Coloniality in practice.
Tracing power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship

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St.Gallen, October 15, 2018

The President:

Prof. Dr. Thomas Bieger

Trace 1: A coffee stain, also known as trace

„El café ayuda a quien duerme poco y sueña mucho.”
(“Coffee helps those who sleep little and dream much.”)

Anonymous

Acknowledgements

"Our lives are not our own. From womb to tomb, we are bound to others, past and present, and by each crime and every kindness, we birth our future."

Sonmi-451, Cloud Atlas

When Sonmi-451 sends these lines to outer worlds, her fate is already decided. Heavily armed units of the totalitarian "Unanimity" organization governing Neo-Seoul have taken the last resistance pockets in front of her eyes, and she knows that she will be executed soon. But her calm message that clones like herself have agency and can participate in world making, just like humans can, has already been sent out into the universe. Eventually, someone will manage to translate the signal, and her hopeful voice will inspire others to struggle for what is rightfully theirs.

Everything is connected, and traces of inspiration are often obscure. Yet, we do have a say in what affects us, and by becoming affected we grant agency – to voices in movies such as Sonmi-451's in Cloud Atlas, to artifacts, to ideas, to concepts and, most importantly, to fellow human beings who carry all of the former into our own worlds of affection. There are just too many kindnesses (and some crimes) that have participated in the heavy birth of this study to remember them all, let alone to name them all here. I am eternally grateful.

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main supervisor, only upon two emails and a skype call. Together with my former head of department Julia's offer to hire me back as project manager at myclimate, knowing that I was about to embark on a hazardous PhD journey, your stance allowed me to confidently return to Switzerland after almost two years in North and South America.

As a researcher, I found my voice and agency because of the voices and agencies of others. They made me speak, not the other way around, and I am especially indebted to Diana, María, Manuel, Ariel, Yaneth, Ruby, Abel, Carlos, Juan Carlos, Javier, Luisa, Uriel, Juan, Mauricio, Nicolás, Cristián, Sandra, Samuel, Johan Sebastián, César, Andrés, Alejandra, Charly, Julián, Germán, Luís, Sandra, Fabio Alberto, Nathalie, Rubén Darío, Ariel, Christián, Luís Adolfo, Julialba, Bayron, Juan José, Alexis, Carolina, Libardo, Gloria, Felipe, Luz Nelly, Daniel, Pancho, Juanita, Magola and Juan.

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Of course, there are many voices transpiring through the lines of such a book which transcend the research process or that small world called academia altogether. First of all, Lina, *berraca brillante*. I wouldn't know what *empatía radical* can make us become without the traces we have laid together in sand and snow in between the North and the South, in between the worlds of Tourists and those of Vagabonds, in between the ghosts of the past and the monsters of the present. In the face of great odds, it has always been,

and it will always be, the *malintegradas y luchonas* who make new worlds. As I speak to you and with you in this text, you speak through me.

More traces of inspiration connect me to the voices of Jan, Dirk and Rodrigo (*Mach' dein Ding, steh' dazu. Heul' nicht rum, wenn andere lachen*), Kuno, Mani, Büne, Chimamanda, Arundathy, Anna, Lukas and Jean, Bädu, Friedrich, Bell, Trevor, Gustavo, Dave, Natalia, Bob, Graeme and Craig, Guillaume and the Young Boys, Valon, Ali Farka and Ry, Miles, Dennis and Silvio, Claude, Johann Sebastian, Fatoumata and Skye. Then, many great friends in Zürich and Bern had to take in all those maniac and depressive phases that, I am afraid, have to accompany such a neurotic and anxious project like a PhD. Those who remembered me to live and dance a little include Beni (we have some things in common), Julian, Nino, Vera, Lars (are we brothers?), Tsedor, Karin and the singing sisters, Carol, Sale, Raffi and crew, Karmen with Arne, Emiliano and Ayulela, Mare, Luca and the Bolligenstrasse crew, Götti Res (thank you for a crucial winter retreat), noisy Jonas and Domi and Joel and, *es guets Neus!*, Kare for so incredibly putting me from the head back to my feet (sometimes even attaching the latter to a snowboard or SUP board). By giving me a sense of home, I think you made no less than that last half year of this project possible.

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Our lives are not our own. With the exception of the many errors and shortcomings which I am solely accountable for, the becoming of this thesis must be traced back to all those voices human and non-human which inspired me unconditionally. This study is as much yours as it is mine.

Bern, July 31, 2018   Dominik Mösching

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Abstract

In a world that breathes "coloniality" at large, a growing number of post- and decolonial organization scholars problematize power by recognizing the persisting aftermath of the colonial experience (Mills 2018, Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012). The question how colonial power relations are (not) reproduced has come under closer scrutiny, in particular regarding the practice of entrepreneurship, increasingly analyzed as a force of making other worlds (Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009).

Yet, decolonial analyses often fall into the "structuralist trap" of seeing colonial power as totalized formation out of reach (Escobar 2018, Zanoni, Contu, Healy and Mir 2017). As a result, vivid empirical illustrations of the "neocolonial" struggles between decolonial and colonial aspirations are in short supply (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Millar 2014, Imas and Weston 2012), and the lack of concepts to situate the emergence of large phenomena in everyday life (Nicolini 2017a) even puts the central decolonial impetus to recover the "agency of the marginal" at risk (Srinivas 2013, Mignolo and Escobar 2010).

This study addresses both the empirical and the conceptual gap by tracing neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship. In the tradition of studying global connections "from below" (Mathews, Lins Ribeiro and Alba Vega 2012, Tsing 2015), I engage in a multi-sited ethnography (Falzon 2009) of an emergent Direct Trade (DT) coffee business. By applying the conceptual framework of social practice theory (SPT) (Hui, Schatzki and Shove 2017, Reckwitz 2002), I make neocolonial power struggles operational as performances of subject positioning (Bröckling 2016, Davies and Harré 1999). This enables me to trace them in marginal entrepreneurial practices which connect a migrant-led coffee shop in Switzerland with a relaunched family farm in Colombia. The single case study thereby discloses empirical settings that are often unheard, or silenced, in management and organization studies (MOS) (Gantman, Yousfi and Alcadipani 2015, Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011).

The data, generated in a series of participant observations, focused conversations and documentary research in both countries over sixteen months, is analyzed in more-than-representational (Vannini 2015b) instances of open coding, conceptual mapping and evocative story writing. In a process of iterative triangulation, multiplicities remain audible, and omitted voices become joint practitioners in the decolonial exploration of the fragmentary (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006). Along the lines of what I call Hopeful Noir, the empirical story is thereby presented as the origin, rather than the evidence, of the analytical trajectory (Rose 2016).

A trilogy of result chapters traces how the entrepreneurial project aspires to change the way coffee is handled, both in the producer region as well as in the global market. Set in a context of affluent corporations, hegemonic institutions, and traditional understandings of how to produce (quality) coffee, marginal entrepreneurial practice emerges in dispersed, nested and relational activities (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee 2015). They intersect with established practices of producing commodity coffee. As subject positions such as consumers vs. producers, refined producers vs. raw material producers and humans vs. plants (Brice 2014) collide, multiple marginalities emerge in two circles of co-creation: First, practices and subject positions co-constitute each other, and second, subject positions and marginal agency co-constitute each other. In particular, as the dialogue between the decolonial approaches of Said (1978), Bhabha (1994) and Anzaldúa (1987) with the empirical case shows, three subject positioning processes are identified – with differing implications: "Border doing" reproduces and resists colonial power, "border crossing" reproduces, resists and subverts colonial power, and "border dwelling" reproduces, resists, subverts and transcends colonial power. Subject positioning in practice is therefore a result, and a source, of power – it is formed by, and performs, power relations (Watson 2017). As the double circularity of power performs the world of DT coffee in multiplicities of "old" and "new", I claim that decolonial worlds are not built by division, but by multiplication: Making worlds in which many worlds fit is a performance with many shades of noir.

In tracing how colonial power shapes the practice of entrepreneurial world making – and vice versa – this study expands the understanding of power, agency and change in (particularly process-oriented) MOS. The ethnographic analysis of a marginal entrepreneurial case offers the post- and decolonial community in MOS an empirical illustration and operational concepts to support its program of giving silenced practices and approaches a stronger voice. Finally, my attempt towards a decolonial praxeology connects SPT and decolonial studies in a dialogue which has a high potential to critically review ontological and epistemological bases of current research.

Key words: Colonial Power, Entrepreneurship, Multiple Marginality, Social Practice, Agency, World Making, Coffee, Decolonial Studies

Zusammenfassung

Post- und dekoloniale Ansätze, welche Machtprozesse unter Berücksichtigung kolonialer Erfahrungen problematisieren, haben in den letzten Jahren in den Management- und Organisationswissenschaften (MOS) an Gewicht gewonnen (Mills 2018, Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman und Nkomo 2012). Die Frage, wie koloniale Machtverhältnisse reproduziert oder überwunden werden, ist dabei ein wesentlicher Fokus, insbesondere hinsichtlich unternehmerischer Praktiken. Diese werden zunehmend als kreative Kraft zur Schaffung anderer Welten ("world making") verstanden (Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich und Bourne 2009).

Als Spielart der "strukturalistischen Falle" erscheint Macht in dekolonialen Analysen jedoch häufig als abstraktes Phänomen (Escobar 2018, Zanoni, Contu, Healy und Mir 2017). Erstens fehlen anschauliche empirische Illustrationen neokolonialer Kämpfe zwischen de- und kolonialen Aspirationen (Durepos, Prasad und Villanueva 2016, Millar 2014, Imas und Weston 2012). Zweitens ist der Mangel an Konzepten, die die Entstehung "grosser Phänomene" (Nicolini 2017a) im gelebten Alltag verorten, ein Risiko für den zentralen Antrieb dekolonialer Studien: Das Wiederherstellen marginaler Handlungsfähigkeit (Srinivas 2013, Mignolo und Escobar 2010).

Diese Studie addressiert die doppelte empirische und konzeptionelle Forschungslücke, in der Tradition anthropologischer Analysen globaler Beziehungen "von unten" (Mathews, Lins Ribeiro und Alba Vega 2012, Tsing 2015), in einer multilokalen Ethnographie (Falzon 2009). Mit dem Ziel, neokoloniale Machtkämpfe in marginalem Unternehmertum nachzuzeichnen, untersucht die Einzelfallstudie die geschäftlichen Praktiken in einem Kaffee-Direkthandelsbetrieb zwischen einem kolumbianisch geführten Café in der Schweiz und einer reaktivierten Familienfarm in Kolumbien. Neokoloniale Machtkämpfe werden dabei durch den konzeptuellen Rahmen der Theorie sozialer Praktiken (Hui, Schatzki und Shove 2017, Reckwitz 2002) als Subjektpositionierungsleistungen operationalisiert (Bröckling 2016, Davies und Harré 1999).

Die Daten wurden in einer Serie von teilnehmenden Beobachtungen, Konversationen und Recherchen in beiden Ländern über einen Zeitraum von sechzehn Monaten erhoben. Sie werden in mehr-als-repräsentativer Weise (Vannini 2015b) in einer iterativen Triangulation von offenem Coding, konzeptuellem Mapping und evokativem Schreiben analysiert. So bleiben Multiplizitäten hörbar, und vernachlässigte Stimmen gestalten die dekoloniale Erforschung des Fragmentären wesentlich mit (Frenkel und Shenhav 2006). Das empirische Narrativ wird schliesslich im Stile einer, wie ich es nenne, Hopeful Noir Story als Ursprung und nicht als Evidenz für den analytischen Prozess präsentiert (Rose 2016).

Die Resultate der Studie zeichnen nach, wie das Kleinunternehmen die Art und Weise, wie Kaffee in der Produktionsregion und in globalen Märkten gemacht wird, verändern will. Im Kontext transnationaler Unternehmen, hegemonialer Institutionen und traditioneller Produktionspraktiken erscheint marginale unternehmerische Praxis in verstreuten, verschachtelten und relationalen Aktivitäten (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek und Spee 2015). Diese kreuzen sich in vielfältiger Weise mit etablierten Praktiken (Brice 2014). Dabei schafft die Kollision von Subjektpositionen multiple Marginalitäten in zwei zirkulären Prozessen: Praktiken und Subjektpositionen, sowie Subjektpositionen und marginale Handlungsfähigkeit, ko-konstituieren einander. Im Dialog zwischen dekolonialen Ansätzen in der Tradition von Said (1978), Bhabha (1994) und Anzaldúa (1987) und der Empirie werden drei Subjektpositionierungsprozesse identifiziert – mit unterschiedlichen Implikationen für die Taktiken im Umgang mit kolonialen Machtverhältnissen: "Grenzmachen" (Border doing) ermöglicht Reproduktion und Widerstand, "Grenzkreuzen" (Border crossing) dazu Subversion, und "Grenzwohnen" (Border dwelling) dazu Überwindung. Subjektpositionierungen erscheinen so in der Praxis als Resultat und Quelle von Machtverhältnissen zugleich (Watson 2017). Indem die "doppelte Zirkularität der Macht" die Welt des Direkthandelskaffees in Multiplizitäten von "alt" und "neu" aufführt, folgere ich, dass dekoloniale Welten nicht durch Division, sondern durch Multiplikation erschaffen werden.

Indem die Studie nachzeichnet, wie koloniale Macht unternehmerische Praktiken des "World Making" gestaltet – und umgekehrt – vertieft sie das Verständnis von Macht, Handlungsfähigkeit und Wandel in (insbesondere prozessorientierten) MOS. Die ethnographische Fallstudie eines marginalen Unternehmens erarbeitet operationale Konzepte und macht empirische Kontexte hörbar, welche in MOS häufig ignoriert werden (Gantman, Yousfi und Alcadipani 2015, Jack, Westwood, Srinivas und Sardar 2011). Schliesslich sehe ich in meinem Versuch einer "dekolonialen Praxeologie" das Potential, die Theorie sozialer Praktiken mit dekolonialen Studien in einen Dialog zu bringen, welcher ontologische und epistemologische Annahmen in den Sozialwissenschaften kritisch zu hinterfragen vermag.

Schlagworte: Koloniale Macht, Unternehmertum, multiple Marginalität, Soziale Praxis, Handlungsfähigkeit, World Making, Kaffee, dekoloniale Studien

Preface

I don't know what made me turn right instead of getting back directly to the hotel. "Do not get lost out there", had adverted the reception woman, gently touching my arm to signal the color of my skin. Maybe, it was an intuitive push towards a place that had intrigued me two days ago when I arrived in Chinchiná, that bustling commercial town in the *eje cafetero* region in Colombia. It had been market day then, and just when I felt confused by the curiously identical blocks with their small businesses, restaurants, kiosks and moving manifolds of cars and people, I saw the closed windows of that café called *La Tarima* for the first time. Maybe, I turned right just because I felt sleepy after the huge dinner and was hoping for a *tinto*, a long black coffee, before resuming doing nothing in my room. After all, it was the first moment of relaxation in these days of relentlessly tracing coffee-handling activities such as harvesting, bag lifting, drying, transporting, physical and cup testing, negotiating, buying, selling and serving. Or maybe, after all, it really was the researcher's hard earned luck.

La Tarima literally means "the stage". After turning right, I walked up a few steps, entered and knew instantly: whoever owns this café must have been to Buenos Aires, the city where I had spent one and a half years of my life. The whole interior enacted the alternative coffee house atmospheres of the Argentinian capital in a very respectful and detailed way. There were three tall rooms connected by open doors with red frames, there was a diverse set of vintage chairs and tables, there were tons of newspaper articles pasted over the brick walls in the back of the bar, there was a small stage with a few instruments and – maybe most importantly – there were the breathing bandoneón, the crooning voice and the vinyl cracks of a fifties' tango tune filling the air with the melancholy of a love forever lost.

"Good evening", greeted me a calm yet assertive voice. "I am Ariel". The owner of *La Tarima*, a lean man from Cali in his forties, approached me. Just like this, a conversation started that lasted for the next ten days. I would come back every night to talk to him and his friends about my fieldwork. While he prepared a *tinto* with the *greca*, an classic steam coffee machine, he said: "With the *greca*, every cup is unique. That's nothing for the experts, they like standardized procedures. It is an instrument, not a machine." With its several handles and the iron condor on top, the *greca* dwarfed everything else around the bar: Cups, bottles, bartenders. He was clearly an artist, I thought.

> "Artists turn objects into subjects; it is old-time alchemy, part magic and part science. Great artists set up their tent on that borderline between magic and technique, and they use their alchemy to prove that something is humanly true, humanly possible." Tom Piazza, booklet to Bob Dylan – Triplicate (2017)

I introduced my research project to him. He smiled. "Look around. The quality of coffee lies in its capacity to make us speak to each other, not only in its taste. What I sell here is communication." I sipped my *tinto*. "If we talk about coffee quality, we have to acknowledge the double meaning of the term", he differentiated. "It refers to a place and to a product at the same time, and both dimensions have to do with the 'human factor' which give both a 'soul'."

Just as he was setting out to zoom on the relation of producer and consumer countries, and how this positioning game fostered unequal value distributions in the markets, a grungy woman with voluminous curly hair, black tights and leather boots entered. Juanita, a sociology student, steered the conversation towards power struggles, political activism and the possibility of resistance in an all-encompassing capitalist system. Ariel wanted to know about the curriculum at the University of Caldas. "The whole semester, we do theory: Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Elias, Foucault, Bourdieu, Giddens", she said. I asked about Colombian and Latin American theorists like Arturo Escobar or Orlando Fals-Borda. "Yes, they form part of the last class before the vacations, when we look at 'local applications', or 'practical implications', of theory for us here."

The subject for the rest of the night was set: The coloniality of knowledge, in particular of academic knowledge in the form of "theory". More people joined in, and I outlined how I came to study neocolonial power struggles in the field of coffee entrepreneuring. I told them that I had a long standing interest in the friction between 'local' self determination and 'global' embeddedness, sparked in debates on the Swiss relation to the European Union in the 1990's and especially in the protests against the Davos World Economic Forum in the early 2000's. That I had studied attitudes towards globalization between economic interests and national identities for my Master in political science at the University of Zürich. That my partner Lina was a Colombian Anthropologist with whom I engaged in an ongoing dialogue about power, change and coloniality day in and day out since we met in Buenos Aires. That I had embarked on a PhD journey at the University of St. Gallen, accompanying a near-full time job, to translate the voices in my head into a "Thesis", which in original Greek literally means "to place" or "to position" oneself towards a certain issue and, ultimately, the world.

Ariel smiled wittingly. "We have seen people like you." He showed me a book called "When Coffee Speaks. Stories From and of Latin American Coffee People" by Rachel

Northrop, a coffee researcher who was here some time ago and decided to publish the practitioner's voices directly, without putting them through academic translations (2015). She had passed by to leave a copy. "That was a nice project", he acknowledged. "But in the end, most of you guys never come back." He cleaned the surfaces in silence for a moment. "But that's OK. You've got your journey, and we've got ours."

We started to talk about music and shared names of songs, projects and bands from Buenos Aires to Switzerland and back. He said that coffee was full of stories and imaginations, bitter and sweet. He interrupted the tango that was playing and showed me a spoken poem by Nicomedes Santa Cruz, an Afro-Peruvian musician, accompanied by a thoughtful six-string and a careful percussion. Below the glass surface of the bar, he had displayed the lyrics of the poem. Then, he went for his guitar and handed me the old one which was hanging on the wall. I adapted the strings for my left-handed playing, and we tried to find a piece we both knew how to play. Finally, we settled on "Minor Swing" by Django Reinhardt. The strings were out of tune, and we struggled to find a common groove. The performance was polyphonic, even dissonant at times. But it was what was "humanly true, humanly possible" in that very moment of being alive.

(Dear reader,

At times, you will find QR codes embedded in the text. Scan them with your smartphone camera (maybe, you'll need a dedicated QR code scanner app). You will then be forwarded to "moving traces."

They add other sensorial dimensions to your reading experience and weave a living tissue around the materiality of the book in your hands…)

El Café (Nicomedes Santa Cruz)

Tengo tu mismo color
Y tu misma procedencia.
Somos aroma y esencia
Y amargo es nuestro sabor.
Tú viajaste a Nueva York
Con visa en Bab-el-Mandeb,
Yo mi Trópico crucé
De Abisinia a las Antillas.
Soy como ustedes semillas.
Soy un grano de café.

En los tiempos coloniales
Tú me viste en la espesura
Con mi liana a la cintura
Y mis abóreos timbales.
Compañero de mis males,
Yo mismo te trasplanté.

Surgiste y yo progresé:
En los mejores hoteles
Te dijeron ¡qué bien hueles!
Y yo asentí "¡uí, mesié!".

Tú: de porcelana fina,
Cigarro puro y cognac.
Yo de smoking, yo de frac,
Yo recibiendo propina.
Tú a la Bolsa, yo a la ruina;
Tú subiste, yo bajé...
En los muelles te encontré,
Vi que te echaban al mar
Y ni lo pude evitar
Ni a las aguas me arrojé.

Y conocimos al Peón
Con su "café carretero",
Y hablando con el Obrero
Recorrimos la nación.
Se habló de revolución
Entre sorbos de café:
Cogí el machete... dudé,
¡Tú me infundiste valor
Y a sangre y fuego y sudor
Mi libertad conquisté...!

Después vimos al Poeta:
Lejano, meditabundo,
Queriendo arreglar el mundo
Con una sola cuarteta.
Yo, convertido en peseta,
Hasta sus plantas rodé:
¡Qué ojos los que iluminé,
Que trilogía formamos
Los pobres que limosneamos
El Poeta y su café...!

Tengo tu mismo color
Y tu misma procedencia,
Somos aroma y esencia
Y amargo es nuestro sabor...
¡Vamos hermanos, valor,
El café nos pide fe;
Y Changó y Ochún y Agué
Piden un grito que vibre
Por nuestra América Libre,
Libre como su café!

Figure 1: El Café no se traduce
(coffee doesn't translate)

Trace 2: The City of the Tower

The aspirations of the North to universally affect were right there, embodied by that miniature Eiffel Tower in the twilight of a bedroom in the Colombian countryside. Why do some events, actors and practices have the power to affect bodies and locations thousands of kilometers away and others not? Post- and decolonial voices argue that it has to do with the continuing salience of the colonial experience. Increasingly concerned with, and by, the question how colonial power relations are (not) reproduced, organization scholars who are interested in recovering the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) study power, agency and change by tracing coloniality in everyday world making. Can participation be open, and ownership be shared, in an interconnected world? How can decolonial designs affect world making around the planet without becoming colonizing universal aspirations themselves?

1 Introducing the study

"Queremos ser nosotros los que diseñemos y controlemos nuestros proyectos de vida." – "We ourselves want to be those who design and control our life projects."

Elicura Chihuailaf (cit. in Escobar 2018: 16)

1.1   Research concern: Organizing decolonial world making

"You there", shouted the butcher across the village square, "you are from those lands where they killed all these people. Yes or no?" It was a calm Sunday morning. Santa Marta, a small hilltop settlement between the Nevado del Ruiz volcano and the mighty Cauca river was slowly recuperating from a vivid night with mountains of grilled meat and a lot of Aguardiente, the Colombian sugarcane liquor famous for causing headaches and knock-outs. Two barely conscious teenage boys sat on a bench with their eyes closed and some leftover food on a plate in front of them, probably placed there by the woman wiping the sideway. I shivered and turned around. The butcher was standing between two halves of a cow and holding a massive knive in his hands. "Massacred. All those people. The city of the tower. You are from there, right? What is it called, Germany or something. They just said something in the radio."

I had no idea what he was talking about. The last days, I had been immersing myself into harvesting coffee, talking to coffee practitioners and kicking off my fieldwork weeks in the region of the Colombian coffee axis. I nervously asked for details, but that was all he knew, and his radio played Paso Doble instead of the news now. A slight panic seized me. A massacre? In "my lands"? I had no data reception on my phone, and none of my hosts knew more. They did not seem to be really interested in what might have happened in that distant city of the tower. "Feel free to try the TV, but the next news won't arrive before 12.30", they said. For coffee farm administrator Francisco, it

was more important to show me the horse riding competition in the nearby town of Neira. On the road down the hill, data reception was finally back. Anxiously checking my smartphone in that red jeep chugging through coffee plantations, and nearly 48 hours after it happened, I learned about the November 2015 attacks which killed 130 people at a rock music concert, in cafés and around a football stadium in Paris, France.

It was uncanny. Although he was obviously mixing up countries and cities, a few words by a village butcher made the shootings and explosions reverberate in my guts before I even knew what had been going on. A little later, in that jeep, I felt that he was quite right about it happening in "my lands". Not because I was citizen of a European country or because I had been to Paris before. He was right in a more profound sense that he must have been aware of. I had been to many football games. I liked to talk to friends in bars over a drink. Going to, and playing, rock shows was part of my life. These were "my" territories indeed. Yet, he had made clear that they were not "his". When calling me at the village square, he drew a thin line between the affected, to which I belonged in his eyes, and the bystanders like him who, as expression of common humanness, felt compassion and solidarity for "us". In one move, he had established a boundary and crossed it right away. We had been positioned differently, but we were connected.

