foods, rather than to the premise of functional nutritionism as a whole. The appeal to nature and the natural in relation to food and health is not unique to superfoods discourse. Knight has observed similar use of the natural/unnatural dichotomy in low-carbohydrate diet discourse, and movements privileging culinary authenticity in opposition to industrialized, highly processed foods such as Slow Food also employ naturalist discourse.<sup>9</sup> Associations with nature and the natural are also used frequently in the marketing of food products, and consumer studies have shown a preference for natural.<sup>10</sup> The primary way in which the maca packaging communicates a sense of naturalness is through the romantic imagery of production. This image not only places maca production in nature, but also places it in opposition to technological production. In the picture, maca is harvested by hand under a blue sky. Notably absent are the tractors that turn over the soil and the machinery where maca is milled and packaged. In the text, as well, maca is described as natural by what is omitted: maca is described as 'grown in the mineral-rich volcanic soils' but not as processed in factories and shipped around the world. Further, in the 'ingredients' section of the packaging, maca is elaborately described as '100% pure certified organic maca root powder', further emphasising the naturalness of the product.

While the meaning of the word natural, both in relation to food and in general, is far from clear, it tends to be used discursively to set apart those foods 'that had

not been changed in any significant way by contact with humans' from those that humans have deliberately manipulated through either production or processing.<sup>11</sup> The nature/technology dichotomy is problematic; even what we consider to be very basic agricultural practices, such as the process of selective breeding whereby humans sow seeds from cultivars with qualities that they consider favourable, are forms of technologies. The concept of superfoods is man-made, as are the technologies for cultivating, preserving, transporting, and retailing them. Thus the appeal to the natural in superfoods and other food and health discourses raises the question of where to draw a line between the natural and the unnatural, and 'illustrates the extreme malleability of these concepts in different nutritional paradigms'.<sup>12</sup>

In their critique of science-based knowledge frameworks and their technological applications, superfoods also draw upon a discourse of primitivism. Bell defines primitivism as 'the nostalgia of civilized man for a return to a primitive or pre-civilized condition', which manifests in a romanticisation of the ways of life of remote, isolated indigenous peoples and a celebration of their material culture.<sup>13</sup> As Torgovnick observes, primitivism can only exist in opposition to a post-industrial present, and thus she calls it 'a discourse fundamental to the Western sense of self and the Other'.<sup>14</sup> The primitive becomes a foil through which to voice discontent with the 'civilized' present; therefore 'the needs of the present determine the value and nature of the primitive'.<sup>15</sup> Dissatisfied with the medicalization of food and health and the techno-fixes offered by big food manufacturers, superfoods consumers can look towards the primitive for ostensibly more intuitive and natural ways of pursuing health through foods. Knight calls this application of primitivism to health and diet discourse 'nutritional primitivism'.<sup>16</sup>

The image of production on this maca package displays primitivist ideas through the depiction of maca being harvested by hand, by indigenous-looking women wearing traditional dress. There is a tension here between celebrating indigenous culture and employing racist stereotypes, and I illustrate this point by drawing attention to the similarities between this image and many of Diego Rivera's paintings. Similarities include the portrayal of female peasants in colourful traditional dress with dark skin and long dark braids, carrying produce in baskets against a mountainous landscape. There is more than a little irony in appropriating such imagery on product packaging, because while Rivera's paintings celebrated the culture and aesthetics of Mexico, they also expressed the oppression of Mexican peasants and Rivera's own communist leanings. Further, Rivera's work depicted Mexicans, while maca comes from the Peruvian Andes – a very different place in many ways. By conflating these two places and cultures, the image underscores Torgovnick's observation that primitivist discourse is not about representing a specific culture, set in real time and space, but rather about expressing dissatisfaction with the place and time from which the primitivist representation originates.