Of course it felt closer to me than him, I first thought. That was trivial geographical distance and simple economics of attention. What we perceive as close has more power to act upon us – to affect us – than what lives far, far away. Everything is connected, yes, but by learning to be affected differently by phenomena we grant more or less agency to them. In the opposite case, news about Colombian massacres would affect him more than me, that is, if they would ever impress the gatekeepers at the European news agencies enough to be reported. But then, something unexpected happened. The jeep arrived in Neira, and all the screens in the restaurants were showing images from Paris. We met some of Francisco's relatives from town, and they were lively discussing details of the horrific incident that had happened two days ago. All of a sudden, we had crossed from the butcher's territory into my lands. Neira was closer to Paris than to Santa Marta right now. Somewhere in between that village outpost and this small commercial town, I had passed the borders of global awareness.

Does the global, understood as aspirations to universally affect, have *spatial* boundaries? If yes, how are they made, and what are they made of? Later that day, I realized that they were definitely not technical. Back up at the hill, I wanted to make sense of it all by myself and tried the TV. It turned out that only one channel beyond the one they regularly watched, *CNN en Español* excitedly offered its typical brand of 24/7

infotainment it brought to every household with cable access in Latin America. Yet, my hosts saw the news as something which would "arrive" at a certain time, namely, when their channel would read them. Watching CNN was just not a thing in their lives, just like checking the news on their phones (which were regularly used for Facebook and Whatsapp though, if you knew where in the village data reached you). The boundary was not technical, and it was not ignorance of distant matters either. It turned out that the city of the tower had been present in that bedroom for years when I spotted a 30-centimeter steel miniature of the Eiffel Tower in the twilight, standing on the furniture right next to the TV set.

Likely as a gift of some far-travelled friends, that massive item stood for the dream of one day visiting Paris themselves, an other-worldly potentiality they were able to have a glimpse on every night before going to sleep. Close and far, own and other worlds, connection and difference: All was there, embodied by a steel souvenir. Some things may travel, others not; but all things travelling are translated and gain new meaning by being put in motion. Is the representation of Paris wrong, skewed, incomplete in Santa Marta and more accurate, direct and complete in Neira? This question implies that there "is" an authentic essence of Paris. But can't there be many Parises? Can't Paris be multiple? Thus, maybe, it is more interesting to ask what is added rather than lost in translation. And thus, maybe, aspriations to universally affect don't come to an end between Neira and Santa Marta. They might just change form as they are put in practice differently by "learning to be affected" (Brice 2014) differently in everyday lives here and there.

But the global is more than mere aspirations to universally affect, inscribed in moving images and objects. Since the end of the Cold War, social transformations and contested political developments have actually, and very materially, affected and colonized locals on a planetary scale (Mignolo and Escobar 2010). A North Western-led global capitalism has woven everyday practices into social fabrics that transcend the places from where individuals and organizations act, integrating them into a highly asymmetric world risk society (Beck 2008: 336). Examples for such processes, which are commonly narrated in stories of "globalization", are lifted regulations to put capital, goods, signs and people in motion, the rise of corporations as powerful as governments, or the advanced commodification of services the planet and its inhabitants used to offer free of charge. In the 2010's, as the North Western grip on the global economic system is fading, some of the socio-political practices which have enabled liberal capitalism to flourish are increasingly questioned. Ruminations of a "newfound sense of dislocation, disorientation, and decenteredness" (Martín Alcoff 2002: ix) haunt the formerly

triumphant centers of 'globalization'. Major parts of its populations are disillusioned by the gutted promise of eternal progress. A highly inequal Neo-Feudalism is in the making (Piketty 2014) and ecological, economic and social systems are shaken by multiple crises (Rockström research group 2009, Rogers, Jalal and Boyd 2008, Harris 2007). In the North Atlantic provinces of America and Eurasia, strengthening national borders is en vogue again to protect whatever is left of a waning occidental pride. In Europe, populists shake formerly stable party systems and push protectionist as well as xenophobic agendas. Britain will soon leave the EU, facing uncertain market prospects. In the US, a coalition of economic and identitary "globalization losers" (Kriesi, Grande, Lachat, Dolezal, Bornschier and Frey 2008) has brought a leader into the White House who distinctively rejects cosmopolitan universalisms. After the "End of History" (Fukuyama 1992) was proclaimed in the 1990s, suddenly, the end of the Western model of organizing social matters seems a not-so-distant possibility, as for example King's telling title "Grave New World. The End of Globalization, the Return of History" (2017) suggests.

Do global aspirations to universally affect have *temporal* boundaries then? Is "globalization" about to end – or does it just change form and become something else than a system catering especially to North Western interests, just like the affective power of stories and images from "global" Paris passed a *spatial* boundary somewhere between Neira and Santa Marta? While post-factual politics question democratic practices in the North Atlantic ("fake news", "alternative facts"), its own data corporations turn citizens into accomplices of a playful totalitarianism where formerly private lives are successfully exploited commercially, and a re-emerging China moves in to defend the capitalist world order to secure its "connectivity" (Khanna 2016). An authoritarian capitalism seems to be in the making, and it might well be that the prime victim of the next decades is neither free trade nor the nation state, but democracy. As Rodrik (2011) has put it in his book "the globalization paradox", in the trilemma of deep economic integration, powerful nation states and democratic politics, you can only achieve two at a time – and open participation in matters of "world making" (that is, in the ontological constitution of what is, what acts and what affects: Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009) seems to be the weakest link.

But then, this is only one version of the "globalization" narrative. It expresses the fear for the demise of North Western concepts such as the state, markets or development (Escobar 2012), concepts which have been experienced very differently in other regions of the world in terms of organizing inclusive participation in making worlds. Voices from outside the North Atlantic underline that eurocentric universalisms have usually

restricted partaking in world making to mostly white, mostly male and mostly affluent in-groups who would mind their own business protected by material and discursive borders. In particular, for post- and decolonial voices, the overwhelming part of world making efforts continues to perform colonial power. In what resonates with the introducing anecdote of the city of the tower, they argue that it is precisely through the hierarchization of knowledges into global aspirations and local affects (or universal and particular validity) that "long-standing patterns of power" (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 97) are performed into existence. As the silenced underside of North Western modernity (masked as globalization by the dominant powers), "coloniality" (Quijano 2000, Mignolo 2010b, Ibarra-Colado 2006) is seen as transpiring in and through a manifold of practices in everyday lives around the planet, shaping potentials to participate in world making for actors privileged and marginal. "[A]s modern subjects", Maldonaldo-Torres puts forward, "we breath[e] coloniality all the time and everyday" (2010: 97).

In the context of coloniality at large, the question under which conditions practices of world making bring about decolonial change or reproduce colonial power has come under closer scrutiny (Mills 2018). Here, the diagnosis of a de-westernizing world has sparked some optimism concerning opportunities for the inclusion of the marginal *as* political subjects, as critical volumes such as "Latin American Perspectives on Globalization. Ethics, Politics and Alternative Visions" edited by Sáenz (2002) or "Globalization and the Decolonial Option" edited by Mignolo and Escobar (2010) illustrate. In the years since the epochal World Social Forum of Porto Alegre in Brazil 2001, the hope of marginalized groups from around the planet that "another world is possible", coupled with a desire to participate in the making of this another world, has indeed been translated into diverse 'local' struggles which talk back to 'global' affairs from their particular locations. "*Queremos ser nosotros los que diseñemos y controlemos nuestros proyectos de vida*", "We ourselves want to be those who design and control our life projects", cites Arturo Escobar the Mapuche poet Elicura Chihuailaf (Escobar 2018: 16). Very much in this vein, Linda Martín Alcoff writes that

> "[m]odels of transcultural and intercultural relations are replacing center/periphery or world-systems approaches, thus removing the need for a central reference point and focusing attention on the more constructive questions of building towards dialogic relationships based on equality and epistemic cooperation rather than subsumption to a universalized paradigm." (Martín Alcoff 2002: ix)

However, far from painting an idealized world of peaceful deliberation, post- and decolonial approaches strongly underline that the participation of marginal subjects in world making first of all raises frictions and power struggles. Building on the Zapatista

vision of "a world in which many worlds fit" (Martín Alcoff 2002: xi), they claim that the current space of social interconnection ("world"), as identified by theorists like Beck (2008), is not embedded in a shared "universe" of meaning. Escobar characterizes this condition as "pluriversal" (Escobar 2012: xxxviii). In such a "pluriversal world", at least partly incommensurable ways of being and knowing intersect, and virtually every corner of the daily life becomes a potential "contact zone" (Pratt 1992: 4) where power struggles between connected differences play out (Tsing 2005). Depending on how they are moderated, such struggles can create novelty and innovation, but also lead to conflict and destruction, as the particularly violent case of transnational terrorism in the introductory vignette exemplifies.

"Other" (Said 1978, Spivak 1987) aspirations for relevance and validity can be equally universal and equally colonial as the dominant North Western designs. On the other hand, because of their historical and biographical experience with marginalization, they know that one can always only speak from a specific location, with a specific tone and a specific body (Mignolo 2002: 66). As Mignolo suggests (2010b), one's "locus of enunciation" is equally provincial for all, and voices from the North West are painfully starting to realize that they have a place, a tone and a body as much as everyone else. But as they lack the consciousness of their own provinciality (yet), they struggle with a world where the power to affect is not neatly bounded in time and space; a world that is not the result of the actions of sovereign, free, stable, bounded individual actors; a world where being affected or not cannot be controlled entirely. Slowly, they start to get an idea of what it means to live in a world that is assembled by myriads of practices which intersect, associate and translate ways of knowing and being. It is a world that doesn't work in terms of "*entweder-oder*" (either-or), but rather in terms of "*sowohl-als-auch*" (as-well-as). Ironically, that world of the "*sowohl-als-auch*" they are about to enter has been the place of the marginalized all along. Marginal voices have always precariously lived in-between, often informalized, sometimes illegalized, and mostly invisibilized by the official discursive arenas of media and academia (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Butler 2004, Calás and Smircich 2003). In that vein, Arundathy Roy, Indian activist and author, once replied to the Guardian newspaper that she cannot hear her being described as 'the voice of the voiceless' anymore. "I say, 'There's no voiceless, there's only the deliberately silenced, you know, or the purposely unheard'" (Aitkenhead 2017).

I have set out this programmatic introduction by zooming-in on how events and ideas have the power to affect bodies and locations thousands of kilometers away. Then, I have zoomed out to outline a historical moment where North Western global aspirations

and their associated socio-political practices become shaky, with uncertain prospects for the conditions of possibility of an inclusive dialogue between diverse voices. Both zoomings, I claim, approach the old democratic question of how to relate what affects and what is affected from two opposite sides – from the side of the (political) subject, understood as an agent of world making with the power to affect the constitution of the social world (Bazzul 2016, Brice 2014, Latour 2004), and from the side of (political) practice, understood as performances of claiming to make part of that agency. They also circumscribe the concern which brought me to embark on this research endeavor: Participation in world making and, more specifically, a profound uneasiness with "entweder-oder" ways of thinking. In my view, they prevent novel ways to "include the affected" or, in German, "Betroffene zu Beteiligten machen".

What is more, I claim that both zoomings equally make a crucial conceptual point. As a historically contingent and context dependent phenomenon, the global is bound in time and space and emerges in colonial encounters of the universal and the particular. It lives in universal aspirations of 'large' powerful projects, but also in the 'small' power of particular connections made and unmade by humans and other actors in mundane everyday practices. It is precisely this ambiguous nature of coloniality as universal and particular, as abstract and concrete at the same time, that makes it so exhaustingly enigmatic and hard to grasp with either-or approaches. They are ill equipped to hear the frequencies where the voices of the not-yet and not-quite are engaged in ever unfolding dialogue. And they can hardly read, nor write, a vibrant world that is (per)formed in "rhizomatic becomings" (Steyaert 2012: 156) where colonial differences *and* connections across difference rise and fall as boundaries are constantly made, made permeable, crossed, and broken.

In short, my research interest is how to organize a decolonial world. What is at stake here is no less than the question whether participation can be open, and ownership can be shared, in an interconnected world. I believe that building decolonial worlds upon moving grounds needs ways to "make the multiple possible and enable the potential of the multiple" (Steyaert 2012: 159). How can the energy of pluriversal frictions be handled in ways that spark hope instead of burning down connections? How can decolonial designs (Escobar 2018) affect world making efforts around the planet without becoming colonizing universal aspirations themselves?

1.2   Aim of the study: (Re)searching ways to study coloniality in practice

In Management and Organization Studies (MOS), just like all across the Social Sciences and the Humanities, a growing number of post- and decolonial voices from the margins of academic debates problematize power, agency and change in world making by recognizing the "salience of the colonial experience and its persisting aftermath" (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011: 277). As a first move to conceive decolonial world making, they claim, it is needed to think power differently in order to "see" the ongoing coloniality of power. Playing fields are uneven; that as such is not news. Individualist notions of "power is if I make you do what I want" have been widely criticized as flawed and reductionist for a long time. They have been complemented – if not replaced – by other "faces of power" apart from making action, such as making agendas or making preferences (Lukes 1974, Foucault 1978). One can say that ever since Marx, to unbox context and problematize power in the relation of action and structure has been a prime motivation in studying social phenomena, and a focus on colonial power stands in this grand tradition. The particular affordance of post- and decolonial studies is that they examine world making through a prism on colonial domination and resistance, seeking to un- and recover the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657). For post- and decolonial scholars, analyzing social phenomena, let alone power relations, without considering the ongoing colonial domination and the resistance against it is fundamentally flawed (Prasad 2005: 300). In that sense, they claim that the question under which conditions decolonial change is able to emerge – and when dominant power relations are reproduced – is of paramount importance.

Yet, after many years of studying colonial processes in sociology, anthropology, geography, literature studies, organization studies or political economy, there is still a lack of operational concepts to go beyond totalizing takes on colonial power – and a lack of vivid empirical illustrations of the "neocolonial" struggles between decolonial and colonial aspirations (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016: 307). In the sense that colonial power is seen as everywhere and everything, decolonial theorizing risks falling into the "structuralist trap" in social science, referring to the problem of painting hegemonic regimes as totalized formations out of reach (Gibson-Graham 1996). As anthropologists such as Mathews, Lins Ribeiro and Alba Vega (2012), organization scholars such as Zanoni, Contu, Healy and Mir (2017), sociologists such as Watson (2017) or human geographers such as Thrift, Tickell, Woolgar and Rupp (2014) claim, the core of the structuralist trap is that many investigations theorize "large phenomena" (Nicolini 2017a) with a firm analytical preference for macro-variables. Where and how universal aspirations emerge, how they become particular and how they fossilize, evolve

or disappear is often black-boxed – also in "multi-local" or "global" ethnographies (Burawoy, Blum, George, Gille and Thayer 2000). They have brought us rich insights about the everyday power struggles between universals and particulars at specific sites, but the emergence of large phenomena has remained mostly external and to-be-specified (ibid.: xii. See also Srinivas 2013, Piedrahita Arcila 2011, Mansvelt 2005). As Watson argues, it is even the case that some Social Science approaches need beyond-life abstractions and black-boxed context to work: "For better or worse, economic theory, or theories of political economy, could not do the work they do if they refused to reify power relations and if instead power relations were always analysed through the multiple practices from which they are an effect" (Watson 2017: 180). For them, the lack of operational concepts to trace large phenomena in everyday practice is actually an asset to avoid falsification.

The problem with this is that academic reasoning has a close connection to social reality, and its concepts do more than just describe it. Instead, theory co-creates the worlds it sets out to study. As scientists, says Law, "we are in the business of ontology, […] of making realities, and the connections between those realities" (Law 2006: 65). In choosing our style of theorizing, we choose who or what we empower or disempower. Who or what acts and has effects? Who or what is responsible for retention or change and accountable for outcomes? Who or what is empowered to take ownership of the world and the newness that enters it? The answers we give to these questions permits some worlds to become at the expense of others. They ultimately create social realities; realities for which academics have to claim co-ownership, too. In the light of this challenge, Escobar perceives that post- and decolonial studies are "ill equipped" for the challenge (2010: 52), which he claims is an academic and a social one at the same time. In not being able to bring about concepts and methods to empirically trace (de-) colonizing practice, they undermine the central decolonial impetus, in Srinivas terms, to recover the agency of the marginal: If power is total, how can we think (let alone realize) aspirations to transcend extant power relations? "It is important", underlines Gouveia referring to the talk of larger-than-life phenomena, "not to underestimate the extent to which discourses constitute a sort of 'internal colonization' which ultimately precludes us from envisioning and articulating alternative projects or 'modes of ordering'" (1996: 228). Thus, to theorize even the most far-reaching phenomena as emerging out of daily lives is a necessary condition for any project of empowerment and participation, because they embody a sense of "politics and hope", says Arturo Escobar (2008: 284). He concludes that "[t]o the disempowering of place embedded in globalocentric thinking, [approaches which theorize colonial power from the everyday] respond with a plethora of political possibilities" (Escobar 2008: 290).

In this study, I follow these claims. By aiming at more inclusive forms of researching colonial power, my objective is to unbox context, to trace precarious connections and to listen to the "deliberately silenced or purposely unheard" (Arundathy Roy) voices human and non-human. In the light of calls to study the neglected lived experience of coloniality in practice, the question is how such theorizing can be accomplished, operationalized and put into practice to address the double empirical and conceptual gap convincingly (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011).

1.3   Addressing the gaps: Tracing neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship

While vivid empirical illustrations of the struggles between decolonial and colonial aspirations are in short supply, the lack of concepts to situate the emergence of large phenomena in everyday life puts the central decolonial impetus to recover the "agency of the marginal" at risk. This study addresses both the empirical and the conceptual gap by tracing neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship.

In a context where un- and recovering the agency of the marginal interacts in frictional ways with the ongoing salience of the colonial experience, presenting entrepreneurship as a force towards making other worlds has been increasingly en vogue in Management and Organization Studies (MOS) (Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009, Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus 1997). As the ontological force of entrepreneurial practices has come unter closer scrutiny (Which worlds do they allow to emerge, and who is (not) allowed to partake in world making?), the question whether entrepreneurial practices reproduce or transcend dominant (colonial) power relations has been widely debated (Dey and Steyaert 2018, Escobar 2018, Zanoni, Contu, Healy and Mir 2017, Hjorth and Steyaert 2009a, Steyaert and Hjorth 2006, Calás and Smircich 2003).

In this study, I find a productive moment in these controversies. By locating neocolonial power struggles in relational processes of subject positioning (Davies and Harré 1990, van Langenhove and Harré 1999), I conceptualize them by using the "theory method package" (Nicolini 2012: 216f) of social practice theory (SPT) (Hui, Schatzki and Shove 2017, Nicolini 2017a, 2017b and 2012, Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012, Reckwitz 2002, Schatzki 2002). SPT locates the site of the social in practices, seen as a routinized type of behavior in which components such as discourse, matter, values, people, ideas or tools position themselves in a co-enactment of joint efforts of world making (Reckwitz 2002: 249, Schatzki 2017: 137, Nicolini 2017a: 99). The "practice turn" (Schatzki, Knorr Cetina and Savigny 2001) corresponds with an interest in studying

organizational processes (Nayak and Chia 2011, Tsoukas and Chia 2002, Langley 1999) and has contributed to rethinking the ways how MOS mobilize theoretical and empirical fields (Nicolini and Monteiro 2017). SPT approaches to power struggles share with post- and decolonial programs the impetus to go beyond dualisms such as agency-structure or subject-object and a curious look at the emergent flux of things (Mignolo 2010a, Yehia 2006). As they refrain from engaging in "deeply-rooted Cartesian reflex[es]" (Steyaert 2007: 460), they coincide in that

> "Empowerment, scope for agency and voice are effects of practice and how they are associated. Beyond the question of how practices hang together lies the issue of what effects this hanging together have on those who dwell within the nexuses and assemblages composed." (Nicolini 2017b: 31)

Together, I claim that they provide a common conceptual language to generate "methodologies (not a singular grand theory) that can sensitize us to those empirical complexities while enabling us to abstract patterns of change and continuity" (James and Mittelman 2014: xxix). In addition, they allow to expand the "overwhelmingly textual" methods and ontologies in post- and decolonial studies to performative takes on the social (Srivinas 2013: 1656). Yet, they have very rarely been put in dialogue, and to my knowledge, neither a decolonial social practice analysis nor a praxeological decolonial analysis has been made (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Imas and Weston 2012). In order to disclose unheard, or silenced, entrepreneurial practices (Gantman, Yousfi and Alcadipani 2015, Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012), I choose to analyse a case of marginal entrepreneurial world making, understood as a precarious (Millar 2014) commercial practice operating around, and performing, the borderlands of connected difference. I engage in a multi-sited ethnography (Falzon 2009), tracing neocolonial power struggles in entrepreneurial practices along a marginal coffee network in Colombia and Switzerland. The methodology shares with SPT concepts a rhizomatic sensitivity to trace associations of practices as a "living connection of performances and what keeps them together" (Nicolini 2017a: 102), and the orientation towards crafting a rich theoretical repertoire "by adding together ever shifting cases and learning from their specificities" (Heuts and Mol 2013: 127).

The single case study follows a Direct Trade (DT) business initiated by José, a Colombian migrant living in Switzerland (all names are changed, see chapter 4.5.1.2). The activities (per)forming the project are set in the context of established corporate networks active in both countries and consist of three subprojects: A business of coffee import, operating a coffee shop in Switzerland and re-starting a coffee farm in Colombia. Together, they aim at changing the way coffee is handled both in the producer region as

well as in the global market; aspirations that have succeeded and failed along the way. As a DT coffee business, the case is part of the so-called "third wave" of coffee (Artusi 2014: 343). It has gained momentum in the last fifteen years, competing for market shares with dominant coffee-as-commodity (first wave) and coffee-as-certified-commodity (second wave) schemes (Thurston, Morris and Steiman 2013, Van der Ploeg 2009). Aiming at creating a market for traceable specialty coffee, "global" DT networks mimic "local" food circuits by bypassing intermediaries and by establishing relationships between particular others around the planet. In so doing, they are said to have the potential to deliver on the social, economic and ecological promises that second-wave frameworks like fair trade have only incompletely met (Cramer, Johnston, Oya and Sender 2014). Taken together, the dialogue of decolonial theorizing with the empirical case allows me to translate the research interest (how colonial power relations are (not) reproduced) into general research questions:

Affective formulation	Analytical formulation
How is colonial power still a thing?	Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship perpetuate colonial power?
Is resistance futile, or can there be hope?	Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship make the transformation of colonial power possible?
How can marginal world making work?	Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship perform world making beyond colonial power?

Table 1: General research questions

I contend that DT aspirations to organize decolonial worlds in the unequal, contested, and traditionally highly colonized contexts of "global" commodity markets are a suitable empirical field to trace the workings of neocolonial power relations in practice (Böhm, Lang and Spierenburg 2018, Fridell 2007, Daviron and Ponte 2005, Whatmore and Thorne 1997). With 6 billion cups of coffee (ICO 2014) sipped every day, drinking coffee is one of the most regularly performed practices in the world, and it is always intimately connected with a multitude of entrepreneurial tasks around the planet that, together, create the value of stimulating mind and body with the energy of the aromatic brew. At the same time, every cup of coffee contains more than just a trace of coloniality, as a short history of the bean to contextualize the empirical field shows.

There are several origin stories around how humans initially "discovered" the stimulating effect of the coffee plant. The most commonly told recounts the legend of

the Ethiopian goat herder Kaldi (Weinberg and Bealer 2001: 3). One day, he noticed that his animals were excited after eating some cherries of a bush. He tried them himself, was energized and brought some to a monk. The monk was not amused about that dangerous fruit. So, he threw them into the fire. A seductive smell filled the rooms of the monastery. Other monks came in, they started to experiment and eventually dissolved the roasted cherries in hot water, and the first cup of coffee was served. Historically, the first traces of coffee practices go back to 15th century sufi monasteries in Yemen, from where the specialty slowly expanded to *Souqs* and *Bazaars* across the Arab world (Artusi 2014: 34). After two centuries of an Arab monopoly selling the luxury crop to Europe, an aspiring country managed to get its hands on live coffee plants: The Netherlands. Although it was highly illegal, a Dutch merchant managed to smuggle a few seedling out of Mocha, a city in Yemen, in 1616. They were planted in the Botanical gardens of Amsterdam and were almost forgotten when the Dutch East India Company had the consequential idea to bring some to their colonies in Ceylon in 1658, and later in Java, for cultivation. The success was enormous. Within six decades, the Dutch covered Europe's complete demand for coffee (Jacobs 2006: 260).

The early 1700s were also the moment when coffee was brought to America by the Dutch themselves (Suriname, 1718) and, even earlier, the French (Martinique, 1715). The latter had apparently acquired live coffee seeds through a succession of shady events which likely involved more smuggling and cheating. One particularly heroic story circulating on practitioner's blogs (all taken from Wikipedia 2018a) traces back every American coffee bush to the few plants taken out of Mocha a century before. It says that in the early 1710s, Dutch negotiators gifted a coffee bush to their French counterparts as bargaining chip in the process towards the Treaty of Utrecht, a certain Captain Gabriel des Clieu took hold of it, travelled to the Caribbean, planted it in the French Antilles and, voilà!, coffee had arrived in the Western Hemisphere. By 1788, the French colonies would replace Dutch Java as major coffee producer, and by the 1800s, Portuguese Brazil's massive outputs would transform the luxury crop for the elites into a commodity to be traded in capitalist rather than state-led mercantile logics, increasingly sold to the emerging European and US mass markets. Interestingly, the emergence of Brazil as biggest producer was interlinked with political processes in the US: After the Boston Tea Party in 1773, tea became very unpopular in the newly founded United States. Seen as unpatriotic, it was quickly replaced by coffee (Topik and Craig McDonald 2013).

After coffee had fueled the Enlightenment movements across Europe as well – the cafés served as paradigmatic places and occasions for engaged and critical conversations amongst the intellectual elites (Morris 2013) – it set out to play a key role in fueling

capitalism. Coffee breaks disciplined the lives of working populations into factory rhythms with machine time and repetitive work. Starting in Britain, coffee helped manufacturing a large part of the human species into what we might call "early morning people" who emancipated themselves – or rather, were forcefully emancipated by carbon, steam, supervisors, gaslight and eventually electricity – from astronomical cycles and rhythms. While promoting cheap and fast energy for the expanding European class of working poor, coffee massively transformed Latin American geographies (Rice 1999) using and abusing the forced labour of millions of African slaves and indigenous people. Along with other colonial monocultures like sugar, tea and tobacco, coffee served as a "proletarian hunger-killer" (Mintz 1979: 60), jointly subjugating european proletarians, tropical territories and non-european slaves into capitalist coloniality, a powerful exploitation and accumulation system which has always been (per)formed by situated practices connected across difference. Thus, gradually, colonial goods became crucial orientation points for myriads of everyday practices which would progressively bring the dense planetary networks of modern global capitalism into being.

On the backdrop of such a contested history, I argue that choosing a marginal Direct Trade project with entrepreneurial aspirations to change the world of coffee can make silenced or unheard voices – and their ways of associating beyond visible states and calculable markets – appear particularly well. For post- and decolonial approaches there is an uncanny silence about the colonizing undercurrents of entrepreneurship in mainstream entrepreneurial studies and generally in MOS (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012, Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011, Calás and Smircich 2003). In that sense, I orient my study towards takes on "globalization in practice" (Thrift, Tickell, Woolgar and Rupp 2014) or "globalization from below" (Mathews, Lins Ribeiro and Alba Vega 2012) which trace new ways of "associating beyond states and markets" (ibid.). What has been particularly inspiring to me is Anna Tsing's brand of tracing the "odd connections" across places which she has put to work brilliantly in her "friction ethnographies" of tropical timber (2005) or the Matsutake mushroom (2015). "The farther we stray into the peripheries of capitalist production", she writes, "the more coordination between polyphonic assemblages and industrial processes becomes central to making a profit" (Tsing 2015: 24) – and the more the handling of frictions between colonizing and decolonizing worlds in the making must be the prime business of organizational practice.

The data collection for the multi-sited ethnography of the marginal business was realized in a series of participant observation visits at entrepreneur José's coffee house in a major Swiss city over sixteen months between October 2014 and February 2016,

comprehensive on- and offline documentary research and a five-week instance of ethnographic fieldwork in 2015 to trace the business activities in the Colombian context (farm, village, processing plant, logistics, cooperatives etc.). In order to craft a "thick description of a network rather than its individual nodes" (Falzon 2009: 16), the data analysis was performed in a process of "iterative triangulation" between inductive coding, category building and evocative story writing. The ethical stance guiding this analytical work was to look for hidden and invisible corners in doings and sayings. This allows for a dialogue between multiplicities and, at the same time, refrains from too streamlined analytical claims and generalizations. In the end, any post- and decolonial theory, as Frenkel and Shenhav claim (2006: 859), "suggests that the study of silenced voices, and of omitted practices, is always scattered and fragmented".

1.4 Outline of the study

The present study is the result of a doctoral project within the framework of the PhD program "Organization Studies and Cultural Theory" at the University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, unfolding from 2012 to 2018. Most of the time, my research of marginal entrepreneurial practices was itself a marginal endeavour, namely organized around the demands of my near-full time job outside academia. In the six years of my PhD, I worked on the study mainly in three focused work phases with minor activities in between, such as PhD seminars and ongoing low-intensity fieldwork in the coffee house in Switzerland. The first work peak was dedicated to design the theoretical framework and to write the research proposal (Winter 2014-2015). The second focused wave was dedicated to high-intensity fieldwork, including five weeks in Colombia (Winter 2015-2016). Finally, the big bulk of the work dedicated to data organization, data analysis, interpretation and writing up was accomplished from August 2017 to July 2018.

Before presenting the outline of the chapters, let me briefly make a few comments on the data presentation, or "how to read" this study. Aiming at an inclusive style of researching, writing and presenting the results, I position the empirical story as the origin of my analytical thinking rather than its evidence. Following Rose, I apply a narrative strategy which step by step traces and illuminates the encounters and events "that allowed a certain trajectory of thought to transpire" (Rose 2016: 138). In the years I was accompanying the Direct Trade project in-the-making, there were quite dramatic changes in the scope and scale of the associated activities. In particular, incidents that happened during my visit to the Colombian side of the network in November and December 2015 structured not only my study, but also the empirical case in a "before" and an "after". As the annual harvest of the farm failed to pass the quality requirements

for the first time, reorganizing measures were taken, such as letting go of the farm administrator, pulling out of the farm financially and, eventually, closing the coffee shop in Switzerland in October 2017 to focus on web and business-to-business sales channels.

I try to bring this synchroneous development of my research project and the Direct Trade case to life through an aesthetic style I propose to call, somewhat paradoxically, "Hopeful Noir". "Noir" and "Neo-Noir" commonly describes a genre of movies from "The Maltese Falcon" (1941) and "Chinatown" (1974) to "Blade Runner" (1982) and "The Dark Knight" (2008) where uprooted actors trace connections across time and space, search a stable ground to understand their place in the world they are thrown in, and encounter multiple truths as the plot unfolds (Conard 2009). Despite its melancholic tone, I believe that a "Noir" style in ethnographic writing can also be an affective tool to create a "sense of hope" (Escobar 2008: 284) for marginal agency in neocolonial contexts. I claim that it enables voices from the twilight zones of "the global" to speak in ways that can take colonial designs as well as decolonial aspirations equally seriously (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 116). Thus, an exercise in performing an ethnographic "Hopeful Noir" may not only enable the voices of the precarious research case to speak for themselves, but also resonates with the conceptual and methodological affinities of social practice and decolonial studies. Finally, the research object of coffee itself has "Noir" qualities: It is a liminal drink which makes it possible to viscerally experience the ambiguous margins between night and day, sleep and being woke, dreams and factualities, productivity and leisure and the colonial difference between "poor" producers in the South and "rich" consumers in the North.

In noir writing, I hope to acknowledge my reliance on diverse and marginal agency (Rose 2016: 138) as a researcher. What is crucial for me is that this agency is not only effectuated by voices and traces in the empirical field, but also in the academic field (which consists, after all, of empirically traceable expressions as well). I thus craft the first chapters on problem, concept and method, as it were, as outcomes of academic fieldwork. "Writing", Anzaldúa claims, "is not about being in your head; it's about being in your body" (Anzaldúa 2015: 5). The same goes for reading, whether it is mine – as in my literature review – or yours, as you follow the written lines of this introduction in the herenow of your embodied presence. This is a key onto-epistemological assumption that brings about a certain methodological bold- or wildness related to more-than-representative ethnography and its struggle against "methodological timidity" (e.g. Rabbiosi and Vanolo 2017, Vannini 2015a, Rose 2016, Dowling, Lloyd and Suchet-Pearson 2017). In this sense, as Rose writes, the written result is a behind-the-scenes

documentary of the event of thought – the situations that give rise to thinking" (2016: 133). In addition to the written track, I present "mobile traces" linked by QR codes alongside the text and "traces from the field" in a low-fi "Noir" style. They insert "insterstices of silence" (Trinh T Minh-ha 1989, cit. in Calás and Smircich 1999: 992) and motion that allow to feel beyond the linearity of the text (for silence and decolonial subjectivity see Pérez 1999, for the generative potential of silence see Bigo 2018).

In chapter *two*, "Problematizing neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship", I outline the post- and decolonial critique on entrepreneurship as a practice of world making and present processes of subjectivation as the place where de- and colonial aspirations clash in frictional encounters. As I argue with respect to post- and decolonial analysis of the modern-colonial subject, the entrepreneurial self striving towards discovery, creation and exploitation subjects others under the own entrepreneurial trajectory of progress (Calás and Smircich 2003, Escobar 2018).

In chapter *three*, "Conceptualizing power struggles through positioning", I argue that the problem of neocolonial power struggles can be investigated by focusing on processes of subject positioning. After presenting positioning and social practice approaches to subjectivation, I review the decolonial literature with a special focus on positioning and identify three distinct processes how subjects are (per)formed in a world that breathes colonial power: Border doing, border crossing and border dwelling, each with different implications regarding Srivinas' problem of the "agency of the marginal" (2013: 1657).

Chapter *four*, "Tracing positioning in practice: Research design and methodology", mobilizes the "theory method package" of Social Practice Theory (SPT) (Nicolini 2012: 216f) to operationalize positioning in practice, and to outline which conceptual developments in SPT are in need of further empirical investigation (Hui 2017: 53). In this chapter, I also elaborate on the empirical setting, how I construct, analyze and present the empirical data and what the methodological approach of multi-sited ethnography means in ontological, epistemological and research practical terms.

After the theoretical and methodological chapters, the presentation of the empirical results follows in three parts which switch between practices, sites and DT aspirations in a caleidoscopic way (table 2 below). The three empirical chapters trace colonial power along the project by each focusing at situated practices and their relations at interconnected places: The coffee shop *Tienda de José* in Switzerland, refining places in the Colombian province of Caldas, and the coffee farm *Manantial*. The analytical journey is constructed as a trilogy, (not slavishly) corresponding to a trias of analytical possibilities offered by SPT to trace positioning *across*, *between* and *within* practice.

Chapter five, "First making coffee, then worlds: Multiple marginality in entrepreneurial practice", is performed as a chamber play in a Swiss coffee shop. Beginning at the end of the coffee journey, we follow the initiator and coordinator of the marginal DT business and trace how the business is organized in the concerted accomplishment of everyday lives. By analyzing a thick ethnographic tale of a focal scene, it becomes apparent that entrepreneurial practice unfolds in parallel, and often compete, with operational practice. Through ongoing moderation of mundane struggles *across* practice, three marginal subject positions arise and intersect in ways that shed light on marginal entrepreneurial agency.

Chapter six, "Between worlds: (De)colonial associations in Direct Trade coffee practice", continues the empirical story by tracing the activities at processing sites, for example a hulling factory or a coffee cooperative in the village of Santa Marta. What are the dynamics of association work *between* practice which hold the business together on the Colombian side, and what traces of coloniality can be found along the way? Following DT and commodity trade (CT) coffee associations, it is shown that DT is not automatically a decolonizing device, and practicing CT is not without possibilities of subversion for the marginal actors at Southern production places.

In *chapter seven*, "Who handles whom? Performing quality, control and agency in coffee harvesting", I travel further back to the coffee farm, *Finca Manantial*, and zoom in on the power struggles *within* the practice of coffee harvesting. How are "practice scripts" translated into "practice acts"? I ethnographically trace how the DT project aspires to control quality by holding coffee handling constant. The "new" DT scripts are enacted in situated performances of coffee bushes, their multispecies environments, pairs of skilled human hands and enrolled supervisors. As they intersect with "old" ways of picking coffee, marginal subjects like pickers and plants resist, modify or evade DT aspirations by actively navigating their cracks and weaknesses.

Chapter eight, "discussing the results", weaves the most important first-order interpretations presented in the individual empirical chapters together. In one affective-evocative and three analytical rounds of discussion, it transversally analyzes the results of the study.

Finally, *chapter nine*, "concluding the study", situates the efforts with respect to the research interest of "how to organize a decolonial world", outlines the contributions of the study for the audiences in MOS, decolonal studies and social practice theory, presents limitations and open questions and concludes with a call for a "decolonial praxeology". In my view, putting forward a decolonial social practice research agenda contributes to post- and decolonial debates by adopting, and empirically applying,

practice-based concepts that operationalize power beyond totalized structures. For process-oriented MOS in particular, I claim that tracing trans-local practices in an ethnographic "Hopeful Noir" study expands the understanding of power, agency and change in organizational and entrepreneurial practice.

Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4		
...*perfor-med* in subjecti-vation processes	...*conceptua-lized* as subject positioning performances	...*operationa-lized* within, between and across practice	...*researched* in the empirical setting of marginal Direct Trade coffee entrepreneuring	...*traced* in multi-sited ethnography, analyzed in iterative tri-angulation, presented as "Hopeful Noir"

Empirical chapters → *Chapter 8*

Phenomenon: **Neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneur-ship...**

Research questions:

How is colonial power still a thing?

Is resistance futile, or can there be hope?

How can marginal world making work?

Border doing

Border crossing

Border dwelling

Tracing across practice: follow DT entrepreneur as practice intersection

Tracing between practice: follow association work along DT network

Tracing within practice: follow control work in translations from scripts to acts

Results:

When and how power struggles in marginal entrepreneur-ship

- **reproduce**
- **resist**
- **subvert**
- **transcend**

colonial power

Research concern:

Towards making worlds in which many worlds fit: How to (per)form decoloniality under conditions of the ongoing coloniality of power

Aim of study: (Re)searching ways to study coloniality in practice

Addressing double gap in literature (lack of empirical illustrations and operational concepts to trace coloniality in practice) by tracing neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship

From gaps to contributions:

- Advancing, and empirically applying, decolonial and practice-based takes on power in Management and Organization Science (MOS)
- Infusing decolonial studies' discussions on power with practice concepts, empirical applications
- Infusing Social Practice Theories (SPT) discussions on power with decolonial concepts, empirical applications

Table 2: General overview of the architecture of the study: Concepts, questions and chapters

Trace 3: Using the master's tools to create new houses?

That other day in the field, as I observed how coffee entrepreneurs tested whether the coffee delivery complied with the norms of exportation and the demands for specialty quality, I witnessed how the universal aspirations of dominant market forces were brought to life in marginal entrepreneurial practice. Set in a context where ongoing colonial power is transpiring through the lives of privileged and marginal subjects the like, theory presents entrepreneurship as a force of world making. But the question is if, and when, marginal entrepreneurial projects bring about "genuine" (Audre Lorde 1984: 112) decolonial change, and when they reproduce or fossilize colonial power. In this chapter, with reference to Foucauldian and decolonial takes on power, I argue that a way to problematize this question is by focusing on neocolonial power struggles performed in entrepreneurial subjectivation processes.

2 Problematizing neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship

> *"Silences, when heard, become the negotiating spaces for the decolonizing subject."*
>
> *Emma Pérez (1999: 5)*

2.1 Entrepreneurship as a practice of world making

"The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." She looked up. She was well aware of the questioning gaze she received by the 800 women in the audience. "They may allows us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change", she famously continued. Almost forty years ago, in 1979, Audre Lorde delivered her most famous speech at a feminist conference in honor of Simone de Beauvoir's book "The Second Sex" (1949). Her words were meant as a provocation, and they stuck (Lorde 1984: 112). As a Black lesbian feminist (self-identification), she called out the politics of academic-centric, white-dominated representation at the conference and challenged non-intersectional feminism in the United States to radicalize its stance. By creating a metaphor which evoked the reformist "house" Negro and the radical "field" Negro in US history (Olsen 2000: 266), Lorde underlined that using "the master's tools" will only reproduce domination. They cannot lead to genuine change, Lorde decidedly underlined: Reformism and the subversive use of powerful frameworks will never transform the world.

Lorde's conceptualization of the possibilities of resistance from within or outside the system resonates with a word by the inevitable Albert Einstein. He is said to have claimed that we are not able to solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them. Is it therefore true that any attempt to transcend adverse conditions

from within is an illusion that only reproduces and perpetuates power, as the famous Marxist opposition of (true) revolution versus (false) reform implies? Or can you change a system, a society, a world from within by incremental alterations? Social history, for its part, is full of examples that supposedly support one or the other claim. Failed and successful revolutions, failed and successful reforms, revolutions that changed nothing and perpetuated everything, reforms that triggered unforeseen events that fundamentally shook the world. What is more, if one changes the metrics to track change, or redefines the unit of analysis, suddenly the very definition of what retention and alteration actually mean become uncertain negotiation outcomes. Worse still, if one goes all the way towards process philosophy, "what really exists are not things made but things in the making": As organization scholars Ajit Nayak and Robert Chia explain (2011: 282), reality emerges as "relatively stable relational configurations that have evolved as actualities out of an infinite number of possibilities" (ibid.).

And yet, many actors in the business of world making claim that striving towards radical social change and a processual ontology can go together, as Arturo Escobar demonstrates in his recent volume "Designs for the Pluriverse. Radical Interdependence, Autonomy and the Making of Worlds" (2018). Holding dear a non-dualistic, processual ontology, marginal non-Western voices stand for the possibility to work towards a better world and, at the same time, defend the principle of a world in constant flux and becoming. In their view, a society evolves like a rhizomatic plant which lives on by relentlessly giving birth to (not yet and not quite) identical copies of itself, in constant iterations that perform sameness and difference. Thus, taken together, they claim that the world relentlessly transforms – but that the changes these transformations entail are non-arbitrary. They (per)form power and have distributive effects.

In the context of increasingly contested North Western aspirations at shaping the world according to its "house" and with its "tools" (the state, markets, development: Escobar 2012); of rising inequalities and geopolitical uncertainties (Piketty 2014, Rodrik 2011); of depleting natural resources (Rockström research group, 2009); and of an increasing fragility of interrelated ecological, economic and social systems (Rogers, Jalal and Boyd 2008, Harris, 2007); novel practices of world making indeed are in high demand. In the last years, the hope that another world is possible has equally resonated through a scene that engages with world making through entrepreneurship. Increasingly seen as a device for world making (Zahra and Wright 2015, Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009, Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus 1997), entrepreneurial projects have come under closer scrutiny in Management and Organization Studies (MOS). Sarasvathy writes that

"[o]ne of the main insights we have gained over the last decade of research into effectuation can simply be put as follows: Analogous to the scientific method, there exists an entrepreneurial method. Moreover, the scale of possibilities the entrepreneurial method opens up for us is more potent than that offered by the scientific method (Sarasvathy & Venkataraman, 2011). Simply put, what the scientific method has afforded us in terms of understanding the actual world we live in, the entrepreneurial method enables us in terms of making new ones." (Sarasvathy 2015: 2)

Researchers interested in the role entrepreneurial projects play in instilling social transformations and change towards a (howsoever defined) "better" world have particularly focused on "social" (Dey and Steyaert 2018, Osburg 2014, Steyaert and Hjorth 2006) or "sustainable" entrepreneurship (Nicholls 2008, Lumpkin and Katz 2011). At the same time, the assessment how, and under which conditions, entrepreneurship can constitute a "disruptive" (Hjorth and Steyaert 2009a) force that brings "genuine" (Lorde 1984: 112) newness into the world is contested. As entrepreneurship mainly continues to be conceived as "the discovery, creation and exploitation of opportunities to create future goods and services" (Shepherd and Patzelt 2017), critical approaches ask what type of social change entrepreneurship actually brings about (Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009). Some claim that entrepreneurial practices may at best produce a form of novelty that can be sold, but that it thereby only perpetuates powerful capitalist commodification processes (Zanoni, Contu, Healy and Mir 2017, Escobar 2018, Tsing 2015, Calás and Smircich 2003). In short, whether entrepreneuring is a force towards world making from within or from outside "the master's house" is widely debated.

2.2 Becoming a subject: Making marginal entrepreneuring heard

Is it necessarily either-or, or could entrepreneuring be both a world making from within and outside the system? As Luz Calvo writes, the initial assumptions about Audre Lorde's "master's tools" have eventually been complemented by more complex conceptual applications, which, in her words, "find that 'the master's tools' were often fashioned by subalterns – whose social location and political desires left imprints on the tools themselves" (Calvo 2003: 234). Even radical "outsiders" like Marxism-infused Latin American critical scholars increasingly "imagine a discourse in which revolution is defined not as a temporalized march of progress or takeover of state power, but as a movement for local control that upholds standards of material conditions for human dignity" (back cover, Sáenz 2002). In that sense, what Calvo's argumentation shows is

that the conversations about power, change and the participation in world making do not end at the simplistic oppositions of within/outside "the house".

This insight is of paramount relevance for a related conundrum in the social sciences, that of voluntarism versus determinism in world making. Is agency determined by structure, as the latter claims, or is structure determined by agency, as the former would have it? Reformulated in these terms, the question emerges whether entrepreneurial practice (or, for that matter, every other practice) can actually "have" the power to instill social transformations, or whether they reproduce or even fossilize dominant structures anyway. In his broadly discussed volume "the Entrepreneurial Self", recently translated to English, German sociologist Ulrich Bröcking theorizes this circularity of world making, building upon Michel Foucault's theorizing (1972, 1982), as the double-bind of the entrepreneurial subject. As I will maintain here, a subject is an "organizing abstraction that allows us to understand subjectivities as they are constituted by the social order" (Bazzul 2016: 7), whereby subjectivity in the poststructural sense refers to a contested and fragmented site of the construction of the self, its place in the world and its capacity to shape the world (Butler 1995, Hall 2004). Bröckling writes that "becoming a subject is a paradoxical process in which active and passive elements, autonomy and heteronomy, are inextricably intertwined" (2016: 1). The paradox of forming oneself anew and performing structures, systems, cultures or worlds that are already there at the same time lies at the heart of the *conditio humana* as theorized in the humanities and social sciences. In that sense, entrepreneurial projects, like every individual or collective entity, have permeable boundaries and are always interwoven in ever unfolding social fabrics, expanding in space and time. For the subject, coming into being and to "lead the life that it lives" (ibid.) coincides with being subjugated or literally subjected to forces larger than its life. In that sense, subjectivation as the process of becoming a subject is inextricably tied to power, understood as the "ensemble of forces affecting the subject" (ibid.).

Thereby, the subject is neither absolutely submerged in "total structures" (Foucault 1983: 219) nor absolutely independent of power; it affects and is affected by power whereby "a whole field of responses, reactions, results and possible interventions may open up" (ibid.). Such a paradoxical take on power beyond something that can be "owned" goes beyond simplistic oppositions of agent and structure or individual and collective. In MOS and all across the social sciences, notions of other "faces of power" apart from making action, such as making agendas or making preferences (Lukes 1974, Foucault 1972, 1978, 1982) have pretty much reached mainstream status today (Watson 2017). "The subject", as Bröckling further explains the consequences of such a view,

"absorbs the forces it is exposed to, modifying their point of contact, directions and intensities" (2016: 2) with the result that it becomes effect, condition, address and author of power relations at the same time. It is neither fully determined by power nor fully determining, and

> "[i]n this interpenetration of affecting, being affected and self-affecting lies the paradox of self-constitution. […] Paradoxes cannot be resolved, which is why they persist in the form of problems. In other words, logical impossibilities perpetuate themselves as practical tasks." (Bröckling 2016: 2)

Now, it is arguably precisely the "social" or "sustainable" entrepreneurial cases which subscribe to some of the functional logics of markets, but at the same time try to overcome them, that offer fascinating in-between positioning games to study such circularities of world making. In this vein, for an entrepreneurial project, the conundrum of changing the "house" from within or outside presents itself in everyday "practical tasks" through which power is formed, performed, transformed and possibly contested. As a first move, I therefore claim that it is the *power struggles in entrepreneurial world making* that enable entrepreneurial practices to actively instill social transformations, or make them reproduce dominant formations. What is more, the entrepreneurial subject meets, interacts and possibly conflicts with other subjects along the way, and together they co-create the entrepreneurial project as well as the social fabrics within, between and across organizations populating theses worlds. While, following Bröckling, world making through entrepreneuring has become the paradigmatic locus where the modern self emerges, evolves, rises and falls, not every subject is equal, and not every entrepreneurial project is granted equal subject status either. The subject of world making is paradoxical, power-laden and conflictive – not "just" individually, but also collectively.

Second, in particular, these paradoxes and power struggles play out in *processes of subjectivation*. They come to define who or what acts and has effect, who or what is responsible for retention or change and accountable for outcomes, and who or what is empowered to take ownership of the world and the newness that enters it. Although entrepreneurship research increasingly emphasizes a processual view (Hjorth, Holt and Steyaert 2015, Nayak and Chia 2011, Steyaert 2007, Tsoukas and Chia 2002), such processes entailed in world making, especially in "social" or "sustainable" entrepreneurship, have rarely been studied explicitly, as Poldner, Shrivastava and Branzei argue (2017. For exceptions see Maravelias 2009, Choi and Gray 2008, Larson 2000, Schick, Marxen and Freimann 2002). For example, most publications on sustainable entrepreneurship neglect the ongoing negotiations between multiple views,

voices and interests necessarily implied in enacting entrepreneurship as world making (Hockerts and Wüstenhagen 2010, Pacheco, Dean and Payne 2010, Shepherd and Patzelt 2017).