Maca is also connected with its 'primitive' heritage through words. The package declares that maca is 'the Inca superfood', but does not explain that it was the Pumpish people, not the Incas, who domesticated the root. The Pumpish

occupied the lands where maca has historically grown long before the Incas came into power for a brilliant but fleeting historical moment. There is no evidence outside of legend that the Incas themselves had much to do with maca, however the image of the Inca warrior is powerful.<sup>17</sup> Drawing on existing representations of South America, maca producers have, probably correctly, assumed that 'Inca superfood' has a more resounding impact than 'Pumpish superfood', and therefore have forgone historical accuracy to deploy this imaginative geography.

An image of a mountainous South American landscape and connection with the legendary Inca and their dark-skinned descendants combine to create a sense of place that is timeless, untouched by the forces of modernity. This is an example of what Torgovnick calls 'the persistent Western tendency to deny a plenitude of time and time-layers to the primitive'.<sup>18</sup> The very idea of the primitive is 'essentially a temporal concept, is a category, not an object, of Western thought'; the construction of the category 'primitive' depends upon this placing of the Other outside of intersubjective time.<sup>19</sup> The packaging reinforces this idea by employing an image of maca production being done as it always has been done, without the aid of heavy machinery or the intellectual inputs of agricultural science. Maca is pictured being harvested by hand, by women in traditional dress, creating an image of nostalgic pastoralism, in which little has changed for thousands of years. The hyperbolic claim on the back of the package that 'Peruvian men and women passionately love this heart-shaped tuber, believing it to be a powerful enhancer of well-being and vigor, to not just exist but thrive in the stressful intensity of their high altitude climate' gives a sense of continuous ancient wisdom handed down through generations. This further reinforces ideas of historical continuity and of production processes that occur outside of time, by timeless people.

Within a discourse of nutritional primitivism, superfoods are desired because they are *not modern*. This places a strong emphasis on foods that have a long history of indigenous culinary and medicinal use, and thus are seen as traditional and authentic. It also emphasizes foods that are natural, that is, perceived as not obviously altered by technology in either field or factory. It is those superfoods that were not already known as foods in the West and have entered the Western market as superfoods, such as maca, that rely most heavily upon the use of primitivist discourse. However, the use of primitivist discourse in relation to superfoods is not simply a matter of how Western consumers justify their purchasing decisions; it may have consequences for many superfood producers and their communities that are worth closer examination. While primitivist discourse valorizes superfoods because of their seemingly timeless, pristine origins, it is important to remember that these foods are being produced in places and by people that exist in the tangible, temporal, real world.

### ***Critical Consumption***

Many superfood consumers are, indeed, aware that some of the products they purchase are acquired through a global system of provision that has widespread and diverse social, economic, and environmental impacts. Therefore a third



discourse often employed in representing superfoods is critical consumption. Yates explains that 'critical consumption can be read as a way of participating that renders consumption behaviour conscientious and diligent, over a multitude of political and ethical agendas' and therefore 'refers to cases where consideration of the implications of a product or service's production or consumption result in a consumer decision to boycott or buycott'.<sup>20</sup> The maca packaging communicates a discourse of critical consumption through the display of organic and fair trade certifications. Through these labels, some of the social and environmental facts of maca's production are communicated to consumers. The assumption is that because the product is certified organic, it is not harmful to the environment, and because it is certified fair trade, it is socially beneficial to the people who produce it.