Third, in processes of subjectivation, the entrepreneurial subject does not only double-bind herself to her own identity/trajectory and the control/dependence of someone else. It also needs and actively creates the "other", the outside, to create a self-image through eccentric positioning à la George Herbert Mead (Bröckling 2016: 1). Entrepreneurship as the process of "the discovery, creation and exploitation of opportunities to create future goods and services" (Shepherd and Patzelt 2017) thus *subjects others under the own entrepreneurial trajectory of progress*: In the end, world making is colonizing open space and translating it into a zone of influence to exploit for the means of business (Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009, Calás and Smircich 2003). In applying business as a means to make the world a "better" place ("better" serves as a proxy argument for a manifold of non-financial objectives here), the very foundation of entrepreneurship as a social practice enters in a consequential friction with the manifold of possible non-financial objectives of the endeavor. Sustainable entrepreneurship, for example, is studied as a device to create new markets through "environmental" (Wüstenhagen et al. 2008) or "social" (Osburg 2014) innovation, or even as a "source for creative destruction" (Hart and Milstein 1999) on the road to the "next industrial revolution" (Senge and Carstedt, 2001). This dominant discourse reduces the making of a "better" world to an outcome of business activities (Hockerts and Wüstenhagen 2010; Pacheco, Dean and Payne 2010). Such a view broadly neglects the political dimensions of entrepreneurship (as more-than-financial it may be oriented), which unfolds in power-based relationships through mobilizing resources and enrolling actors (Gherardi and Nicolini, 2006) especially at the margins of capitalist production (Tsing 2015, Santos 2014, Zanoni, Contu, Healy and Mir 2017). To remain in Lorde's image, you may build your own liberated house but, in the process, become the master of other houses.

Fourth, as I will detail in the next chapter, I follow post- and decolonial studies in that there is an uncanny *silence* about these other houses, a myopic indifference towards the colonizing undercurrent of entrepreneurship, in mainstream entrepreneurial studies and MOS more in general. The silences of narrowly constructed academic arguments, however, can be intolerably loud for those who dwell in the complex social fabrics "out there" and struggle with the frictions and conflicts of the world they choose, or are forced to, perform. More often than not, the conflictive worlds enacted by everyday lives around the world are crucially shaped by organizational practices, from which entrepreneurial world making is a key subset of, and in which they don't have a chance

of participating. At the same time, there are unheard or deliberately silenced practices of marginal organizing. Through them, the marginalized construct own subjectivities to account for their own experiences in their everyday struggles for surviving (Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012: 137). For example, as Imas and Weston show in their ethnography of marginal organizing in slums and favelas in Zimbabwe and Brazil, the "ontological and epistemological circumstances in which millions have to organize and manage in the south are invisible for mainstream management and organization studies" (Imas and Weston 2012: 207). Another study traces the ways of waste collectors or *catadores* in Rio de Janeiro and shows how marginalized subjects cast aside by capitalism "attend to everyday emergencies" (Millar 2014: 48), offering "vivid glimps into how human precariousness is created and reified and how agency is exercised while working within the conditions of precariousness" (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016: 312). What these, as it were, "marginalized" studies show for Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar, is that there exist whole "zones of organization-related situations, relations and persons that still have no voice within MOS, whose interests are simply not attended to, and whose life-worlds seem to be taken as non-consequential" (2011: 294, see also Lo 2016, Santamaría Álvarez and Sliwa 2016, Bagwell 2015). After their highly influential paper on "Past Postmodernism?" (1999), Marta B. Calás and Linda Smircich deepened their discussion of power dynamics in world making by entrepreneurial progress. They note in a pensive tone that "[t]he stories we have written in much organization theory, our concepts and representations, no matter how 'global' (or precisely because of this), represent the ways of thinking of certain people and not others" (Calás and Smircich 2003: 45).

Fifth, and finally, I claim that it is not only those (literally) subjected and affected by entrepreneurial world making that have been silenced by common conceptions of the phenomenon. What I would like to put forward here is that, in the marginal zones that Jack and colleagues have identified, there are forms of *marginal entrepreneuring* that complement, and specify, Imas and Weston's and Millar's marginal forms of organizing and managing. Inspired by Shepherd and Patzelt (2017), I define marginal entrepreneuring *as the subversive process of the discovery, creation and exploitation of cracks in dominant worlds to carve out a place from where to act towards creating future goods and services.* As the key conceptual differences to the standard definition, the "opportunities" are replaced by "cracks in dominant worlds", and "create future goods and services" is replaced by "carve out a place from where to act towards creating future goods and services". For a marginal entrepreneur, there is no empty space where opportunities can be discovered, but an almost closed system of dominant economic,

cultural and political frameworks that prevents most movements – was it not for the cracks that could be worked on with the "master's tools".

In that sense, every entrepreneur might be perceived as marginal because the space she moves in is never empty, and she necessarily always performs borders between what "is" and what "could be" (Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009). But as necessary qualifier, I claim that marginal entrepreneurs face a lack of strategic resources and control over the world they enact that prevents them from safely constructing "the future". The future appears only as a virtual possibility which can only start to emerge after, one day, achieving a safe place from where to stand and start acting towards it. Marginal entrepreneuring, therefore, is precarious work, whereby precarity is defined as the "tenuous conditions of neoliberal labor as well as states of anxiety, desperation, unbelonging, and risk" (Millar 2014: 34). Inspired by analyses of precarity sociologists and anthropologists (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012, Wacquant 2008) and analyses of "diasporic" (Lo 2016) or "transnational" (Bagwell 2015, Santamaría Álvarez and Sliwa 2016) entrepreneurship, marginal entrepreneuring is performed in lives where "precarious socio-economic situations and issues of subjectivity" entangle to form an ontological experience that is seen as increasingly "merging the destinies of the global North and South" (Millar 2014: 34. See also Molé 2010, Neilson and Rossiter 2008). Formulated in more conceptual terms, marginal entrepreneuring is always performed in proximity to borders, acting upon fields of activities (markets, supply chains, societies etc.) from around the edge of these fields. As a working definition which will be differentiated in chapter 3.4, borders are socially (not necessarily purposefully) constructed lines which bring difference into the world (see also Ingold 2015). Borders can be both physical and conceptual delineations of an inside and an outside, they can be more or less permeable, they materialize power through and along them, and therefore, they are "always political" (Elbert Decker and Winchock 2017: 2). The marginal, thus, refers to the contested geographical, social and conceptual lands around borders. As these lands perform the very definition of inside and outside, the marginal supposedly emerges as a privileged place to study entrepreneurial world making (which is, as outlined, controversially conceived as from within or outside "the house").

Insofar as the borderlands are also "shifting stream[s] of narratives beneath the surface of the dominant organizational maps, striving to be heard over the din of an overarching ideological system" (Elbert Decker and Winchock 2017: 3), the concept of marginal entrepreneuring as such is situated at the margins of MOS. Just like Imas and Weston have found in their study of marginal organizing (2012), my expectation is that marginal entrepreneuring might demonstrate an unheard and "more participative way of

producing knowledge, distributing resources and protecting lives" (Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012: 138), even if they have been ignored so far by mainstream MOS literature due to "their [appartent] simplicity and lack of sophisticated philosophical 'bite'" (Imas and Weston 2012: 208). In studying power dynamics in marginal entrepreneuring as a practice of world making from the margins, I hope to counter established MOS practices, and academic practices in general, which do not often enough enable subjugated subjects to raise their voice. Instead, MOS is seen as overtly creating, maintaining and reifying "the conditions of 'precarious' lives" (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016: 218), whereby "[t]hese precarious lives occupy silenced subjectivities and have been and, indeed, continue to be relegated to the periphery of", in their case, "international business discourses" (ibid.). By introducing a marginal mode of entrepreneuring, I hope to hear and listen to the loud silences of where the marginal dwell, and that these audible silences "become the negotiating spaces for the decolonizing subject" (Pérez 1999: 5)

2.3 Entrepreneurial selves, silenced others: The salience of colonial power

"The subject is a battlefield", writes Paul Virno (2004: 78) with respect to the process of the double-bind of agency and structure. But not every subject is equally equipped to go to battle, that is, empowered to partake in world making. The process of subjectivation does take place under drastically uneven conditions, and for post- and decolonial approaches, it is the colonial condition that crucially forms and performs subjectivities until today. The constitutive claim that informs any post- and decolonial analysis of power relations is that colonial power may have changed form, but that it is continuously performed in economic, political, cultural and epistemic neocolonial power relations. Therefore, from such a view, power struggles in the context of marginal entrepreneurship necessarily perform neocolonial dynamics.

Just like all across the Social Sciences and the Humanities, a growing number of post- and decolonial voices from the margins of MOS problematize power and subjectivity in organizational practices by recognizing the "salience of the colonial experience and its persisting aftermath" (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011: 277). As different these voices and their disciplinary, "geopolitical and bodypolitical locations" (Mignolo 2000) may be, they share the common conviction that colonialism is "one of the most significant and omniscient social processes to have taken place over the last five centuries" (Prasad 2005: 300). They claim that analyzing social phenomena, let alone when focusing on power relations, without considering ongoing colonial domination and the resistance against it is fundamentally flawed (Prasad 2005: 300. See also Mills

2018, Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Gantman, Yousfi and Alcadipani 2015, Mills and Misoczky 2014, Faria 2013, Srinivas 2013, Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012, Ibarra-Colado, Faria and Guedes 2010, Frenkel and Shenhav 2007, Ibarra-Colado 2006, Dussel 2006).

Early on, post- and decolonial studies have examined their research subjects through a prism on colonial domination and resistance. Ultimately, the concern has always been "how particular structures of power endure even if the relative positions of those within them shift" (Srinivas 2013: 1659) in order to recover the "agency of the marginal" and uncover "the consequences of the political and intellectual project of colonialism on identity" (ibid.: 1657, see also Young 2001). Colonialism is thereby historically understood as the Western subordination of the planet starting with the invasion and invention of America and the European control of the Atlantic after 1492, profoundly altering both colonizing and colonized societies (Mignolo 2011, Martín Alcoff 2002, Escobar 2012). As the constitutive "colonial power matrix" (Quijano 2010, Schiwy 2010), the Western alliance of capitalist exploitation, racialization, patriarchy and Christian mission was practiced with abhorrent cruelty. For Lugones, "[T]he colonial 'civilizing mission' was the euphemistic mask of brutal access to people's bodies through unimaginable exploitation, violent sexual violation, control of reproduction, and systematic terror (feeding people alive to dogs or making pouches and hats from the vaginas of brutally killed indigenous females, for example)" (2010b: 744). Through disclosing the, more or less visible and audible, colonial practices of appropriation, oppression and extermination as the integral "darker side" (Mignolo 2000) of Eurocentric modernity "at large" (Appadurai 1996), post- and decolonial theories offer alternative histories of the present that critique the knowledge construction of the West about the Non-West (Scott 1999: 12) and about itself (Bhambra 2014, Long and Mills 2008, Calás and Smircich 1999). They argue that the historic rise of the West can only be understood by acknowledging the centrality of slavery and genocide which have been edited out of official accounts of European development, or merely treated as pitiable accidents (Mignolo 2011, 2010b).

At the same time, for post- and decolonial theorists, Western domination continues to shape cultural, political, economic and epistemological relationships long after the Western colonies, once occupying as much as 85 percent of the world's territory (Fieldhouse 1967), have gained formal independence from European colonial administrations (Long and Mills 2008: 393). For post- and decolonial theorists, the *power of colonialism* persists in what Quijano calls the "coloniality of power" or, in

short, *"coloniality"* (Quijano 1992, 2000 and 2010, Mignolo and Walsh 2018, Mignolo 2010b, see also Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). Like the synonymous concept of *"neocolonialism"* implies, it refers to "long-standing patterns of power" (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 97) that have been performed into existence by a manifold of colonial practices in everyday lives around the planet. In particular, Quijano identifies four key levers of coloniality: Control of the economy, control of authority, control of gender and sexuality and control of knowledge and subjectivity (Mignolo 2010b: 322, see also Quijano 1992, 2000, 2010). As the silenced underside of modernity, coloniality is seen as transpiring in and through "so many aspects of our modern experience", as Maldonaldo-Torres writes:

> "[Coloniality] is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self […] In a way, as modern subjects, we breath[e] coloniality all the time and everyday" (2010: 97).

In that vein, the entrepreneurial self that heroicly strives towards "the discovery, creation and exploitation of opportunities to create future goods and services" (Shepherd and Patzelt 2017) can be seen a revenant of Spanish *conquistador* Hernán Cortés' *ego conquiro*, powerfully inscribing "the master's house" onto the world he makes. As Dussel analyzes (1996: 133), the *ego conquiro* pre-dates Descartes' *ego cogito*, which brings Maldonaldo-Torres to suggest that the "practical conquering self and the theoretical thinking substance are parallel in terms of their certainty" (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 99). In effect, the colonial endeavor served as the obligatory context for modern constructions on subjectivity, reason and the *cogito*, with opposite effects on the subjectivation processes of the colonizer's and colonizing selves. It is well worth to read Maldonaldo-Torres' argumentation in full length:

> "The barbarian was a racialized self, and what characterized this racialization was a radical questioning or permanent suspicion regarding the humanity of the self in question. Thus, the 'certainty' of the project of colonization and the foundation of the *ego conquiro* stand, just like Descartes's certainty about the *cogito*, on doubt or skepticism. Skepticism becomes the means to reach certainty and provide a solid foundation to the self. The role of skepticism is central for European modernity. And just like the *ego conquiro* predates and precedes the *ego cogito*, a certain skepticism regarding the humanity of the enslaved and colonized sub-others stands at the background of the Cartesian certainties and his methodic doubt" (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 99, italics in original)

Summing up the core assumption of the persisting coloniality of power, Maldonaldo-Torres concludes that modernity, which is commonly seen as a product of European

Renaissance or the European Enlightenment, has a constitutive darker side. "Modernity as a discourse and as a practice", he claims, "would not be possible without coloniality, and coloniality continues to be an inevitable outcome of modern discourses" (2010: 98). Through presenting "modernity/coloniality" instead of "modernity" as the "proper analytical unit" (Escobar 2010: 38), post- and decolonial approaches have "most successfully" (Bhambra 2014: 115) challenged "the insularity of historical narratives and historiographical traditions emanating from Europe" (ibid.). In so doing, they have acted towards a "provincialization" (Chakrabarty 2000) of Eurocentric knowledges and their universal aspirations or, in other words, towards a "decolonization of representation" (Scott 1999: 12).

In this context, the key concept of *Eurocentrism* is mobilized to describe a "hegemonic representation and mode of knowing that claims universality for itself" (Escobar 2010: 38), relying on "a confusion between abstract universality and the concrete world hegemony derived from Europe's position as center" (Dussel 2000: 471). The claim is that particular Western stories, theories and concepts of what the world is and how it works have been powerfully performed towards universal status over time (Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012: 132). Management and Organization scholars Alcadipani and Faria agree in that "one of the key legacies of Eurocentric colonization has been the naturalization of Western knowledge as universal, making it hegemonic worldwide" (2014: 107). For many post- and decolonial authors, it is precisely in the hierarchization of knowledges into "universal" and "particular" (or "global" and "local") where the "coloniality of power" is most consequentially performed today. As Ibarra-Colado writes with an eye on Quijano's (2000) and Mignolo's (2000) works (2006: 464), this so-called *"coloniality of knowledge"* is "the root" of the coloniality of power. The colonial epistemic move consists in silencing that all knowledge – including Western knowledge! – is a place-bound practice irrespectively of how universal its aspirations may be. "To emphasize practice", Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva write, "is to emphasize location – it is to situate activities such as knowledge generation and to identify the relation(s) between the two" (2016: 308). In this sense, post- and decolonial theorizing joins force with postmodern and poststructuralist theorizing of the subject to call out the danger of the 'objective', disembodied vision from nowhere and the associated claim of disinterested and dispassionate knowledge (ibid.). In Mignolo's terms, such a Cartesian position of a totalizing vision from nowhere and everywhere at once is the "hubris of the zero point" (2000).

In this view, reality, possibility and agency are negotiated in an epistemic sphere that is colonially dominated; it is where subjects are defined and therefore potentials to act and

participate in world-making are shaped along colonial axis. In that sense, the coloniality of power is a process that structures identity, experience, and knowledge enmeshing geo-strategic locations and subaltern (minor) inscriptions (Saldívar 2010: 193). From this perspective, one of the key traits of colonial practices has been, and continues to be, the "conquest of identities through [colonizing] knowledge" (Ibarra-Colado 2006: 464). In its most extreme form, this conquest of subjectivity has led, and continues to lead, to the eradication of other ways of knowing in an ongoing "epistemicide" (Santos 2014). Analytically, for Saldívar, to analyze the coloniality of knowledge allows to trace the "entangled relations of power between the global division of labor, racial and ethnic hierarchy, identity formation, and Eurocentric epistemologies" (Saldívar 2010: 193). He continues that "if our identities are real and affective, they do come from somewhere. Any postcontemporary account of subjectification […] and any postpositivist realist account of identity would have to grapple with the 'colonial difference'" (ibid.: 199).

2.4 Receiving coloniality in MOS

As a consequence of the ongoing salience of colonial power in the "coloniality of knowledge" or, as it is also called, "epistemic coloniality" (Grosfoguel 2010, Ibarra-Colado 2006), Mignolo argues that any attempt to de-colonize the four power levers Quijano identified (economy, authority, gender and sexuality, knowledge and subjectivity) has to start with knowledge and subjectivity. This "natural consequence" (Mignolo 2010b: 305) of the argument resonates with an vastly diverse body of literature across the social sciences and humanities, often even explicitly forming the title such as in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's "Decolonizing the Mind" (1986). With respect to more narrowly defined academic knowledge, embodied in theories and concepts, Shih and Lionnet put forward that

> "All life stories of theoretical concepts do begin as regional concepts; they are all first historically and contextually specific before they become widely disseminated, applied, or assumed to be universal. It is, on the one hand, as Palmié [2006] notes, a matter of "conceptual politics" that certain concepts can overcome their particularity while others are not able to or not given a chance to. On the other hand, what is also at issue is the degree of pretentiousness that we attribute to a given theory." (Shih and Lionnet 2011: 23)

Looking at the current status of "conceptual politics" in MOS in particular, the diagnosis of several books, papers and special issues on the issue is clear (Mills 2018): There is a general agreement that MOS are dominated by "Western" (Frenkel and Shenhav 2007: 855) or, even more narrowly, "Anglo-Saxon" (Gantman, Yousfi and Alcadipani 2015)

theories and methods. Reproduced by power relations within and beyond the academic world, they are said to perform an "epistemic coloniality" (Ibarra-Colado 2006) which universalizes North Atlantic "voices" (Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012) at the expense of unheard or "silenced subjectivities" (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016; see also Mills and Misoczky 2014, Dussel 2006).

Efforts have been made to make critical research from the post- and decolonial margins of MOS heard (Dar 2014, Yousfi 2014, Faria 2013, Prasad 2013 and 2003a, Ibarra-Colado, Faria and Guedes 2010, Long and Mills 2008), and a growing number of studies focuses on phenomena and contexts usually neglected by mainstream MOS (Khan 2018, Alcadipani 2017, Bell, Kothiyal and Willmott 2017, Carrim and Nkomo 2016, Bousseebaa and Brown 2016, Barros 2014, Imas and Weston 2012). Be it leaning towards quite orthodox ways of theorizing or more toward a "resistive and critical indigeneity" more fundamentally opposing Western concepts (for an overview, see Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011), these voices vividly demonstrate Prasad's claim that post- and decolonial studies'

> "sustained focus on the undercurrents of neocolonialism in contemporary social contexts provides us with valuable insights into the darker side of globalization. […] [They are] extraordinarily relevant to management and organization studies because [they] offer an alternative historical explanation for many commonplace business practices that have their origins in colonial structures." (Prasad 2005: 263)

Critical management studies, for example, have started to draw on post- and decolonial theories and concepts to study the colonial foundation of managerial, organizational and entrepreneurial practices "shaped in the West and used to control the others" (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006: 871). Similar arguments about the value and importance of a post- and decolonial lens have been put forward by Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva (2016) or Alcadipani and Faria (2014) referring to "international" business (the quotation marks are intended), by Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardas (2011) or Ibarra-Colado (2006) to organization studies, by Ibarra-Colado, Faria and Guedes (2010) to "international" management, by Alcadipani (2017) or Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo (2012) to management education and knowledge, by Gopal, Willis and Gopal (2003) to globalization and business studies, or by Calás and Smircich (1999) and, as early as 1992, Boyacigiller and Adler, for management and organization theory.

Apart from the already presented studies (chapter 2) by Imas and Weston (2012) and Millar (2014) who trace marginalized subjects and their organizing, managing and – as I would argue, entrepreneuring – practices, another example is Misoczky's study of voices of resistance of indigenous organizations in Latin America in order to explore

emancipative and local managerial practices (2006). More studies have focused on the ongoing salience of colonial power in practices such as, as it were, "teaching" the child-like colonized practices of design thinking (Escobar 2018), good governance to overcome corruption (De Maria 2012), women's rights and "enlightened" gender roles (Prasad 2012, see also Lugones 2010a), sustainable development and business practices (as the "postmodern restructuring of modern development", Castro-Gómez 2010: 291, see also Escobar 2004, Castro 2004) or industrial development (Escobar 2012). As milestones in post- and decolonial theorizing in MOS, two volumes edited by Anshuman Prasad (2003a, 2013) have significantly contributed to understanding the relevance of ongoing colonial power to organizational processes such as accounting, labor and work relations, multicultural encounters, supply chains and other "transnational forms" (Prasad 2005: 276), going beyond the seeming normality of organizational processes to trace colonial roots and biases in them. In short, is is widely acknowledged today that a post- and decolonial analytical toolkit is "useful to identify patterns of hierarchical reproduction" – read: the circularity of the double-bound subject and the question of making new worlds from within or outside – "grounded in colonial dynamics", as Brad and Mills argue (2008: 405).

What is more – and very consequential for the social reality outside academia – post- and decolonial approaches in MOS also unbox the darker sides of the discipline itself. The very notions of organization and management have been historically formed in, and crucially helped to perform, the colonization and imperial domination of the Non-European world. Recent research has demonstrated the indebtedness of organizational studies to the "colonial process of expropriation, and ensuing flows of capital, people, experience, and ideas between core centers and colonial peripheries" (for an overview, see Srinivas 2013: 1656). For example, as Frenkel and Shenhav write, "initial managerial techniques took shape through the colonial experience of administering large-scale military and civilian systems across broad geographical areas" (2006: 860). Referring to the contrary direction of influence, Ibarra-Colado underlines that "engineering knowledge, then psychological knowledge, and finally management knowledge […] ordered and simplified the world by means of instrumental rationality" (2006: 464), thus making it knowledgeable and colonizable in the same move (see also Shenhav 1999: 71, Rose 1999: 54). He concludes that disclosing the colonial roots of MOS (as a discipline) and organizing and managing (as phenomena) is key because they represent "one of the most important forms of epistemic coloniality of the last 150 years" (Ibarra-Colado 2006: 464. See also Banerjee and Linstead 2001, Calás and Smircich 2003, Prasad 2013 and 2003a, Frenkel and Shenhav 2006, Cooke 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

In this sense, calls for a decolonization of MOS knowledge as the site of the "analytical eye" to study organizational, managerial and entrepreneurial phenomena have received a strong theoretical and empirical substance over the last years, a claim that Albert Mills (2018), in the call for papers for the European Group for Organizational Studies (EGOS) conference 2019, ironically calls "Organizational Theory from the South: Enlightening the North". And yet, post- and decolonial voices are still "somewhat quiet and tentative" (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011: 275). They populate a marginal "interrogative space that needs to be deepened, broadened and re-asserted in order to contribute to the development of a more critical and heterodox examination of organizations and organizing" (ibid.). A particularly urgent task ahead is the inclusion of voices from locations outside of the anglophone academy (Boussebaa and Brown 2017, Horn 2017, Gantman, Yousfi and Alcadipani 2015), for example from the Spanish and Portuguese speaking margins (Alcadipani and Faria 2014, Faria 2013, Ibarra-Colado, Faria and Guedes 2010, Ibarra-Colado 2006). For Gantman, Yousfi and Alcadipani, given the current precarious status of social, economic and ecological systems, "organizational scholars working outside the Anglosphere are well-equipped to address" these challenges "especially in the context of a new, multipolar world order" (2015: 129). For these authors, MOS continues to constitute a rather "parochial" academic field (March 2005) where theories, concepts, methodologies, ways of doing research and studied phenomena overwhelmingly perform neo-colonial power relations (Mills 2018). MOS is "still inclined to see the global world through imperial prisms of conquest that remain very ethnocentric" (Clegg, Carter, Kornberger and Schweitzer 2011: 35), and a part of the problem is that Southern voices are not heard or deliberately silenced: The domiant academic practices of defining, valueing, ordering and othering knowledges ignore the lived realities of most academics located outside the North/Western academia. In the South,

> "[a]cademia is not a profession per se and being able to survive being an academician is a rare possibility. […] Moreover, research infrastructure is in most cases absent. Libraries, access to journals and databases are totally different when comparable to universities in the North." (Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012: 135).

2.5 Locating post- and decolonial studies: conceptual clarifications

Rafael Alcadipani, Farzad Rafi Khan, Ernesto Gantman and Stella Nkomo, the four post- and decolonial organization scholars who have co-written the article cited above, represent different geographical and biographical trajectories and speak from Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Lahore in Pakistan, Buenos Aires in Argentina and Pretoria in South

Africa. This brings me to a necessary, albeit simplistic distinction to explicate the different "locations of enunciation" (Mignolo 2000) the prexifes "post" and "de" imply. Postcolonial studies, for its part, emerged in and around the ideas of diasporic scholars working in the anglo-speaking academy and on the backdrop of experiences with the English empire in South Asia and the Middle East (Bhambra 2014, Prasad 2005) as well as, to a certain extent, with English and French colonies in the Caribbean (Wade 2005). The most prominent postcolonial scholars, sometimes even presented as the "holy trinity" of postcolonial theory (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011: 278), are the literary and culture theorists Edward W. Said (US Palestinian, 1935-2003), Homi K. Bhabha (Indian currently based in the US) and Gayatri C. Spivak (Indian based in the US), complemented by Jamaican-born founder of the British Cultural Studies Stuart Hall (1932-2014), historian and mentor of the Subaltern Studies Group Ranajit Guha (Indian currently based in the UK) and anthropologist-sociologist Arjun Appadurai (Indian currently based in the US).[1]

Decolonial studies, on the other hand, are closely tied to the Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality program (MCD). Working since the late 1990s, the so-called "community of argumentation" (Escobar 2010: 45) of diasporic scholars from Latin America dates colonialism back to the European conquest of the Americas. The loose group consists of, among others, the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano (last based in the US, 1930-2018), the Argentinian semiotician Walter D. Mignolo (currently based in the US), the Argentinian philosopher María Lugones (currently based in the US) and the Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar (currently based in the US). More recently, connected with Latin America and the Caribbean by similar historical experiences in the colonial South Atlantic, the Africa Decolonial Research Network (ADERN) was founded by South African historian Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011 (currently based in South Africa, see also Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). It strongly builds on African decolonial thinking by, for example, Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) or Cameroonian political scientist Achille Mbembe (2001, 2003).

While both streams are indebted to earlier thoughts of anti-colonial activist-theorists such as Aimé Cesaire (1950) and Frantz Fanon (1963, 1967) in the French Caribbean, Amícar Cabral in Guinea (2016) or Mahatma Gandhi in British India, postcolonial studies rely much stronger on French poststructuralist thought, sharing the concern for

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[1] By indicating the discipline, the country of origin and the current place of residence of key figures, I follow Mignolo's simple, but effective strategy of introducing the authors' locus of enunciation (Mignolo 2010a). For example, it gets immediately apparent that the biographies of many post- and decolonial scholars contain experiences of dislocation and converge in positions within the anglophone US academy.

discourse, language and identity as formulated by Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Jacques Lacan (Mignolo 2010: 306). Latin American decolonial theories, since its beginnings, analyze such "cultural" (Bhambra 2014: 115) phenomena stronger through and with "material" processes related to the economy (and, to a lesser extent, the body), an effect of the dialogues with Neo-Marxist dependency and world systems theory (most notably Wallerstein 1974), with Latin American liberation theology and philosophy (Dussel 1977), with the participatory action research of autonomous social scientists such as Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda (1970) and with chicana feminist theorists such as Gloria Alzandúa (1987) and Chela Sandoval (2000) who are thinking from the US/Mexican borderlands (Escobar 2010: 34)

In that sense, post- and decolonial studies both perform specific intersections between internal critiques of Western modernity (be it in their poststructuralist or neo-marxist variants) and its external critiques, embodied by the numerous struggles of anticolonial movements in Asia, Africa and America (Prasad 2005: 263). They do so from diverse disciplinary, geo- and bodypolitical locations of enunciations (Mignolo 2000). As Prasad further claims, postcolonial studies – and I would add, decolonial studies as well – issue a critique of Western modernity that is concerned with the constitution of subjectivities by "liberal humanism and modernist ideals" (Prasad 2005: 267). Like poststructuralism and postmodernism, they confront "meanings that claim to be universal or that claim to be progressively moving toward universality, such as the Enlightenment conceptions of knowledge and science" (Calás and Smirnich 1999: 653).[2] But other than poststructuralism and postmodernism, post- and decolonial theories pursue this by "constantly emphasizing the West's relationship to its *others* – notably the peoples of its former colonies and the indigenous populations within its own geographical enclaves" (Prasad 2005: 262, italics in original) – and with the political impetus and drive to change the world inside and ouside academy. As Shih and Lionnet lay out with a glimpse on Derrida's deconstruction, they help us to "set aside différance (or endless deferral) and focus instead on the finite and concrete differences that matter: Differences produced by colonialism and other structuring principles of inequality and minoritization (what Walter Mignolo calls "the colonial difference")" (Shih and Lionnet 2011: 17).

Let me make explicit that I see my take on the phenomenon as "decolonial" for four reasons. *First* and foremost, "de-" explicitly evokes the mentioned political impetus to

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[2] I will not offer a detailed overview on postmodernism and poststructuralism here, this has been done and done very convincingly in other places (Prasad 2005, especially 219-281, Calás and Smircich 1999, Bauman 1992, Featherstone 1988, Rose, 1991, Rosenau, 1992).

social transformation and to change the way how organizing and entrepreneuring is done. *Second*, while "postcolonial" refers both to the ongoing power of colonialism (as in "coloniality" or "neocolonialism") and the historical moment after the political decolonization of the world (sometimes mistaken as "not colonial anymore"), "decolonial" avoids this confusion and implies that there is still something to be decolonized (Grosfoguel 2010).[3] *Third*, the decolonial tradition has, even if more conceptually than empirically, considered more-than-discursive processes from the outset, a point that will be of key relevance when developing my conceptual framework. And *fourth*, as I share the view that MOS has predominantly received, if any, postcolonial concepts from the anglosphere, I tend to prioritize decolonial narratives in the sense of a "conceptual politics" that listens to marginalized non-anglo thought (which is, of course, often translated to English today as well).

Thus, from here on, whenever I am not contrasting both traditions but jointly refer to both streams of thought, or to concepts and postions both embrace, I use the term "decolonial". In the same vein, whenever I refer to the phenomenon of power relations that are continuously infused by colonial patterns, I synonimously refer to them as *"coloniality"* or *"neocolonial"* instead of "postcolonial". "Neocolonial" lies a stronger focus on the new forms of colonial power (same thing, new form), while "coloniality" underlines the continuity of colonial power (same thing, basically same form). Very practically speaking, the advantage of "neocolonial" lies in its function as an adjective that immediately evokes, also to the non-specialist reader, the ongoing perpetuation of colonial power.

Once more, what differs between post- and decolonial studies is "the genealogy of the thoughts and experiences of the scholars and intellectuals engaged in each of them, and in which each project finds its energy and its vision" (Mignolo 2010a: 16). Yet, in the introduction to the standard volume on "Globalization and the Decolonial Option" (2010), co-edited with Arturo Escobar, he rejects claims of epistemic ownership and "who was the first" in expressing a thought or doing a thing, which for him would be reproducing "the principle of 'newness' that so much contributed to colonizing knowledges and beings" (Mignolo 2010a: 16). In that sense, I adapt a thought by Indian management scholar Nidhi Srinivas (currently based in the US), namely, that both projects perform the concern of "seeking and recovering the agency of the marginal"

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[3] There is no general agreement on the specific meaning of postcolonial, therefore the risk of confusion. For example, Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar define postcolonialism as an epistemic critique, the post-colonial as a historical moment, postcoloniality as condition experienced within the post-colonial, and the whole complex of terms as an interrogative space (2011: 278, see also Hall 1996).

(Srinivas 2013: 1657). But I would add that they use different tools to analyze, critique and eventually "dismantle the master's house", to evoke Audre Lorde (1984) once again – tools that embody different affordances for transforming coloniality, but also for analyzing neo-colonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship, as I proceed to discuss in the next chapter.

The claim I develop is that post- and decolonial studies are not only opening up a welcomed "interrogative space" in the sense of Jack and colleagues (2011) by merely questioning the presumed universality of Western theories and their associated concepts. Instead, making silences of all kinds heard (in the sense of Emma Pérez' introductory quote to the chapter) through post- and decolonial theorizing creates the spaces where *other* theories and concepts find their place from where to act and have an effect (Pérez 1999: 5). Post- and decolonial thought *is* theory in the sense that it *does* theory: It "enables us to experimentally examine what it can have us become" (Steyaert 2012: 157) and therefore embodies a sense of "politics and hope" that is allowed to emerge from the intimate connections between social reality and the theoretical frameworks one uses to interpret it (Escobar 2008: 284). The next chapter sets out to accomplish just this.

2.6   Conclusion

Set in a context where ongoing colonial power is transpiring through the lives of privileged and marginal subjects the like, entrepreneurship has been presented as a potentially ambiguous force towards making other worlds (Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus 1997, Hjorth and Steyaert 2009). Referring to often unheard, or silenced, practices of organizing business (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Imas and Weston 2012, Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012, Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011), I have introduced the notion of marginal entrepreneuring as a precarious (Millar 2014) commercial practice that aims at creating new worlds without being able to act from a confident location equipped with strategic resources and control. Inspired by Shepherd and Patzelt (2017), I defined marginal entrepreneuring as the subversive process of the discovery, creation and exploitation of cracks in dominant worlds to carve out a place from where to act towards creating future goods and services. In marginal entrepreneurship, seen as a practice of world making from the margins, the question of power is of paramount importance. With respect to the double-bind of agency and structure in processes of subjectivation, the question is if, and when, marginal entrepreneurial projects bring about "genuine" (Lorde 1984) decolonial change, and when they reproduce or fossilize (neo-)colonial power. In short: whether marginal

entrepreneurial activities are a force towards world making from within or from outside "the master's house".

As I have argued along the lines of Bröckling's (neo-)Foucauldian approach to power (2016), the locus of the struggles between de- and neocolonial aspirations is to be found in processes of subjectivation. They come to define who or what is empowered to participate in world making. How can the decolonial claims presented above be mobilized to inform an analysis of the specific processes of subjectivation that (per)form neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship? What do they analytically and practically mean for the recovery of the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) in the face of the ongoing coloniality of power? The next chapter will tackle these questions.
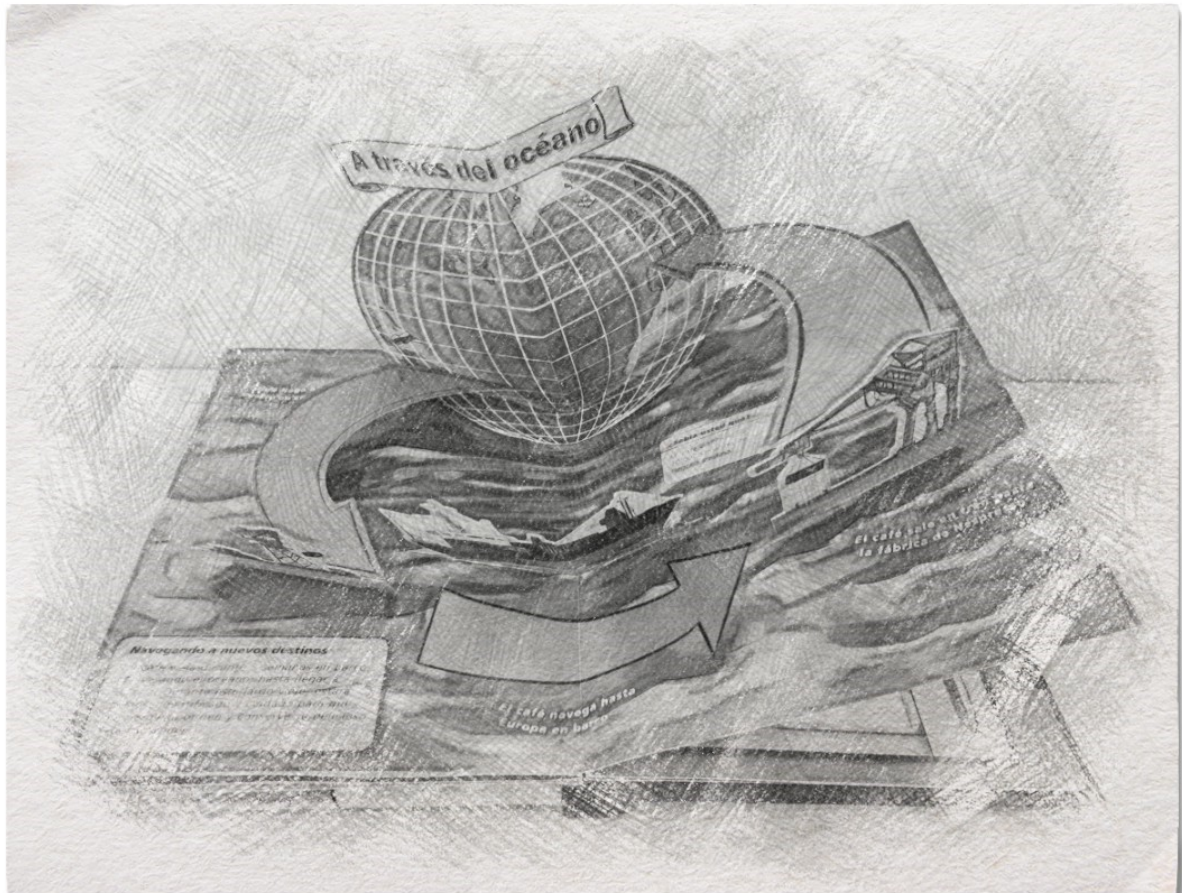
Trace 4: Eternally circular? Against the structuralist trap

Often times, when I spoke with coffee farmers, they asked themselves: If I cooperate with the multinationals, I might receive fancy books about the coffee supply chain like the one above, but does our precarious situation change in the long run? Or are we just doomed to an eternity in colonial subordination? Their reasoning resonates with what is known in the Social Sciences as "structuralist trap". Decolonial analyses often fall for it by seeing colonial power as totalized formation out of reach. As a result, vivid empirical illustrations of the "neocolonial" struggles between decolonial and colonial aspirations are in short supply, and the lack of concepts to situate the emergence of large phenomena in everyday life puts the central decolonial impetus to recover the agency of the marginal at risk. In order to address such conundrums, I conceptualize the phenomenon of neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneuring by reading decolonial theorizing from a positioning / social practice view. In this chapter, three subject positioning processes are derived from the literature: "border doing" à la Edward Said, "border crossing" à la Homi Bhabha and "border dwelling" à la Gloria Anzaldúa.

3 Conceptualizing power struggles through positioning

"There is always a close connection between social reality, the theoretical frameworks one uses to interpret it, and the sense of politics and hope that emerges from such an understanding."

Arturo Escobar (2008: 284)

3.1 Decolonial struggles with making power concepts operational

The problem of neocolonial power struggles transpires in and through efforts of world making. For decolonial theorists, in a world that still breathes coloniality at large, the question under which conditions "genuine" decolonial change is able to emerge – and when dominant power relations are reproduced – is of paramount importance. This is particularly true for the practice of marginal entrepreneuring, performed in precarious lives around borders, defined as socially (not necessarily purposefully) constructed delineations which bring difference into the world. Chapter 2 presented processes of subjectivation as the place where de- and neocolonial aspirations clash in frictional encounters. What is more, as I argued with respect to post- and decolonial analysis of the modern-colonial subject (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010), the entrepreneurial subject self who strives towards discovery, creation and exploitation subjects others under the own entrepreneurial trajectory of progress (Calás and Smircich 2003, Escobar 2018).

On the way towards conceptualizing these claims, two challenges emerge. One challenge, albeit an integral one to the necessarily transdisciplinary tradition of decolonial studies which value and invite a diversity of voices to speak, is the ambiguous use of several key terms such as "coloniality" in the literature. By clarifying and

differentiating some of the de- and postcolonial genealogies and applications in the chapters 2.3 to 2.5 as well as in chapter 3.4, I believe to make productive use of this diversity while providing definitions of the key terms to make them operational. Another challenge which is more consequential for the argument I put forward here is the totalizing view on power explicitly or implicitely put forward in many decolonial studies. This is exemplified in Maldonaldo-Torres' lines, cited above, that "in a way, as modern subjects, we breath[e] coloniality all the time and everyday" (2010: 97). Another typical example is Ndlovu-Gatsheni take on coloniality as "an invisible power structure, an epochal condition, and epistemological design, which lies at the center of the present Euro-North American-centric modern world" (2015: 488).

In the sense that colonial power is everywhere and everything, decolonial theorizing risks falling into the "structuralist trap" of seeing hegemonic regimes as totalized formations out of reach (Gibson-Graham 1996), thereby undermining the central decolonial impetus, in Srinivas terms (2013), to recover the agency of the marginal: If power is total, how can we conceptually deal with transforming and even transcending power relations, that is, social change in its various appearances from incremental to disruptive? In their editorial to the *Organization* Special Issue on "Post-capitalistic politics in the making: Practices of alternative economies", Zanoni and colleagues have recently put forward that the argument is far from irrelevant even today. "Despite our ambition to foster social change, we continuously produce representations of capitalism stressing its monolithic, all-encompassing character, which paradoxically contribute to its continued hegemony" (Zanoni, Contu, Healy and Mir 2017: 578). Escobar argues that analyzing decolonial world-making projects, be they entrepreneurial or otherwise, demands concepts to deal with "practices of cultural, ecological, and economic difference" (Escobar 2010: 52). But, he adds, "theoretically, we are ill equipped for this task" and therefore, the operational concepts to "ethnographically follow practices of difference" in order to analyze their trajectories and potentials are lacking. In accordance with Gibson-Graham and Zanoni and colleagues, he concludes that "[p]art of the answer lies in the fact that political economy analyses have made invisible practices of economic difference, given the totalizing and capitalocentric tendencies of their discourses; these analyses have, in short, tended to reduce all economic forms to the terms of the same, namely, capital itself" (Escobar 2010: 52).

Many decolonial scholars have noticed this lack of theoretical concepts as a major obstacle for analyzing "[t]he specific processes through which [epistemic coloniality] participates in sustaining intellectual hegemony" as well as to present "vivid empirical illustrations of the consequences engendered by these processes" (Durepos, Prasad and

Villanueva 2016: 307). A growing number of scholars relate the challenge to the dominant concern of post- and decolonial "high theorizing" with the historical force of "overwhelmingly textual" (Srinivas 2013: 1656) representations "doing" colonial subjectivation. Especially addressing the postcolonial in the anglosphere, as I noted above, critics point out that "attention shifted away from the social practices through which colonial power was perpetuated, and the variety of motivations that underlay such practices, to an exclusive concern with linguistic ambivalence, complicity and negotiation" (Parry 2004: 75-6). Also in MOS, perhaps as "a reflection of the fascination with language and its constitutive effects that came with the interest in poststructuralism" (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011: 280), the specifics of subject formation processes and the lived experiences around these processes remain largely unexplored – neglecting more-than-textual dimensions of the world (Srinivas 2013: 1657-8, see also Parry 2004, Yousfi 2014, Gantman and Parker 2006, Wade 2005). What is more, the few studies that conceptually focus on lived experience exclusively use textual data from interviews and conversations (Millar 2014, Srinivas 2013, Imas and Weston 2012. See also Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016). "Even anthropologists", British anthropologist Peter Wade admits, "have tended towards the literate or discursive expressions" (2005: 242) rather than the lived experience.

Very much in this critical spirit, this chapter aims at developing operational concepts that may allow to study "practices of difference" (Escobar 2010) and to make the theoretical claims as developed in chapter 2 operational. For, in the end, "there is always a close connection between social reality, the theoretical frameworks one uses to interpret it, and the sense of politics and hope that emerges from such an understanding" (Escobar 2008: 284).

3.2 Conceptualizing power struggles as (per)forming subject positions

3.2.1 Positioning theory: Conceptualizing power through discursive subject positioning

With the help of Bröckling (2016) and Foucault (1972, 1982) on the one side and post-/decolonial theorizing on the other, I have problematized marginal entrepreneurial world making as unfolding in neocolonial power struggles. In this view, subjects are formed by, and perform, power relations, a circularity which principally includes spaces for the agential making of new worlds. Yet, as in any circularity, the question is how far "the master's tools" reproduce "the master's house" and under which conditions "new houses" are built. So far, these suggestions remain on a fairly general level and don't

offer a precise analytical language for an empirical analysis of neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneuring. To bridge this gap, I propose to apply the conceptual language of *positioning* theory, as developed e.g. by Davies and Harré 1990, van Langenhove and Harré 1999, Hollway 1984 and, fused with postcolonial theorizing, by Stuart Hall (1992, 1996). The approach specifies the claim that agency is discursively constructed. As Davies and Harré define it,

> "[p]ositioning is the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines." (1990: 48)

The positioning concept was introduced by Hollway (1984) to reject deterministic views on mechanical power reproductions without scope for agency. As she analyzes the construction of subjectivity in heterosexual relations, she finds that gender discourse makes positions available for subjects, and that people invest in certain positions. Davies and Harré adapted the concept to the field of marketing to refer to positioning products among its competitors, decentering the intentional use of positions and directing the analytical focus more towards the process and its "intended or unintended" consequences (1990: 266). In order to be able to analyze more subtle and complex aspects of interaction, they positioned the concept of *subject position* vis-à-vis the notion of "role", a more static concept used in social psychology, to arrive at a "subjectivity which is precarious, contradictory and in process" (Weedon 1987: 33, see also Davies and Harré 1990, van Langenhove and Harré 1999).[4]

Subject positions are results of an "interactive positioning" in which people in interaction negotiate positions for themselves by the use of language. The process is double-sided, which means that discursively positioning oneself positions others at the same time (Davies and Harré 1990: 398). Subject positions "incorporate both a conceptual repertoire and a location of persons within the structure of rights for those who use that repertoire" (ibid.: 46). Every subject position entails possibilities and limitations for those assigned a given position, and these possibilities are derived from the discourses they perform. A discourse, in this context, is defined as the institutionalized use of language at the disciplinary, political, cultural and small group level (Davies and Harré 1990). They provide the subjects in negotiation

> "[w]ith conceptual repertoires with which we can represent ourselves and others. […] Each discourse provides a limited number of 'slots' for people […] these are

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[4] For Hall (1992), five euro-internal theoretical movements have contributed to this deconstruction of the Cartesian sovereignty of subjectivity: The interpellation theory of Louis Althusser, Sigmund Freud's unconsciousness, Saussures structural linguistics, the genealogy of Michel Foucault, feminist theorizing by Judith Butler and others.

the subject positions that are available for people to occupy when they draw on this discourse. Every discourse has with it a number of subject positions." (Burr 1995: 141)

Hence, subject positions have implications for power relations as they constrain and shape what actors can do. On the other hand, subject positions themselves are outcomes of power dynamics. Discourses as the "raw material" for subject positions always represent a history or genealogy of fossilized power relations. For Foucault, power is not a "thing" or "property" of actors, but a complex strategical situation, a multiplicity of force relations (Smart 1985: 77). As he writes, "[p]ower produces: It produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained from him belong to this production" (1977: 194). For Fraser (1992), it is in the way discourses construct what is (not) and who is (not) where glimpses of hegemony (Gramsci) are made visible. As much in what is not said as in what is said, discourses embody the power to establish the fund of self-evident desriptions of social reality that normally go without saying, the power of "authoritative definitions of social situations and social needs, the power to define the universe of legitimate disagreement, and the power to shape the political agenda. Hegemony, then expresses the advantaged position of dominant social groups with respect to discourse" (Fraser 1992: 179). In that sense, subject positioning processes operationalize the double-bind of agency and structure in processes of subjectivation. They allow for a more fine-grained approach towards the question how it is negotiated who or what acts and has effect, who or what is responsible for retention or change and accountable for outcomes, and who or what is empowered to take ownership of the world. Positioning, thus, allows to conceptually connect "large" structures and "small" individuals via the concept of subject positions.

It is crucial to note that discursive subjectivation via positioning processes relies on language in the sense of language-in-use. Positioning is a discursive *practice*, understood as "all the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities" (Davies and Harré 1990: 262). As the authors put forward, the constitutive force of discourses on the social world lie in that they provide the emerging subjects with categories, story lines and viewpoints for their positioning negotiations in practice (Törronen 2001: 320). According to Althusser (1998/1984), adopting subject positions interpellates ideological content (discursive content) which becomes "materialized in our everyday routines" (Törrönen 2001: 314, see also Bazzul 2016: 9). In repeated practice, subject positions attain a common sense status over time.

In that sense, any critical analysis of subjectivation begins with asking how it comes to be that "we find certain practices, ways of speaking and being, as normal, acceptable,

and thinkable – and not others" (Bazzul 2016: 10). It is by conceptualizing subject positions as (per)formed in practice, Bazzul argues, that positioning theory can be most effectively mobilized to analyze "how oppressive and exploitative social institutions, networks, and private interests work to produce the very kind of 'being' required to maintain a particular social order" (2016: 8). A key reason lies in that overly textual understandings of the social, as we have seen with respect to the text-focused postcolonial studies of representation, cannot say much about how discourses change or disappear. In contrast, to put forward that discourses need performed repetitions and reiterations "to live on" fills this gap and helps to explain change through unintended or unexpected uses of discursive elements. As Alkemeyer and Buschmann write, what is appropriate to do, say and be for a given subject "emerges in praxis, understood as an ongoing attunement of different participants, which is likely to imply conflict and the potential to fail" (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 14). Discourses, thus, can and do compete with each other in their aspirations for validity in a given context. Understood in this sense, subjectivation is a repeated performance "in order for a subject to recognize itself as a subject" (Bazzul 2016: 10, see also Butler 1997).