Whether or not certified organic production is, indeed, a benign practice with regard to the environment is a contentious question beyond the scope of this paper. However, the question of maca production's environmental impact is not as simple as whether or not chemical inputs are used. Most maca production in the Junín area does not require the use of pesticides, herbicides, or fungicides for the simple reason that few pests, plants, or fungi thrive at the extreme altitude at which maca grows. Fertilizers have not historically been required because, although maca production does deplete the soil, traditional cultivation practices dictate long fallow periods between crops. But not only has increased demand for maca outside of Junín led to some growers practicing shorter fallow periods, which may eventually lead to the need to use fertilizers, it has also led to the geographical expansion of maca cultivation, and thus more land which has historically been used for grazing or has been the habitat of native vicuñas (a wild camelid) is now growing maca. Some locals have observed hair loss on vicuñas and attribute this to the animals both eating the maca leaves and experiencing stress from the noise of tractors and trucks. Certifying the product as 'organic' does not absolve its production from all negative environmental impacts. Of course there is also the question of whether or not consumers even think about organic certification in terms of environmentalism; many studies of consumer behaviour suggest that consumers purchase organic foods primarily for health, rather than environmental, reasons.<sup>21</sup>

Fair trade certification is also more contentious than it may appear. Not only does it attempt to solve the problem of fetishization created by capitalist exchange through the very type of exchange that has led to the obfuscation of the circumstances of production,<sup>22</sup> but it also has been shown that the certification process can be exclusionary and serve to exacerbate existing power dynamics.<sup>23</sup> However what I find problematic about the fair trade label on this maca packaging is that its very use is in conflict with the romantic, timeless image of production used to construct a discourse of primitivism. If maca production is actually as idyllic as the package imagery suggests, why does the need for a fair trade label exist?

There is an inbuilt friction in these two knowledge claims regarding maca production. In the primitivist account, maca production occurs in an imaginative geography placed outside of real time or space. In the fair trade account, it takes

place in a real geography, where things like poverty due to forces of cultural imperialism and political inequalities are experienced and need to be remedied – in this case through the ‘benevolent’ market intervention of fair trade exchange. The paradox is that the product’s value is linked to both its association with the imaginative geography in which maca production is placed outside of real time and space, and its association with the real geography in which maca production is rooted in an imperfect global food provisioning system. It is important to question to what extent these representations serve as genuine attempts to connect worlds of production and consumption through knowledge, and to what extent they serve as points of differentiation to sell a product, points through which consumers can build their identities as people who value natural or inherent knowledge about health in opposition to mainstream allopathic medicine and as people who resist the inequality of the free market and who wish for a more just world.

## **Conclusions**

This paper has demonstrated how the packaging of one superfood product sold in Australia constructs and communicates a concept of superfoods by bringing together popular discourses about food, health, and values through the use of knowledge claims. It has probed the disjunctures and contradictions within and between these knowledge claims, such as the limitations of organic and fair trade certifications and the information about contemporary maca production that is left out in communicating a discourse of primitivism. It is these disjunctures that I suggest open up spaces for contestation of both the claims themselves and the concept of superfoods more broadly by other actors involved in maca’s production and consumption.

While this paper has focused on one way in which knowledges are constructed and communicated to new consumers by the intermediaries who bring maca to the Australian market, these actors do not have a monopoly on the representational practices that give maca meaning as a superfood. While they often play the powerful role of voicing and translating knowledges between primary producers and consumers, other actors, including producers, consumers, government officials, health professionals, educators, and the media, are also active constructors and interpreters of knowledges. Further studies should investigate the roles that such actors play in the construction of knowledge about superfoods in general and about individual foods in particular. For example, what is the role of the Peruvian government, who has declared maca a ‘flagship product’ of Peru and has encouraged the development of export markets, in this process? Do growers themselves influence the primitive geographies communicated on maca packaging by promoting a particular image for their product to importers or by taking pride in sharing some of their inherited cultivation practices? How do new consumers challenge these knowledges, both by the uses to which they put products and by the sharing of information which occurs at breakneck speed via electronic media?