3.2.2 Social practice theory: Subject positions as (per)formed in situated practice

A performative understanding of positioning discourse is oriented towards Foucault's idea of discourse as a highly materialist phenomenon, operating at the intersection of language and the material world. As Prasad underlines, Foucault does not approach discourses as disembodied text but as active material and bodily processes where objects and "specific historical practices" join forces to bring power into being (Prasad 2005: 251, see also Young 2001). However, what Foucault's conceptualization indeed allows to do is to differentiate between discursive and non-discursive practices. Schatzki criticizes this point as conceptually unconvincing (2017: 136-7). He argues that it is not enough to claim with Foucault that statement-making sayings, even when they are inherently seen as *performed* interpellations of ideological apparatuses (Althusser 1998/1984), occur amid doings and material set-ups. For Schatzki, this is unconvinging because discourse is treated as ontologically different to the materialities and non-discursive behaviors they assemble with. Instead, he claims that sayings are "components of practices" (Schatzki 2017: 137) and cannot be analyzed and explained as distinct entities which belong to an ontologically different sphere than practice.

In this vein, a group of loosely connected theoretical approaches have organized around the idea of a "practice turn" (Schatzki, Knorr Cetina and von Savigny 2001), claiming

that the the site of the social is located in *social practices* (Hui, Schatzki and Shove 2017, Gherardi 2013, Nicolini, 2012 and 2009, Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012, Reckwitz 2002, Schatzki 2002). According to social practice theories (SPT), society consists of relatively stable associations of routinized activities. These social practices are "a routinized type of behaviour which consist of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, things and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Reckwitz 2002: 249).[5]

With respect to subjectivation processes that unfold in positioning practices, SPT agrees with the discursive analytical perspective that subjectivity is relational and not autonomous, and that it is not a pre-social given but socially constructed. However, as Alkemeyer and Buschmann detail in their book chapter "learning in and across practices: enablement as subjectivation" (2017), SPT analyzes subjectivation as a "process of en-ablement *in praxis* [which] implies that it does not only depend on discourse formations, but always takes shape in situated performances of practices" (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 21, italics in original). They further argue that

> "[t]he prefiguration of interactions by material arrangements and the bodily situatedness of participants in those arrangements remain overlooked. […] [e]ach position within a concrete socio-material arrangement is connected with particular normative demands that open up and close off certain possibilities." (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 20)

This implies that the subject positionings, their repertoires and "rights" are often not discursively enacted but collectively performed in nonverbal, minimal and subtle movements, in affective reverberances and attunements of the involved actors in the situation. Subject positioning thus becomes a reflexive sensing performance, oriented to "teleo-affective structures" (the quasi-discursive semantic components which inform participants how and why to do what they do, a concept developed by Schatzki 2002) *as well as* always also to situational requirements.

Such a conception of subject positioning resonates with various frameworks of influential theorists apart from Foucault (1978), namely Bourdieu, particularly his "implicit pedagogy" of positioning in practice, 1977, 1990), Giddens' structuration (1984), Butler's performativity (1990), Latour's Actor-Networks (1993) and Vygotsky's activities (1978) (Halkier 2013: 214).[6] In general, what mobilizes these

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[5] Nicolini and Monteiro (2017: 3f) provide a comprehensive overview of diverse definitions of practice.
[6] For an overview of the applications of practice theoretical insights in the traditions of Giddens, Bourdieu and Heidegger, Vygotsky, Wittgenstein, Foucault, Latour and pragmatist philosophy, see Simpson 2009.

heterogeneous sets of theoretical work together is the intention to escape dualisms like "material and ideal", "object and subject", "structure and agency" or "body and mind" which have centrally framed Western modernity/coloniality (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Özbilglin and Tatli 2005, Mignolo 2000). In his much cited effort to locate SPT in social theory, Reckwitz (2002) positions SPT in opposition to the non-context-sensitive, universalist approaches of structuralism (macro-universalism) and rational choice (micro-universalism). Within the context-sensitive approaches, he draws a second distinction to "mentalism" (i.e., culture studies) and "textualism" (i.e., discourse analysis) because of their "intellectualization" of social life, over-emphasizing the importance of the mind and neglecting embodied routines. (The latter differentiation has been relativized somewhat in the last years as my qualification of Foucault's more-than-textual take on discourse shows.)

Referring to processes of subject positioning, an important difference of many SPT approaches to discursive analyses is that sayings are analytically *and* ontologically decentered as they are enmeshed in "flat" practice associations (Nicolini 2017a: 99). Discourse, matter, people equally join the club of "perform-able" components. Their status depends on how they perform and are performed, not on a howsoever imagined pre-practical substance. As Nicolini continues, it is important to note that not all practice theorists embrace such a "flat ontology". Scholars working in the tradition of Bourdieu and Giddens for example accept that "big" things such as structure, power or fields do exist in their own right (and with a different ontological status), even if they need to be reproduced in practice. Here, as I detail in chapter 4.1, I join the "relational" SPT approaches as represented for example by organization scholars Davide Nicolini or Silvia Gherardi. They claim that "[c]omplexity and size have nothing to do with the existence of so-called 'macro' phenomena" (Nicolini 2017a: 100).

However, also for them, the central work discursive components do to organize the social is still acknowledged. Discoursivity still does pervade the plenum of social practices, as sayings and texts circulate in practices and as they give subjects an "articulatory and intertextual potential" (Schatzki 2017: 140). Here, Nicolini points out that a relevant part of SPT is rooted in the Heideggerian and Wittgensteinian tradition in that

> "[t]he authors of [this] tradition believe that at all times people mostly do (and say) whatever it makes sense for them to do (and say). Such sense, however, always manifests itself as part of an ongoing practical endeavor. It follows that practices, and neither sense nor the individuals that enact the sense-making, are the starting points for the investigation and understanding of human and social affairs. *It is thus to the accomplishment of real-time practices that we need to turn if we want*

to understand human conduct and social order." (Nicolini 2012: 163-4, emphasis is mine)

If we need to turn to "real-time" practices to understand human conduct and social order, as Nicolini writes very much in the vein of process philosophy such as by the already cited Nayak and Chia ("what really exists are not things made but things in the making", 2011: 282), what else does this imply for practices of positioning? In terms of subjectivation in practice, this implies that positioning work is done in every practice in that they offer various positions to perform. Given a specific positioning (plus a biographically determined personal situatedness), practitioners find themselves confronted with specific expectations, limitations and possibilities (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 14). But the recognition of each other's subjectivity is not a positive affirmation of already existing attributes, it is a becoming that can also "fail". For Alkemeyer and Buschmann, this claim is a continuation of Bourdieu's and Butler's works, in that subject positioning as "powerful performative act" institutes "someone as an intelligible subject which can also take the form of failure, degradation of contempt" (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 18). This is similar to the idea of discursive practices outlined above, with three differences: The "offering" does not exist before or outside of practice; the offered positions are more-than-semantic and include visceral-affective dimensions as well (see also Reckwitz 2017 and Nicolini 2017a: 107), and the positions are offered to humans and non-humans alike who/which assume different responsibilities in the collective deployment of agency. Alkemeyer and Buschmann sum up this point:

> "Since every practice provides different social *positions*, which come with varying amount(s) of *power and influence*, the responsibility for the 'product' of a shared practice is distributed and attributed differently." (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 13, emphasis is mine)

3.3   Reading colonial power through subject positioning

How can decolonial claims be mobilized to inform an analysis of subjectivation processes, seen as the location where neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship play out? What I try to achieve from here on is a more nuanced discussion of the problem of ongoing colonial power (as embedded in "epistemic coloniality") by connecting decolonial theorizing with the outlined conceptualization of subjectivation processes as subject positioning. Instead of offering a full-fledged genealogy of the field, I aim at synchronously following historical and conceptual decolonial traces of subject positioning. This is certainly an attempt that in itself silences

differences and nuances between the vastly diverse approaches (which have been more comprehensively addressed, for example, by Bhambra 2014, Mignolo and Escobar 2010, Prasad 2003a and 2013, Prasad 2005, Young 2001, Calás and Smircich 1999, Moore-Gilbert 1997). The idea, therefore, is not to ask what post- and decolonial studies *are* or not, but rather what ideas and concepts that emerged under these rubrics *do* – in other words, what their affordances are for the praxeological analysis of neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneuring.

In so doing, I believe to tackle a gap wide open: Neither a decolonial social practice analysis nor a praxeological decolonial analysis has been made. In fact, I have only found two papers explicitly connecting ideas from these two strands: An empirical one and a programmatic one.

First, in his study "Could a Subaltern Manage? Identity Work and Habitus in a Colonial Workplace" (2013), critical management scholar Nidhi Srinivas applies Bourdieu's habitus concept to the performative identity work practiced by historically marginalized groups who learn to become professional managers in colonial settings. In applying a close reading of Prakash Tandon's 1972 autobiography "Beyond Punjab", he traces Tandon's transition from an Indian boy to the first Indian Chief Executive by looking at shifts in practiced identity work. While he fleshes out possible conceptual links between Bourdieu and decolonial studies in MOS and formulates implications for contemporary studies of practice in neocolonial contexts, his data are textual, individual, retrospective and autobiographical.

Second, in their programmatic article "How might we study international business to account for marginalized subjects? Turning to practice and situating knowledges", Gabrielle Durepos, Ajnesh Prasad and Cristian E. Villanueva (2016) encourage scholars to engage with the practice turn and situated knowledges. Dialoguing especially with Knorr Cetinas praxeology of knowledge-in-practice and epistemic cultures (2003), they contend that a decolonial accounting for the practices of marginalized subjects in MOS has begun empirically (e.g. in the already cited studies of Millar 2014 and Imas and Weston 2012, see chapter 2.2), but not led to relevant conceptual developments in the direction of a decolonial practice theoretical approach yet.

Relying on a close reading of subjectivation put forward in decolonial theorizing, I identify three processes of subjectivation that have been studied by decolonial scholars. They intersect in frictional ways. Together, they form and perform certain patterns of hierarchical reproduction grounded in colonial dynamics that enable and restrict agency to emerge, and enable and restrict actors to participate in world making (Brad and Mills 2008: 405).

Let me shortly outline the three positioning processes which, in the conceptual language developed here, can be (per)formed in every practice, namely the processes of "border doing", "border crossing" and "border dwelling".

1. *Border doing.* I develop the first positioning process by reviewing decolonial takes on the question "how is colonial power still a thing?". I claim that this strand of theorizing mainly analyzes *discursive subjectivation* by focusing on processes of "othering", symbolically tied to the name of Edward Said (1978). The key impetus of Saidian-style analyses is to disclose the socially constructed nature of the binary subject positions colonizer/colonized and their associated agential potential, which is high and low/none, respectively. In order to tackle the coloniality of power, this position argues that "genuine change" has to come from "outside", because every attempt to "change from within" inevitably uses the "master's tools" and may refurnish or repair the "master's house", but never replace it with a truly decolonial system. In that sense, change agency must locate itself beyond the walls of the "master's house", an argument that sheds a critical light on the world making force of entrepreneuring, a practice at least partially operating within the coloniality of capitalist markets.

2. *Border crossing.* The second positioning process emerges out of analytical moves which tackle the question "is resistance futile, or can there be hope?". In my view, the theoretical tradition that specifically looks at this challenge analyzes *effects of discursive subjectivation* by focusing on processes of "hybridizing", symbolically tied to the name of Homi Bhabha (1994). Hybridization does not contest the ongoing power of colonial discursive subjectivation, but two claims shake it and replace the Orientalist master construction of colonizer/colonized with the construction of pure/hybrid. First, the subject positions of colonizer and colonized are presented as inherently hybrid blends of diverse descent and therefore contain a degree of ambiguity in them. To use the metaphor of Audre Lorde, in every "master's tool" there are traces of the marginal agency which co-created the tools in the first place (see also Calvo 2003: 234). Secondly, subject positions are not only discursive formations in the realms of narrowly defined textuality and mentality, they are practices – a conceptual innovation which parallels the more recent performative theorizing of positioning and discourse (see chapter 3.2). They imply potentials for subversive adaptation and resistance, principally allowing diversified subject positions and possible realities to be (per)formed. In short, under some conditions, change from "within" the system is possible because "the house" and "the tools" do not belong fully to the colonizers, they themselves contain the seed for change. Put bluntly,

entrepreneurs can potentially change the world by subverting the very logics and markets they perform.

3. *Border dwelling.* The third positioning process is outlined by studies tackling the question "if there is hope, how can marginal world making work?". I argue that these questions are investigated by authors who focus on performances of marginal "active subjectivity" (Lugones 2010: 746) vis-à-vis discursive subjectivation, symbolically tied to the name of Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) whose ideas have crucially informed Walter Mignolo's influential concept of "border thinking" (2000, 2010a). By focusing on practices of developing the borderlands as strategic place from where to act, called "nepantla", scholars of the borderlands argue that the in-between offers more than just subversive adaptations and resistance to larger-than-life subjectivations. The borderlands are not an empty "social limbo" (Turner 1982: 24), but a living site from where to listen to "different collectivities" (Anzaldúa 1987: 100) at the same time: They resemble concrete places, not abstract spaces. Borderlands, thus, are seen as privileged subject positions (Escobar 2010: 38) that perform an active, multiplying and embodied agency. In this reasoning lies an interesting alternative answer to the orientalist implication that "genuine" change can only come from outside. The borderland *is* the outside and not the in between, or rather the inside and the outside at the same time; the border *is* the "bridge called home" (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002), the place from where change is possible and where the fundaments for the "marginal's house" are always already been built.

It is important to note that I see analytical takes on the three positioning processes as cross-cutting the boundary between post- and decolonial approaches I outlined in chapter 2.5. Theoretical traditions, authors and texts are not neatly bounded entities without contradictions; it is actually the contradictions that create the energy to develop arguments. In that sense, the same traditions, the same authors and sometimes even the same texts oscillate between the analytical challenges and their implications presented above. Therefore, the structure of the remainder of this part explicitly follows an analytical-conceptual logic and not a logic of schools of thought or locations of enunciation. The three parts ahead, looking at "border doing", "border crossing" and "border dwelling" in detail, all dicuss general analytical moves and then present applications and cases in MOS. Finally, implications for the phenomenon of neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneuring are fleshed out which, in the next chapter, will then be made empirically operational through a specification of the combined social practice and decolonial claims.

3.3.1 Border doing: How is colonial power still a thing?

3.3.1.1 Positioning through othering: Becoming a disempowered subject

What are the specific processes through which the coloniality of power is perpetuated and thereby continues to act upon social relations? Departing from this question, a first stream of post-colonial (rather than de-colonial) analyses focuses on processes of subjectivation, particularly how subjects are formed and informed through colonial discursive formations (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011: 277, Lugones 2010b: 746). By enmeshing the poststructural discourse analysis of Foucault with Gramsci's cultural neo-Marxism, the aim is to "challenge the unquestioned authority of Western knowledge of and power" over the non-West (Prasad 2005: 266, see also Bayoumi and Rubin 2000). By issuing a trenchant poststructural critique on Western epistemology as "a system of exclusions" (Long and Mills 2008: 393), postcolonialism offers "rather a theory of objectification than oppression and exploitation" (ibid.), whereby the Western discourse created an ontological reality in which certain groups of people were positioned as radically disempowered subjects, or better: objects of control.

The departure point for this stream, and the center of conceptual geographies of postcolonialism in general, is Edward Said's monumental work "Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient" (1978). Seen as the "pathbreaking" (Prasad 2005: 262) "foundational moment" (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011: 277) for postcolonial studies, Said critically analyzes manifold European discursive forms such as classifications and images and shows how they became linguistically organized into the impermeable binary opposition of the Occident (West) and the *"othered"* Orient (Non-West). Said's key analytical move is to demonstrate how "orientalism" (just like its cousin tropicalism, see Prasad 2005: 274) performed the othering of the Non-West by two distinct and interrelated discursive processes, called the "double silencing" of orientalism (ibid.):

- First, to deny Non-Western subjects the same voice and status as Western subjects by drawing an impermeable border between them, positioning the former as inferior (vs. superior), uncivilized (vs. civilized), backwardish (vs. developed), immoral (vs. moral) and superstitious (vs. scientific);
- and second, to silence that the first silencing is by any means a social construction, thereby naturalizing a *colonial difference* between colonizers and the colonized (see also Quijano 2010, Maldonaldo-Torres 2010, Mignolo 2002).

It is important to note that (per)forming borders through discursive othering is a relational practice, positioning both the dominated subject and the dominant subject

strategically (Bhabha 1994: 72). Therefore, a very practical effect of "both an analytic bifurcation of the world and an elision of that bifurcation" (Bhambra 2014: 116) was not only to enable Europe to construct its identity in a "self-centered quest" (Forsdick 2000: 47) against the homogenized Orient as its "underground self" (Frenkel and Shenav 2006: 857), but also to entitle the 'enlightened' Westerners to rule, civilize and represent the typified 'other' under changing labels and with changing justifications (ibid., see also Forsdick 2000, Escobar 2012). While European colonists were empowered as subjects of historical knowledge performing a universal progressive vector towards the future, the 'localized' histories – and colonized subjects – of the Non-West emerged as degenerated derivatives of the pure Western ideal: "History happened first in Europe, and only then elsewhere" (Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011: 277). Thus, in terms of discursively granting subjects any agential power over the world, the double silencing of Orientalism

> "removed the 'other' *from* the production of an effective history of modernity. History became a product of the West in its actions upon others. At the same time, it displaced those actions in the idea that modernity was endogenous to the West and therefore removed the very question of the 'other' *in* History." (Bhambra 2014: 116. Italics in original)

In an influential TED talk, the Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie explicitly relates (neo-) colonial discursive subjectivation to disempowerment. She defines power, first, as the capacity to tell a diversity of stories about oneself or the own collective, e.g. the West, avoiding to be reduced to stereotypes and presenting itself as a rich, multifaceted subject; and second, the capacity to tell the stories – or for that matter, the one "single story" – of the others, reducing them to stereotypical, disempowered objects (Ngozi Adichie 2009). In the words of Berger and Luckmann, "he who has the bigger stick has the better chance of imposing his definitions of reality" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 109), and the Western definition of reality in the form of the "double silencing" was profoundly devastating for the subjectivities of the colonized. As Lugones argues, "the civilizing transformation justified the colonization of memory, and thus of people's senses of self, of intersubjective relation, of their relation to the spirit world, to land, to the very fabric of their conception of reality, identity, and social, ecological, and cosmological organization" (Lugones 2010b: 745). Exemplifying the effects of colonial "epistemicide" (Santos 2014), Mignolo begins his essay "Delinking. The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of De-Coloniality" (2010b: 303) by citing Martinican psychoanalyst and revolutionary Frantz Fanon. In "The Wretched

of the Earth" (1963) ("Les Damnés de la Terre", 1961), a brilliant landmark analysis of the dehumanizing effects of colonization on individuals[7] and societies, Fanon writes that

> "[c]olonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country. Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverse logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts it, disfigures and destroys it." (Fanon 1963: 210, cit. in Mignolo 2010b: 303)

In that sense, the colonization of the minds of the suppressed people performs a deeply "thingifying" system (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015: 486). The thingification of human beings lies at the core of colonization as a "pathological condition that eventually made all who participated in it mentally sick" (Prasad 2005: 264). In this context, a particularly disturbing phenomenon are marginal tactics of mimicking the colonizers and thereby "doing" and reinforcing the border, analyzed in Fanon's "Black Skin, White Masks (1967, first published 1952 as "Peau Noire, Masques Blancs"). For Aimé Césaire, the second epochal Martinican figure and initiator of the anti-colonial négritude movement, thingification also exemplifies the intimate alliance of colonial racism and capitalism. By reframing Marx' concept of "commodification" in racial terms (1950: 32-45), he describes how colonialism first conquered people, then denied them the same social status, then racialized them, then dehumanized them, and finally commodified them as exploitable resource for capitalist accumulation processes (Mignolo 2010b: 331, see also Prasad 2005: 264). Thus, commodification as a subjectivation process positions people actively as less than human beings, to objects without will and without need for dignity, rights or agency (Lugones 2010b: 745). In terms of available subject positions on markets, this idea is highly consequential. It serves to stratify producers and consumers, as well as producers of raw materials and producers of refined goods, along the line of racial differentiation (Saldívar 2010: 2000). With different emphasis, decolonial theorists analyze the intersections of race and class in the construction of economic subject positions (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 97-98, see also Quijano 1992). Only more recently, a gendered analysis of these intersections has gained strength, critically reviewing the masculinist bias in theorizing subject positions in "mainstream" decolonial analysis as well (see, for example, Lugones 2010a and 2010b, Ortega 2017 or Escobar 2018: 19).

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[7] In Fanon's work, W.E.B. Du Bois 1897 essay on the "Strivings of the Negro People" in the US resonates back. As one of the first influential texts on the marginalized "double consciousness" of the Black population in the US, he urged the – often White – reader to assume a subject position that is constantly socially constructed as problematic: "How does it feel to be a problem?"

The empirical and conceptual entanglement of racial thingification and capitalist commodification makes the intimacy between colonial and modern world making appartent. As decolonial scholars argue, this intimacy is continuously performed *until today* in epistemic power relations. The continuity of the coloniality of knowledge is meticulously studied by decolonial scholars who extend the Saidian research program from the West-Rest dichotomies in Orientalism to the West-Rest dichotomies in the general European discourse of modernity since the renaissance (Mignolo 1996). They claim that even the modernity-critical intra-european voices, such as marxists or postmodernists, locate the historical subject exclusively in Europe and thereby "do border" (see also Bhabha 1994: 72). Mignolo illustrates the claim, amongst others, with Anthony Giddens' words that "[m]odernity refers to modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence. This associates modernity with a time period and with an initial geographical location" (Giddens 1993: 1, cit. in Mignolo 2010b: 318). Giddens' citation illustrates that the intra-european discourse on modernity constructs itself against the ideas of a temporal and a spatial other, a construction that receives its inner logic from the Orientalism of colonial practices. For Mignolo, "the conception of modernity as the pinnacle of a progressive transition relied the on *colonization of space and time* to create a narrative of difference" (2010b: 324. Italics in original) that was crucial for modern narratives of salvation, emancipation and progress.

Modernity, thus, both performs a *temporal* and a *spatial* border between the binarily positioned subject of the colonizer and the colonized. The temporal border distinguishes innovative moderns, who are in charge of "newness" (Mignolo 2010b: 330) as the motor of society, from backwardish savages or primitives – notions that became appared toward the end of the 18th century (ibid.: 324, see also Fabian 1983). This unequal entitlement to world making built upon earlier conceptions of spatial colonial difference to those located in the outside space of non-European alterity, an idea which Mignolo traces back to the Greek "barbarians". Barbarians either lack something (an idea that defined Hobbes' and Locke's nature states) or are evil enemies. The basic argument – coming together in the 21st century in the othered figure of the poor (lacking) muslim (evil) migrant – can be found already in the writings of the Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas reporting his view on the indigenous population in what today is called America back to Europe (circa 1552) (Mignolo 2010b: 324-327). To conclude, while there is a secondary debate on whether modernity is only European (as in euromodernity or in "decoloniality as an alternative") or whether there are other modernities (as in transmodernity, Dussel 2006, or in "decoloniality as an option"), the important point for

Mignolo ist that there is "no modernity without coloniality" (Mignolo 2010b: 320, see also Mignolo and Escobar 2010).

3.3.1.2 Applications and implications

For Prasad (2005: 266), the social sciences after Said could not ignore questions of difference or the politics of representation anymore, and all disciplines were forced to confront their "vision of culture" (Bayroumi and Rubin 2000: 67) – up to the point that the concept of culture itself came under close scrutiny, as the doing of cultural borders has always been central in colonial conquest and domination: "If colonialism can be seen as a cultural formation, so also, culture is a colonial formation" (Dirks 1992: 3). In MOS, Saidian analyses of discursive subjectivation have contributed to an understanding of "doing border" in various contexts.

 First, a series of studies has shed light on how Western managerial, organizational and entrepreneurial practices have developed in the colonial encounter (an origin that was subsequently silenced). For example, Cooke (2003a) has shown how aspects of modern management – span of control, time keeping, task distribution – has developed out of slave plantations and railroad construction sites in the USA (2003a, see also Mintz 1985), or how British indirect rule in India shaped the understanding of participatory management (2003c). Mir, Mir and Upadhyaya (2003) disclose that the first joint stock companies and the first joint venture were colonial: The former set up by Genovan merchants to run plantations, the latter between the Queen of England and a slave trader.

As Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) argue, these colonial origins have been edited out of the purified canon of MOS, which is why, *second*, the telling of the MOS history itself has come under scrutiny (see also Kwek 2003, Prasad and Prasad 2003). By analyzing seminal MOS texts with a decolonial lens, they find how principles of human resources (Elton Mayo) and change management (Kurt Lewin) emerged from doing borders through perpetuating racial principles or studying "non-civilized" settings (as "bad examples" for organizing). Management was constructed from the get-go in Peter Drucker's foundational text as "distinctively western" (1954: 1) and became the "spearhead of neocolonialism in the age of decolonization" (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006: 871) through its positioning as universal model vis-à-vis "inferior" forms of corrupt, inefficient, irrational or premodern organizing (see also Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012: 133-4, Banerjee and Linstead 2001). Empirical cases for the "successful" discursive doing of colonial borders have been studied, for example, in management education (Mills and Helms Hatfield, 1998), diversity training (Prasad 2006), oil business (Prasad and Mir 2002), commercial aviation (Mills 1995), tourism (Prasad and

Prasad 2002), supranational organizations (Brad and Mills 2008), cross cultural management in multinational corporations (Mir and Mir 2009) and corporate communication on social media (Barros 2014). Especially in "postmodern" commodifications of the "other" such as in tourism, patronizing colonial othering also includes exoticizing and romanticizing tropes and is therefore deeply ambivalent (Prasad 2005: 274).

To sum up, the key impetus of Saidian-style analyses is to disclose the socially constructed nature of subject positions. The focus on discursive processes of othering the Non-West has effectively confronted the "second silencing" of Orientalism, claiming that colonial difference is social, not natural. But even if the subject positions of colonizer and colonized may be seen as socio-historical instead of natural "facts", they are essentially fixed and out of reach for any marginal agency to change. In order to tackle the coloniality of power, this positions argues that "real change" has to come from "outside" because every attempt to "change from within" inevitably uses the "master's tools" and may refurnish or repair the "master's house", but never replace it with a truly post-colonial system. In that sense, change agency must locate itself beyond the walls of the "master's house", which sheds a critical light on the chances of the (also marginal) entrepreneurial making of other worlds. This argument resonates in the rhetoric of anti-colonial (and, for that matter, communist) revolutions in the 20th century. However, the same cases of overthrown governments serve as illustrations that there is considerable continuation even in so-called "revolutions" (e.g., in terms of the involved elites or the socio-cultural practices "before" and "after"). At the same time, post- and decolonial thinkers as well agree to the onto-epistemological claim that a pure and "uncontaminated" outside position is hardly thinkable and even less doable. This leaves the prospect for "change from the margins" and marginal world making under a very uncertain light, basically opening up two options: (invisible, illicit or illegal) resistance or the reproduction of coloniality.

In that sense, the broad reception of Said's and others analysis of discursive subjectivation processes has contained severe criticism as well. Among the most pertinent points, scholars have argued, first, that the search for marginal agency in the totalized formation of coloniality could only result in disappointment and hopelessness, and second, that the binary perspective "masks the hybrid nature of both the colonial encounter and the postcolonial condition" (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006: 858). The former point overlaps considerably with critical stances towards Foucault's early works on power, a major inspiration for "Saidians". For Shih and Lionnet (2011: 9), the capitalization of the word *Other* which orientalist scholars frequently apply "raised the

term to a universal, theoretical category" and detached it from the daily sufferings, indignities and discriminations that was very prevalent in Fanon's and Césaires original work.[8] The authors see parallels to Derridean poststructuralism where otherness is either banished to the "always already" (*toujours déjà*) or the "to come" (*à venir*): "to the always already existing structure, either yoked to a past from which there is no escape or linked to an uncertain future existing only as a promise" (Lionnet and Shih 2005, 3). By stripping the others of their "hereness" and the colonial differences of their embodied presence, marginal subjects are only entitled to virtual, not actual agency (ibid.: 9-10). Around both critical points, interesting theoretical and conceptual claims have been developed and empirically investigated, reflecting Mir and Mir's call for theories and methods that are able to deal with power-based processes in organizing in more nuanced, practice-oriented ways (Mir and Mir 2009: 110). The next part presents some of these developments, departing from the theorizing of Homi Bhabha.

3.3.2   Border crossing: Is resistance futile, or can there be hope?

3.3.2.1 *Positioning through hybridization: Becoming an in-between subject*

In a situation where colonial discursive positioning pushes the marginalized into subject positions without agency in world making, the question arises whether resistance is futile. Can there be hope that the coloniality of power can be overcome? Is there anything that can be said about social change from a post- or decolonial analytical perspective? In the search for more affirmative answers than those offered by Saidian approaches, a second strand of post- and decolonial research has investigated the question how discursive subjectivation is performed. Which processes make resistance to, and subversion of, colonial power possible? In order to arrive at more nuanced assessments of marginal agency and the possibility of more inclusive world making, theorists like Homi Bhabha have focused on the effects and affects of colonial power by introducing (or adapting) the border crossing concept of "hybridity".

As we have seen above, orientalism examines bodies of knowledge in the West about cultures external to it, simultaneously positioning the Orient and the "ostensibly homogenous" West (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006: 857). The impetus and value lies in unboxing the naturalization of the colonial difference (called "second silencing" above)

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[8] Otherness as it is discussed in poststructuralist theory, argue Shih and Lionnet in a trenchant critique, is the other in the self, the "Eurocentric self quivering at the moment of encounter with an abstract otherness, which may be a narcissistic exploration of the unknowable within the self" (2011: 8-9).

and make transparent how it is created in processes of othering or border doing. In turn, Bhabha's focus on hybridity – most famously explicated in his essay collection "The Location of Culture" (2004, first published 1994) – tackles particularly the binarism of the "first silencing", critically deconstrucing the purification effect of discursive othering. By confronting the colonial binarism of the West and its "pure subjectivity based on racial superiority" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) without the "contagion of non-western alterity" (Gandhi 2006: 2), Bhabha contributes to postcolonialism's key goal of challenging "the fundamentally static notion of *identity* that has been the core of cultural thought during the era of imperialism", as Said himself formulated (1993: xxv. Emphasis in original). In the conceptual terminology introduced above, the subject positions that inform and perform identities may be constructed in restricting, rigid and disempowering ways, but they are inevitably a product of hybridizing negotiations between the colonized and the colonizers. This implies a double crack in neatly bounded and defined subject positions: They are necessary a blended, non-pure assembly of combined elements (hybrid), and they are necessary performed. Both moments provoke a disclosure of the construction of colonial subject positions are thereby a "threat to the colonizer's stability" (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006: 858). In other words, ambivalence through border crossing positionings emerges as the paradigmatic colonial condition (see also Kalua 2007: 25).

In particular, the analytical departure point for Bhabha's reasoning is a reconceptualization of *translation*. Long and Mills describe the orientalist processes outlined above as processes of translation, "a material phenomenon in which non-western cultures are subordinated and reconstructed to fit superimposed and alienating western ways of thinking and structuring […] someone is inevitably doing the translating of others from subjects into objects in an effort to simplify otherness in western terms" (2008: 394, see also Young 2003). Thus, translation in orientalist terms is essentially a disempowering process, framing it exclusively as "a process of objectification and reductionism" done by active colonizers to passive colonized. For Bhabha, such an unidirectional take on translation is theoretically and empirically insufficient. He claims that "[t]he construction of the colonial subject in discourse, and the exercise of colonial power through discourse, demands an articulation of forms of difference" (1990: 72), that is, some sort of relationship or dialogue between differences. The result of this articulation does not necessarily result in a binary form, but in ongoing negotiations that blur "categorical distinctions and creates continuity and a permanent ambivalence" (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006: 858). These negotiations, introduced by Bhabha as "*hybridizing*" processes, take place in a site that Bhabha introduces as "*third space*" or the "*in between*" (2004).

The third space emerges when cultures (or, for that matter, positioned subjects) encounter and translate each other, setting in motion a process of mutual transformation in which *both* the translated content and the translating subjects change. For Bhabha, thus, the practices of hybridization that take place in the third space are practices of translation, now reconceived as bi- or multidirectional. As he lays out, the performative quality of translation crucially contributes to the ambiguity of the encounter:

> "The pact of interpretation is never simply an act of communication between the I and the You designated in the statement. The production of meaning requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space, which represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a *performative* and institutional strategy of which it cannot 'in itself' be conscious. What this unconscious relation introduces is an ambivalence in the act of interpretation. [...] The meaning of the utterance is quite literally *neither* the one *nor* the other." (Bhabha 2004: 53. Emphasis are mine)

As a "performative strategy" of the *neither-nor*, translation is a creative activity of in-betweeness that does not resolve the eventual frictions between those gathering, but rather transcends them. It "puts the original in motion to decanonise it, giving it the movement of fragmentation, a wandering of errance, a kind of permanent exile" (Bhabha 2004: 326). Inspired by Walter Benjamin and especially Mikhail Bakhtin, he develops in his essay "How Newness Enters the World" (2004) a dialogic take on translation that lives from dynamism, flux and mutability, based on "catachrestic" readings of the original: a "reading between the lines, taking neither him at his word nor me fully at mine" (2004: 269). In that sense, those who are positioned in the third space inevitably bring newness into the world, because translation is a re-writing process with instances of de- and re-contextualization, where notions of the 'untranslatable' point not only to what is lost, but also what is gained in translation. This is why even totalitarian subjectivations always contain grips for marginal agency, subversive deviation and change, as miniscule as these grips may be. Even in the extreme case of an absolutely unequal encounter that results in a binary erasure of the other, it "leaves a resistant trace, a stain of the subject, a sign of resistance" (2004: 71).

This offers a more optimistic take on the possibility for marginal subjects to transform the coloniality of power. "Even in the light of the presence and pervasiveness of the colonial dynamic", writes Kalua, "the hybrid space discounts the usual binarism which presents 'the colonized as a victim and colonizer as victor, overlooks that both were caught up as players and counter-players in the dominant model of universalism' (Papastergiadis 2000: 179, cit in. Kalua 2007: 59-60). For example, in his analysis of "blackness" Hall shows that subject positions are not monolithic blocks scopes of

agency for the marginal (1990, 1992). So, also counter-players, positioned as marginal, have some room to enact a form of subversion that is incremental but can be consequential eventually. Bhabha explicates this by drawing on Fanon's self-othering idea of mimicry (1963, 1967), one of the key sources for orientalist hopelessness. Yet, this situation is so ambivalent, two-sided and transgressive that spaces for "irony, doubt, and confusion" are opened (Prasad 2005: 276) which can ultimately undermine any kind of colonial neo-imperial authority structures by displacing and reordering the very binaries on which the entire system rests" (ibid.). Even slight alterations and minuscule displacements can become significant in processes of transformation, a claim that evokes Deleuze and Guattari's ontology of becoming. For them, it is the relational shift "between the virtual and the actual that produces something which exceeds its constituent parts, but can never be wholly grasped" (Burns 2009: 111):

> "Becoming is neither one nor two, nor the relation of the two; it is the in-between, the border or line of flight or descent running perpendicular to both." […] "[b]ecoming produces nothing other than itself […] What is real is becoming itself, the blocks of becoming, not the supposedly fixed terms through which that which becomes passes." (Deleuze and Guattari 2004: 323 and 263, cit. in Burns 2009: 111).

In my view, the core reason whereby Bhabha's third space enables marginal subjects to (per)form agency lies in that he places a greater emphasis on the performative nature of subject positionings than orientalist approaches. Still, in Bhabhian analysis, the coloniality of knowledge has produced "global designs" (Escobar 2010: 37) with universal aspirations that have effectively subalternized other knowledges as "local". But ultimately, it is the performative nature of the world that prevents "abstract universals", the core business of Eurocentric modernity/coloniality (ibid.), to be eternally and invariably consequential. Colonists and colonizers the like always live in particular, concrete and necessary hybrid realities that are not universal, abstract and pure as their assigned colonial subject positions suggest. This overlaps with a performative take on positioning as introduced above. As Bazzul writes, colonial subject positions and stereotypes, "like other forms of subjectivation, must be repeated over and over again in various locations to 'stick'" (Bazzul 2016: 17).

Bhabha's work on hybrid knowledges and translation is part of a strand of writers who have, from different geo- and bodypolitical locations and applying different nuances, theorized processes of racial or cultural intermingling as mixture (Gilroy 1993), creolization (Glissant 2008), mestizaje (Wade 2005), border thinking (Mignolo 2000), mestiza consciousness (Alzandúa 1987), differential consciousness (Sandoval 2000) or double consciousness (Du Bois, as early as 1897). Referring to creolization, Palmié

(2006) issues a word of caution as to whether concepts that are so historically, contextually and regionally specific should be used as theoretical or cultural metaphors (see also Shih and Lionnet 2011: 23). There are indeed crucial differences between the presented hybrid-like notions that always emerge from "somewhere".[9] On the other hand, it is more a question of the goal of theorizing (and the question of the attitude of the theorist), and less of the "nature" of the concept, whether one underlines and mobilizes the differences or the commonalities, and how essentialist the resulting subject positions are. For example, Martinique-French Édouard Glissant himself, one of the "fathers" of *créolite*, mobilizes creolization beyond the Caribbean towards an understanding of more processual and more relational subjectivity in a world characterized by "fragmented unity". In dialogue with Deleuze and Guattari's idea of becoming (2004: 263), Glissant develops a take on diversity which characterizes the fragmented unity of the world that resonates strongly with the idea of a "pluriversal world" (Escobar 2012, 2017):

> "Diversity, which is neither chaos nor sterility, means the human spirit's striving for a cross-cultural relationship, without universalist transcendence. Diversity needs the presence of peoples, no longer as objects to be swallowed up, but with the intention of creating a new relationship. Sameness requires fixed being, Diversity establishes Becoming […] As the Other is a source of temptation of sameness, Wholeness is the demand for Diversity." (Glissant 1999: 98)

Principally, I do share Palmié's and Burns' caution against the unreflected use of sited concepts as theoretical or cultural metaphors. Nevertheless, I lean more towards US chicana theorist Chela Sandoval's insistence on the empowering commonalities, rather than the differences, between the different situated versions of "hybridity". As she argues, the mentioned concepts (she even adds many more, including "nomad thought", "situated knowledges" and "différance") have a similar conceptual signature that unifies these terminologies" which, to her, has not been acknowledged sufficiently (2000: 69). They all infuse marginal subjects with a de-essentializing ambiguity that can serve as an energy source for diverse "methodologies of the oppressed" (2000: 72). Mallon describes this type of hybridity as a process that unsettles hierarchies, orthodoxies or purities, creating spaces outside binarities, "as a liberating force that breaks open colonial and neo-colonial categories of ethnicity and race. This is a resistant *mestizaje*

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[9] For example, as Burns argues (2009: 99), creolization, having emerged in and throught the historical processes that led to "composite cultures" (Glissant 1999) of the Caribbean, is "rooted in the New World experience" and "distinct from hybridity's problematic associations with Victorian theories of inter-racial mixing", as it etymologically and historically links "to notions of settling and colonization" instead of some kind of biological fusion or cross-breeding.

[…] that rejects the need to belong as defined by those in power" (Mallon 1996: 171).[10] For Ortega, such hybrid spaces are where the "shadows in the dark" visibly move and subject-object dynamics are negotiated anew by uncanny and potentially hurtful positioning processes (2017). It is this potential for reflective repositioning that builds a bridge to Mignolos definition of border thinking as "the moments in which the imaginary of the modern world system cracks" (2000: 23).

3.3.2.2 *Applications and implications*

In accordance with Sandoval, Tunisian organization sociologist Hèla Yousfi puts forward that hybridity, and in between spaces in general, are transformative sites that offer new ways to theorize "the identity of the Self and the Other in addition to new forms of political agency and subversion" (2014: 395-6). Her discursive study on Tunisian managers is a good example how hybridizing processes have been studied and received in MOS. In the entangling of cultural continuity and transforming organizational practices, she shows how "identity construction, local power dynamics and cultural frameworks of meaning jointly shape the hybridization process of management practices" (Yousfi 2014: 394). On an abstract level, the managers subscribe to US-deriving "universal" and "modern" practices, but in concrete everyday processes and the implementation of these recipes, there is dissonance, friction and a non-trivial translation process – power-laden, self-othering, often implicit, always affective (ibid. 415). Yousfis work stands for a group of studies which discloses the impurity and messiness of criss-crossing subject positioning processes and their effects. For Frenkel and Shenhav (2006), hybridity studies in MOS usually depart from orientalist othering processes but then show how "border doing" interacts, in a more nuanced way, with "border crossing" between assigned subject positions. For example, they focus on processes of ambiguous identity work in neocolonial contexts such as English-first or -only workplaces in multilingual settings (Bousseebaa and Brown 2016) or South African Indian women managers (Carrim and Nkomo 2016). Another case is Nkomo's study of African leaders who discursively construct themselves and their marginal place from where to depart in world making in dynamics of hybridity, mimicry and self-othering

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[10] As Wade rightfully notes, it is important to differentiate this use of *mestizaje* from the use as official discourse of nation formation in the context of Latin American state building processes. In this use as "*mestizaje* from above", the concept is mobilized to assimilate ethic, racial and cultural minorities in the strive for an (imagined) European-like homogenization of the nation – the Latin American nation as a "pure mix", so to speak (Wade 2005). As he argues, "while scholars may cast mestizaje as subversive hybridity, in the Latin American context this is generally tempered with a recognition that mestizaje may work as an ideology of oppression, marginalizing black and indigenous populations" (2005: 243). However, I am not problematizing nor theorizing this use of *mestizaje* here.

(2011). Srinivas paper, as I have mentioned already, is one of the only examples which goes beyond discursive identity work and describes performative identity work as it is practiced in the Indian context (2013). Applying Bourdieu's habitus concept, he nevertheless only uses textual data by doing a practice-oriented reading of an autobiography. An interesting ethnographical take, this time on institutional practices, offers Dar (2014) by applying Bhabha's framework on translation and hybridity to understand how recipient NGO workers experience, adapt and alter Western forms of accountability and reporting. She shows how hybrid accounts of donor and local trust building diversify "local" and "foreign" subject positions, performing far more complex power relations than usually suggested.

In general, however, Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar conclude that Saidian perspectives in MOS are still much more dominant, and few articles have really exploited the analytical possibilities Bhabha's concepts imply: "that it produces ambivalence, is disordering, and offers spaces for the disruption of asymmetrical authority relations and power and that culture is always hybridized" (2011: 282). Agreeing with this shortcomings of extant literature, Yousfi states at "specific features of the hybridization process […] remain largely unexplored" (2014: 394, see also Gantman and Parker 2006).

What are the implications of hybridity for a performative take on subject positionings, and thereby the study of power struggles in marginal entrepreneuring? For scholars of hybridity, the social reality is not so overwhelmingly dominated by the colonial subject positions as orientalist positions imply. Hybridization does not contest that subject positions are essentially fixed through colonial discursive subjectivation, but two claims shake the apparently unreachable towers of the coloniality of power. First, the subject positions of colonizer and colonized are always hybrid blends of diverse descent and therefore contain a degree of ambiguity in them. This confronts orientalism's "first silencing", the reglection of agential power to the colonized in the face of the fully capable, pure colonizer's subjects in control of the world. Here, the major taks for analyses lies not in un-silencing the master difference colonists versus colonized but in the deconstruction of the master difference pure versus hybrid. To use the metaphor of Audre Lorde, in every "master's tool" there are traces of the marginal agency which co-created the tools in the first place (Calvo 2003: 234).

In their influential text on receiving Saidian and Bhabhan approaches in MOS, Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) decidedly argue for a reconciliation of both positions. Doing border and crossing border are both sides of the same coin, as they show with reference to Latour's theoretical framework of modernity as a dialectics of hybridization and

purification (1993): First, practices from the colonies and the metropolis are mixed and only exist in hybrid encounters, and secondly, the hybrid roots of all being are silenced and purified. Here, other than in orientalist double silencing, the master difference to disclose is rather pure-hybrid than colonizer-colonized (see also Escobars' decolonial reception of Latour, 2000: 37, and Yehia 2006, one of the few texts that explores connections between MCD and Latour's Actor-Network program more in detail). Ultimately, the modern paradox lies in the total separation of both hybridizing and purifying practices. Planetary connections of the modern-global-colonial world system allow for the "expanded proliferation of hybrids whose existence, whose very possibility, it denies" (Latour 1993: 34):

> "On an everyday level, we are confronted with networks, actors, experiences and practices that represent hybrid reality. At the epistemological level of society, however, these hybrids do not challenge the absolute separation between categories. They simply disappear" (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006: 859).

Second, as I have laid out in detail, subject positions are not seen as discursive formations in the realms of narrowly defined textuality and mentality, but as discursive practices. The translation processes inherent in them imply potentials for subversive adaptation and resistance, diversifying subject positions and possible realities to perform. In short, change from "within" the system is possible because the the house and the tools do not belong fully to the colonized, they themselves contain the seed for change. However, the question has been asked whether "slight alterations" of dominant schemes are enough of a strategic edge for decolonial practices to be effective, and whether hybridity does not conflate psychic identities while negating material difference, thus creating more melancholia and anxiety than empowerment of marginal subjects (Yousfi 2014: 394, see also Srinivas 2013, Werbner 2001). This has been widely criticized as an effect of a too embracing stance of Bhabhan thought towards European postmodern and poststructuralist concepts:

> "The poststructuralist celebration of the death of the subject did not work well for those clamoring for new subjectivities. […] [b]y emphasizing the difficulty of giving an account of oneself in the dominant and hegemonic language of the colonial power, their work has tended to generate a self-perpetuating and politically unproductive anxiety that could be said to be self-absorbed" (Shih and Lionnet 2011: 11 / 20).

Constructing a marginal entrepreneurial agency towards world making is a conceptual and practical challenge when the in between spaces marginal subjects perform is characterized by crossings, movements, and neither being here nor there. In this sense, Yousfi calls for studying the third space in between dominant and marginal subject

positions as a place from where to know and to speak, and from where where alternative ways of organizing – and entrepreneuring – can be strategically (and not only subversively) created (2014: 416). After all, it was Bhabha himself who suggested that post- and decolonial critical discourse at its best "contests modernity through the establishment of other historical *sites*, other forms *of enunciation*" (Bhabha 2004: 254, my emphasis) and thereby thinks the political possibilities of agency in modernity anew (Bhambra 2014: 117). This is the departure point for a third positioning dynamics in neocolonial power struggles: Border dwelling.

3.3.3 Border dwelling: How can marginal world making work?

3.3.3.1 Positioning through nepantilism: Becoming a mestiza subject

The ongoing coloniality of power relations is a phenomenon that has been increasingly studied in MOS. While Saidian takes on discursive subjectivation have focused on continuous processes of disempowerment and thingification through colonial "othering" (border doing), studies in the tradition of Bhabha have likewise departed from the claim that colonial power indeed is still a thing – but that it is performed in ambivalent and hybrid ways in a "third space" where power-laden subject positionings are, sometimes subversively, reinterpreted (border crossing). Resistance, thus, is not futile, and there is hope for marginal (entrepreneurial) agency to create new worlds even from within dominant existing frameworks. However, as has been shown, critics have pointed out that theorizing this hope is often performed in melancholic pondering of one's place in the world, rather than as a practice towards conceptualizing concrete decolonial agency in world making. With this critical position as its departure point, a third subject positioning practice in neocolonial settings is examined by decolonial scholars who reconceptualize the in between. They move it from a *neither-nor-space* towards an *as-well-as-place* of situated, embodied marginal agency (Mallon 1994: 1498, see also Srinivas 2013: 1657). The in between, in this view, emerges as a marginal subject position in its own right that begins to offer a place from where to act in more than subversive ways: The border is not (only) a thin line separating those entitled to world making from the those that will have to follow as in border doing, and it is not (only) a line that can be subverted, traversed and bended in practice as in border crossing. It is also a place where subjects live (border dwelling), a "site with broad shoulders" (Frenkel and Shenhav 2006: 858). In Audre Lorde's metaphorical language, the border is a place where own "tools" are crafted towards marginal world making instead of having to use the "Master's tools" for the task. The impetus to focus on processes of border dwelling

is analytical and not (only) normative, as summed up by Argentinian philosopher María Lugones:

> "When I think myself as a theorist of resistance, it is not because I think of resistance as the end or goal of political struggle, but rather its beginning, its possibility. I am interested in the relational subjective/intersubjective spring of liberation, as both adaptive and creatively oppositional. Resistance is the tension between subjectification (the forming/informing of the subject) and *active subjectivity*, that minimal sense of agency required for the oppressing ← → resisting relation being an active one, without appeal to the maximal sense of agency of the modern subject." (Lugones 2010: 746. Emphasis is mine)

Therefore, authors who consider constructions of place-based, "active [marginal] subjectivity" (Lugones 2010: 746, see also Harcourt and Escobar 2002) vis-à-vis discursive othering and non-place hybridization tackle the analytical challenge "how can marginal world making work?". Complementing Edward Said ("border doing") and Homi Bhabha ("border crossing"), I choose Chicana (US-Mexican) cultural theorist, feminist and queer theorist Gloria Anzaldúa (1942-2004) as conceptual persona for "border dwelling". Her ideas of the "*borderlands*", the "*mestiza consciousness*" and "*nepantla*", most famously laid out in her 1987 book "Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza" and culminating in her posthumously published dissertation "Light in the Dark/Luz en lo Oscuro" (2015), have crucially influenced the best-known decolonial interventions in the Latin American academia by Qujijano, Escobar, Dussel, Lugones and Mignolo. Most notably, Walter Mignolo's seminal study "Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking" (2000) owes core concepts to Alzandúa. As he states, her work "provided me with a powerful metaphor that I attempted to use as a connector to establish links with similar metaphors emerging from a diversity of colonial experiences" (Delgado and Romero 2000: 11).