One way in which knowledges of maca production are currently being challenged is through the creation of a geographical indication for maca

production in the Junín and Pasco regions of Peru. A Denomination of Origin (DO) for 'Maca Junín-Pasco' was officially declared by the national intellectual property organisation INDECOPI (Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual) in 2011.<sup>24</sup> This is an important way in which maca producers have employed their own practices of place-making in relation to maca's origins, for the geographical zone described under the DO is not defined by political boundaries created by government. Instead, the boundaries of the DO have been drawn collectively by growers, historians, and scientists who have pooled their expertises in defining an area historically, culturally, and agronomically appropriate for the production of the high quality maca distinctive to the region. While the DO is not currently active because a regulatory body has not been formed, a potential application for this geographical indication is to create a certification that communicates production knowledges constructed by producers themselves. Further studies examining the role that other actors play in constructing knowledges in maca's, and other superfoods', production-consumption circuits may reveal other points at which the representations presented here are challenged, constructed, and redeployed.

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<sup>1</sup> Gyorgy Scrinis, *Nutritionism: The Science and Politics of Dietary Advice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Christine Knight, "'We Can't Go Back a Hundred Million Years': Low-carbohydrate Dieters' Responses to Nutritional Primitivism', *Food, Culture & Society*, 18 (2015), 441-61.

<sup>3</sup> Luke S. Yates, 'Critical Consumption', *European Societies*, 13 (2011), 191-217.

<sup>4</sup> Power Super Foods, 'Maca Powder', (Murwillumbah, NSW, Australia, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> 'Maca Powder', (<http://www.powersuperfoods.com.au/maca/maca-power-powder.html>, 2013), Accessed 19 December 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Scrinis, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> For a review of scientific studies on maca, see Gustavo F. Gonzales, 'Ethnobiology and Ethnopharmacology of *Lepidium meyenii* (Maca), a Plant from the Peruvian Highlands', *Evidence-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, 2012 (2012), 1-10.

<sup>9</sup> Christine Knight, "'An Alliance With Mother Nature': Natural Food, Health, and Morality in Low-Carbohydrate Diet Books', *Food and Foodways*, 20 (2012), 102-22.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Rozin et al., 'Preference for Natural: Instrumental and Ideational/Moral Motivations, and the Contrast between Foods and Medicines', *Appetite*, 43 (2004), 147-54.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>12</sup> Knight, "'An Alliance With Mother Nature'", p. 119.

<sup>13</sup> M. Bell, *Primitivism* (London: Methuen, 1972), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Knight, "'We Can't Go Back a Hundred Million Years'".

<sup>17</sup> Michael Hermann and Thomas Bernet, 'The Transition of Maca from Neglect to Market Prominence: Lessons for Improving Use Strategies and Market Chains of

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Minor Crops [online]', *Agricultural Biodiversity and Livelihoods Discussion Papers 1* (Rome: Bioversity International, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> Torgovnick, p. 244.

<sup>19</sup> Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University, 1983), p. 18.

<sup>20</sup> Yates, p. 192.

<sup>21</sup> Stewart Lockie et al., 'Eating 'Green': Motivations Behind Organic Food Consumption in Australia', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 42 (2002), 23-40; Maria K. Magnusson et al., 'Choice of Organic Foods is Related to Perceived Consequences for Human Health and to Environmentally Friendly Behaviour', *Appetite*, 40 (2003), 109-17.

<sup>22</sup> Gavin Fridell, 'Fair-Trade Coffee and Commodity Fetishism: The Limits of Market-Driven Social Justice', *Historical Materialism*, 15 (2007), 79-104.

<sup>23</sup> Sarah Besky, 'Can a Plantation be Fair? Paradoxes and Possibilities in Fair Trade Darjeeling Tea Certification', *Anthropology of Work Review*, XXIX (2008), 1-9; Raymond L. Bryant and Michael K. Goodman, 'Peopling the Practices of Sustainable Consumption: Eco-Chic and the Limits to Spaces of Intention', in *Green Consumption: The Global Rise of Eco-Chic*, ed. by Bart Barendregt and Rivke Jaffe (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 37-55.

<sup>24</sup> Perúbiodiverso, 'Reconocimiento de la Denominación de Origen MACA JUNIN-PASCO Desafío y Oportunidad', INDECOPI (2011).