My choice for Alzandúa instead of Mignolo is a political and a conceptual one at the same time. In terms of the politics of representation (and the telling of conceptual histories), I follow Ortega (2017) in that it is important to disclose biases and silences in the decolonial studies as well. She lays out that the role of Latin@ feminist theorists – particularly of those who dwell at marginal North American locations, not an easy place to speak from in a South American dominated stream of thought – has been very scarcely engaged with by MCD scholars (2017: 506). In conceptual terms, I argue that Alzandúas take on the border as a "site with broad shoulders" can much better engage with the critics that Bhabha's hybridity has caused. While Mignolo conceptualizes border dwelling as quite mind-centered "border thinking" (2000, 2010a), Alzandúas borderlands are populated by bodies, flesh, matter and uncanny multiples – in short, the

subject positions these borderlands perform are situated, sociomaterial, and more-than-discursive.

Gloría Anzaldua's work theorizes the marginal, hybridized in-between lives of those who dwell along borders. Departing from hew own experiences of social and cultural marginalization as a lesbian Chicana woman who grew up at the Mexico-Texas border, she conceptualizes the "borderlands" as a material place of marginalization where conceptual and physical differences are inscribed in the bodies, minds and souls of the border dwellers (Decker and Winchock 2017: 3). In my view, the concept departs where hybridity and third space left off, sharing some key elements but then going beyond Bhabhian theorizing in two crucial ways: First by including body and matter and second by explicitly re-introducing power struggles that are, other than in Orientalism, now fully performed, embodied and more-than-discursive. As a departure point, the borderland indeed appears as the location for "inner struggles" (Alzandúa 1987: 109), a psychic sphere of in-betweenness that resonates with the highly ambivalent hybridization processes described by Bhabha, Fanon and others and evokes W.E.B. Du Bois "double consciousness" (1897). To the latter, she indeed owes the inspiration for her "*mestiza consciousness*" concept which, in turn, inspired Mignolo's border thinking. The consciousness of the Mestiza (the Spanish term for a racio-ethnically "mixed" person), which she describes as "perplex", "dual or multiple", "restless", "insecure" and "indecisive" (ibid. 100), is presented as a place-based form of "a consciousness of the Borderlands" (ibid.: 99; Note that she doesn't use the generalizing article "the", but the relativizing "a"). She poetically describes it as follows:

> **"Una lucha de fronteras / A Struggle of Borders**
> Because I, a *mestiza*,
> continuously walk out of one culture
> and into another, because I am in all cultures at the same time,
> *alma entre dos mundos, tres cuatro,*
> *me zumba la cabeza con lo contradictorio.*
> *Estoy norteada por todas las voces que me hablan simultáneamente."[11]*
> (Anzaldúa 1987: 99)

Three ideas here exemplify her understanding of the in between and are consequential for the subject positioning practices of the marginal: First, the borderlands are *permanent* performances, second, the borderlands are *populated* with multiple voices rather than an empty space (whereby power, social demands and multiple subject

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[11] I translate the Spanish part as follows: "Soul between two worlds, three four, I tease my head with the contradicting. I lose my orientation [Mexican use of nortearse; also means 'orient oneself towards the North'] because of all the voices that speak to me simultaneously."

positionings are present rather than absent), and third, the borderlands are performed in *bodily* activity.

First, considering in-betweenness as permanent performance, the mestiza "continuously walks out of one culture and into another", a process she calls the "constant state of mental nepantilism" (Anzaldúa 1987: 100). Nepantilism refers to *"nepantla"*, a term she borrows from the Aztec language of Nahuatl which means "torn between ways" (Anzaldúa 1987: 100), or the zone between two bodies of water that facilitates the passage between worlds.[12] In her use, nepantla is the "site of transformation, that place where different perspectives come into conflict and where you question the basic ideas, tenets, and identities inherited from your family, your education, and your different cultures" (Anzaldúa 2002: 548-9). *Nepantleras* – those who live nepantla – perform a place-based version of Bhabha's third space and are also conceptualized as "liminal subjects" (e.g. by Elbert Decker and Winchock 2017), evoking the Western concept of liminality (Antuna 2018). Liminality as such derives from the Latin *limen* and is a concept increasingly popular in MOS, initially borrowed from Anthropology to use as a "process, position and place" of in-between, as Söderlund and Borg show in their systematic review of the literature on liminality in MOS (2017). The term was developed by van Gennep in his study "Les Rites de Passage" (1909), where he refers to a transition from one social state to another, for example, in the initiation rituals of adulthood or between seasons. Victor Turner later (1969) adopted the notion of the transit to elaborate liminality as a performative act of transformation. As these acts take place in a "social limbo" (1982: 24) where "things cease to signify things, for everything is" (1982: 157), the liminal subject is unrestrained by the mundane classifications of everyday life "by suspending ordinary social structures" (Johnsen and Sorensen 2015: 321). Liminality thus describes a "phase in the life of a subject – an individual, community, nation – which belies any attempts at settled assumptions about its identity because of inherent contradictions and instabilities that often come to haunt the subject" (Kalua 2007: 39); a phase of being "betwixt and between" (Ybema, Beech and Ellis 2011: 21).

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[12] As Saldívar (2010: 201f) explains, Nepantla was recorded as used by Nahuatl-speaking people when talking to Diego Durán, a Dominican missionary in the sixteenth century to define their socio-cultural situation in the face of the conquest: "When Durán asked one of his informants what he thought about the difficult situation that had been created for them by the Spanish invasion, the informant is reported to have responded 'estamos nepantla', we are nepantla, that is, we are in-between" (2010: 218). Alzandúas use of Nepantla has recently been criticized as being an occidentalist (mis)interpretation, and that other Aztec concepts would be a better fit (namely, a concept called Malinalli). I acknowledge these claims, but don't follow them for reasons of connectivity to the extant literature. For an overview on the discussion of Aztec philosophy and its implications for conceptualizing the borderlands see Antuna 2018.

Anzaldúa's nepantilism resembles this situation, but in my view, she clearly underlines that the in between position is constant rather than temporary. In the 2002 book "The Bridge we Call Home", she writes together with AnaLousie Keating that "Nepantla […] and living in this liminal zone means being in a constant state of displacement […] Most of us dwell in nepantla so much of the time it's become sort of 'home'" (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002: xv). As "home", the borderlands are a permanently liminal location and become a locus of enunciation in its own right (albeit shadowy) that "subverts the passivity of the marginal into an active position of ambiguity that questions the binary structure of hierarchical worldviews" (Elbert Decker and Winchock 2017: 4, see also Mignolo 2010b: 344). This is also the impetus that inspired Mignolo's "border thinking" as the method of decolonial praxis, "dwell[ing] in the borders, are anchored in double consciousness, in mestiza consciousness" (2010: 18, see also Mignolo and Walsh 2018); claims that also resonate in Hall's "thinking at the limit" (1996: 259).

Second, Anzaldúas nepantla practice evokes different dynamics than liminality. The in between zone is not a "social limbo" à la Turner where power struggles and (colonial) subject positions are temporary suspended, quite the contrary. Her second consequential idea for positioning practices, I argue, is that the mestiza dwells in "all cultures at the same time" and loses orientation because she hears "*todas las voces que me hablan simultáneamente*" (all the voices that speak to me simultaneously" (Anzaldúa 1987: 99). The mestiza consciousness as the constant state of nepantla borderlining is one of too much, rather than too little, orientational aspirations. "The mestiza", she writes, "faces the dilemma of the mixed breed: Which collectivity does the daughter of a darkskinned mother listen to?" (1987: 100). In a consequential conceptual turn, liminal subjects are thus as well here as they are there, instead of "neither here nor there" (Turner 1967: 9). To the exclusionary neither/nor dynamics that Turner's liminality and Bhabha's hybrid in between imply (vis-à-vis Said's either/or), Anzaldúa suggests that liminal subjects are both between *and* among different collectivities and perform multiple marginalities: "What I want is an accounting with all three cultures – white, Mexican, Indian" (Anzaldúa 1987: 44, see also Elbert Decker and Winchock 2017: 4).

This last citation leads me to the *third* influential idea: The permanent movements in nepantla state are not only psychic, but a bodily activity (as in "continuously *walking* in and out of cultures"). The location of the borderland, nepantla and mestiza consciousness is not only the mind, as (maybe too narrow) readings of Bhabha and also Mignolo's border thinking might suggest, but especially the body. In revisiting Fanon and Césaire, she reconceives the bodily experiences with racism and discrimination as the prime location of coloniality. In so doing, she puts the body back into too mentalized

"epistemic coloniality" conceptions and makes the colonial inscriptions in flesh and blood more tangible again. The mestiza, in her words, appears as an act of kneading, a relentless bodily becoming that is both between and among:

> "*Soy un amasamiento*, I am an act of kneading, of uniting and joining that not only has produced both a creature of darkness and a creature of light, but also a creature that questions the definitions of light and dark and gives them new meanings." (Anzaldúa 1987: 103. Italics in original)

This citation illuminates as well that the body is the location where the psychic and social liminalities intersect and all those voices that bombard the mestiza inscribe themselves: "In our very flesh, (r)evolution works out the clash of cultures" (ibid.). And yet, the body is not only a place of wounds and pain, but also a place from where hope emerges because "the definitions of light and dark" can be countered from there to "give them new meanings". Again referring to bodily metaphors, she derives the hope that emerges in perpetual marginality from being a product of "cross-breeding" which is, just like the resilient blends of corn, "designed for preservation under a variety of conditions" (Anzaldúa 1987: 103). The mestiza, she writes, is capable of divergent thinking, tolerating ambiguity and contradictions, working towards inclusion and not exclusion, aiming at showing "in the flesh" how the subject-object duality "that keeps her a prisoner" can be "transcended" (ibid.; 101-2). In a defiant stance to all these frictional voices trying to colonize her body, Anzaldúa maintains multiple allegiances and locates herself between and among different worlds. As she writes in "La Prieta":

> I am a wind-swayed bridge, a crossroads inhabited by whirlwinds. […] 'Your allegiance is to La Raza, the Chicano movement', say the members of my race. 'Your allegiance is to the Third World', say my Black and Asian friends. 'Your allegiance is to your gender, to women', say the feminists. Then there's my allegiance to the Gay movement, to the socialist revolution, to the New Age, to magic and the occult. And there's my affinity to literature, to the world of the artist. What am I? *A third world lesbian feminist with Marxist and mystic leanings*. They would chop me up and tag each piece with a label. […] Who, me confused? Ambivalent? Not so. Only your labels split me." (Anzaldúa 1983: 205, italics in original)

By saying "only your labels split me", she defends multiplicity, rejects access to her body and soul and implicitly targets the modern thinking of ordering classified objects into ontological classes. In terms of the agency for the marginal, the bodily performance of the borderlands allows to integrate conceptually multiple worlds in a more encompassing, affective way than a mere mental struggle between different voices and demands. In this sense, "she locates within liminality a space/state/process of agency for

the marginal through its inherent inclusivity rather than the automatic exclusion of the other" (Elbert Decker and Winchock 2017: 4-5).[13] As a conceptual difference to hybridity (and to at least the more literal understandings of it in the "crossing border" stream), the emphasis here is on a multiplicity that remains "open", understood as the ongoing tense workings of more than one logic that cannot be synthesized but transcended, instead of a multiplicity that teleologically fuses into a hybrid "product" "which hides the colonial difference" (Lugones 2010: 755). For Escobar, the body is inextricably attached to place (even if not place-bound), and via including the body quasi as "body multiple" (Mol 2003) in decolonial theorizing it becomes possible to flesh out the difference of universal aspirations and particular place-based practices "at the site of the subaltern par excellence" (Escobar 2010: 53, see also Harcourt and Escobar 2002, Gibson and Graham 2003, 1996).

3.3.3.2 Applications and implications

Bringing together the borderland as *permanent* state of nepantilism (versus the usual *transitional* liminality), the borderland as *populated* with multiple voices between and among collectivities (versus the *empty* neither/nor limbo of the usual third space) and the borderland as *bodily* performance (versus *mental-only* processes), the borderland is mobilized as "a potentially powerful position in that such a subjectivity has access to a multiplicity of perspectives and bridges the unnatural divide formed between them" (Decker and Winchock 2017: 4).

Speaking about MOS, Calás and Smircich have observed as early as 1999 that "'[t]he border' and 'borderlands', both as geography and as metaphor, have become productive spaces, rather than dividing lines, for theorizing complicated subjectivities and social relations in response to dominant ideologies" (1999: 662). Yet, apart from a more metaphorical use, the implications of perpetual, situated and embodied nepantla processes have rarely been empirically conceptualized and studied in MOS. In general, if concepts from the decolonial margins have been considered in MOS, there has been a certain bias towards the cognitivist-mentalist conceptions such as "border thinking" or the reformist calls to consider "indigenous", "local" knowledge to "provincialize" US-Euro-organizational knowledge and to work towards a more diverse ("pluriversal")

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[13] In that vein, Anzaldúa argues that it is "not enough to stand on the opposite river bank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions. A counterstance locks one into a duel of oppressor and oppressed […] [t]he counterstance refutes the dominant culture's views and beliefs, and, for this, it is proudly defiant. All reaction is limited by, and dependent on, what it is reacting against. Because the counterstance stems from a problem with authority – outer as well as inner – it's a step towards liberation from cultural domination. *But it is not a way of life*" (Anzaldúa 1987: 100, emphasis is mine).

modernity (For overviews, see Alcadipani and Faria 2014, Faria 2013, Ibarra-Colado, Faria and Guedes 2010, Ibarra-Colado 2006).

An interesting strand of research has increasingly investigated the related concept of liminality though. There have been different uses of the concept, as Söderlund and Borg map out in an impressive review of 61 published papers (2017). They group the liminality studies around three main themes: First, studies that focus on liminality as a process and its positive as well as troublesome implications on individual (and sometimes organizational) subjects, such as in Beech's study on workplace identity work (2011) or in Mahadevan's study on intercultural negotiations (2015). Second, studies that investigate liminality as a individual or organizational position that brings with it "liminality competences" (Borg and Söderlund 2015) not unlike to the mestiza skills Alzandúa talks about, increasingly conceiving the position as "perpetual" (Ybema, Beech and Ellis 2011) or "permanent" (Johnsen and Sorensen 2015). And third, studies that theorize liminality as a "transitory" (Shortt 2015) or "translocal" (Daskalaki, Butler and Petrovic 2016) "dwelling places", similar to Alzandúas borderlands but without the embodied colonial struggles. As Söderlund and Borg conclude, despite of the conceptual language deployed, there is a lack in analyzing the temporal, the sequential and "other patterned behaviours" around liminality (2017: 17), and there is a widespread reduction of the liminal experience to mentalist sensemaking (Weick 1996), reflexivity and learning. Söderlund and Borg argue that both are particularly relevant in the more recent "perpetualizing" literature that is disconnected from the original, ritualized take on the liminal: "An individual who is permanently in one phase is unable to engage fully in the liminal experience" (Söderlund and Borg 2017: 19), which is why the authors put forward that the "intentional temporariness of the liminal experience" has to be highlighted in order to understand the strength of the concept in a "changeful society" (ibid.).

Yet, I argue that theorizing liminality as "intentional temporariness" might solve some of the conondrums in MOS but is unlikely to capture what forced border dwelling in a context of ongoing coloniality of power looks like. The liminal of an organizational moment of out-of-the-box thinking or of immersing into a corporate context with different linguistic and cultural codes is not the same as being excluded from these contexts altogether. The Anzaldúan borderlands may be hopeful, but they never cast a doubt that permanent liminality has not been chosen: "If going home is denied me then I will have to stand and claim my space, making a new culture" (Anzaldúa 1987: 22). For Mallon (1996: 170) it is clear that for Anzaldúa, making the borderland one's home is a second choice for those who are denied to go home (which means those who are

negated a clear, "pure" place from where to act). In the same vein, Zizek criticizes hybridity-infused approaches – and liminiality in MOS appears to be closer to them than to nepantilism (see also Ibarra-Colado 2011, 2010). He notes that for "the poor (im)migrant worker driven from his home by poverty or (ethnic, religious) violence, […] the celebrated "hybridity" designates a very tangible traumatic experience of never being able to settle down properly and legalise his status" (1999: 220). For Hall, border dwellers are first of all subjects of colonial processes "where different cultures are forced to establish reciprocal relationships of some kind (Hall 2003b: 186) where "questions of *power*, as well as issues of *entanglement*, are always at stake" (Hall 2003a: 31, italics in original). In that sense, by situating power struggles in the nepantla positioning practices, the idea of liminal borderlands get closer to the anthropological roots, as Söderlund and Borg deem necessary (2017: 19). In Turner's classical framework, liminality as a bordered space can and does exist for the "benefit for the dominant, where the marginal subject is passively transformed, and society actively enacts this transformation upon them" (Elbert Decker and Winchock 2017: 4).

Therefore, finally, for scholars of the borderlands, the in-between offers more than just subversive adaptations and resistance to larger-than-life subjectivations. The performed, multiplied and embodied borderlands are not an empty "social limbo" (Turner 1982: 24), but a place from where to listen to "different collectivities" (Anzaldúa 1987: 100) at the same time. In this reasoning lies an interesting alternative answer to the Orientalist implication that "real change can only come from outside". The borderland *is* the outside and not the in between, or rather the inside and the outside at the same time; the border *is* the "bridge called home" (Anzaldúa and Keating 2002), the place from where change is possible and where the fundaments for the "marginal's house" are already built. Such bridges can be built from many locations, argues Escobar (Escobar 2010: 44). For him, occupying a decolonial locus of enunciation is characterized by the border dwelling / bridge building itself, the relational quality of living *between* and *within* multiple worlds simultaneously. In the same vein, Mignolo argues that the displacement and departure from modern/colonial universalism is not particularlism but multiplicity (2000: 308), entailing not only the right to be equal but the equal right to be different (ibid.: 311, see also Escobar 2010: 42).

In trying to reconstruct marginal subjectivities, borderlandish nepantleras see decolonial agency as performed, embodied and revived from the poststructuralist death, but they bear the risk of essentializing this agency again by doing new borders (which is, after all, precisely a strategy of the "masters". Mignolo 2010: 18, see also Yousfi 2014: 398). Burns rightfully points out that a view on subject-making through "mixing" bears its

risks (2009: 99). Sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly, notions of "positive hybridity" indeed evoke cross-breeding and can be traced back to roots in botany and zoology (Prasad 2005: 275). They navigate a delicate zone between biological essentialism and a more nuanced ecology-infused view – the former exemplified by the racist optimism behind Vasconselos influential "raza cósmica" (1925) with its conviction that the mix of the "four races" (white, black, red and yellow) result in a divine "fifth race", the latter exemplified by recent claims that more diversity leads to more resilient, adaptive, and creative systems (read: individuals, cities, organizations and societies. See for example Zolli and Healy 2012). Recent decolonial theorizing has dealt with this conundrum through a shift towards more relationality, closely tied to Arturo Escobar's project of political ecology (2008, 2017). In addition, sociologist and comparative literature scholar Nelson Maldonaldo-Torres (from Puerto Rico currently residing in the US) expands the notion of coloniality from "knowing" to "being", a move which responded conceptually "to the need to thematize the question of the efforts of coloniality in lived experience and not only in the mind" (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 96). While Mignolo and others have deconstructed Descartes' "I think therefore I am" focusing on the thinking, Maldonaldo-Torres theorizes the "I am" from a decolonial view, concluding that "[t]he damné [Fanon's wretched] is for the coloniality of being what Dasein is for ontology but in reverse. The Damné is for European Dasein the being who is 'not there'" (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 107). The colonial border, relating to Heidegger, therefore "is not that at which something stops, but […] that from which something begins its presencing" (Bhabha 2004: 1) – a something that might carry traces of decolonial worlds.

3.4 Conclusion

In order to conceptualize the phenomenon of neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneuring, I presented three specific subjectivation processes discussed in the decolonial literature by synchronously following historical and conceptual decolonial traces that inform my analytical framework. Through a reading informed by positioning theory, I presented them as processes of subject positioning that can be (per)formed in every practice. In short, they conceptualize neocolonial power struggles in practice; they are what marginal entrepreneurial practice *does* when engaging in efforts of world making. Via the concept of subject positions, I argued that it is possible to connect agential capabilities in world making with the ongoing coloniality of power and thereby arrive at a more fine-grained approach of the question how entrepreneurial practice enacts "new worlds" or reproduces the "old worlds". In the vein of social practice theory,

positioning practices were thereby conceptualized as situated, sociomaterial performances through which agency emerges.

The three positioning processes I identified are "border doing", "border crossing" and "border dwelling", all (per)forming neocolonial patterns that enable and restrict agency to emerge, and enable and restrict actors to participate in world making (Brad and Mills 2008: 405). First, border doing is characterized by othering practices which construct, and fossilize, the binary subject positions colonizer/colonized and their associated agential potential. Second, border crossing refers to the hybridizing effects of translations that are inherent in performing borders, opening up subversive potentials for marginal agency in the spaces between restrictive colonial subject positions. Finally, border dwelling is the nepantla practice of performing the in between as a permanent, populated and embodied place. Table 3 synthesizes this chapter, presents the three practices and their most important properties. For example, when put together as in table 3, it gets apparent that the three subjectivation processes have received different attention in MOS. The exemplary applications in studies and papers differ in number and also in date, with "border doing" as the most "traditional" application and "border dwelling" as the least considered. Another important point is that the working definition of borders as lines that bring difference into the world (see chapter 2.2) is not the whole story. If this trilogy of border conceptualizations holds, they can be performed as "line of silencing" (border doing), "space of ambiguity" (border crossing) and "place of multiplicity" (border dwelling). Depending on the specific activities marginal entrepreneuring engages in, different forms of borders come into existence, and different worlds can become.

Positioning process	Border doing	Border crossing	Border dwelling
Answering to which questions?	How is colonial power still a thing?	Is resistance futile, or can there be hope?	How can marginal world making work?
Main positioning process?	*Othering* "Orientalist" othering practices construct, and fossilize, the binary subject positions of both colonizer/colonized and their associated agential potential.	*Hybridization* Colonial subject positions are inherently hybrid. They are performed in translations which always "leave a resistant trace, a stain of the subject" in the process.	*Nepantilism* Neo- and decolonial subject positions "work out the clash of cultures in the very flesh" of the marginal. They live in nepantla (permanent sociomaterial liminality).

Border as…?	Line of silencing	Space of ambiguity	Place of multiplicity
	Impermeable, binary bifurcation between categories (and an elision of that bifurcation).	Fluid in between zone ("third space") where subversion, irony, bricolage and syncretism can be enacted.	Borderlands as a lived site of embodied, situated practice, populated with multiple voices (noise, not void).
Positioning outcome for marginal subjects?	Positioned as the categorical "other" outside of the border.	Positioned at the "other", *but also* positioned "in between" purified subject categories.	Positioned at the purified "other" and "in between", *but also* positioned as impure subjects "among" categories.
Scope for marginal agency "inside and outside" the house / implications for marginal world making?	Either/or subject positions leave few options for marginal subjects: Reproduce coloniality via self-othering at "inside" positions (e.g., mimicry) or radically resist from "outside" the system.	Neither-nor subject positions open up subversive potentials for marginal subjects in the space between reproduction and resistance: The "outside" and the "inside" meet and mingle in the middle.	As-well-as subject positions (in between *and* among) potentially allow marginal subjects to transcend colonial power: The borderlands are an "outside" and "inside" position at the same time.
Major influences	Gandhi, Ho Chi Minh, Fanon, Césaire, Foucault, Gramsci.	Foucault, Derrida, Lacan, Deleuze, Guattari.	Du Bois, Dussel, Fanon, Césaire, Heidegger.
Major figures	Said, Spivak, Guha, Quijano.	Bhabha, Appadurai, Hall, Glissant.	Alzandúa, Escobar, Mignolo, Lugones, Maldonaldo-Torres.
Exemplary applications in Management and Organization Studies (MOS)	Mills 1995, Mills and Helms Hatfield 1998, Banerjee and Linstead 2001, Prasad and Prasad 2002, Prasad and Mir 2002, Cooke 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, Mir, Mir and Upadhyaya 2003, Prasad 2006, Brad and Mills 2008, Mir and Mir 2009, De Maria 2012, Prasad 2012, Barros 2014.	Gantman and Parker 2006, Frenkel and Shenhav 2006, Nkomo 2011, Srinivas 2013, Yousfi 2014, Dar 2014, Bousseeba and Brown 2016, Carrim and Nkomo 2016, Bell, Kothiyal and Willmott 2017.	Explicitly: None. Lived marginal sites: Imas and Weston 2012, Millar 2014, see Ibarra-Colado, Faria and Guedes 2010. Permanent liminality: Beech 2011, Shortt 2015, Mahadevan 2015, Johnsen and Sorensen 2015, Daskalaki, Butler and Petrovic 2016, see Söderlund and Borg 2017.

Table 3: Border doing, crossing, dwelling: Properties of three positioning practices.

When introducing the phenomenon in question, neocolonial power struggles in entrepreneurial world making, I cited Bröcklings words that "[i]n this interpenetration of affecting, being affected and self-affecting lies the paradox of self-constitution. […] Paradoxes cannot be resolved, which is why they persist in the form of problems. In other words, logical impossibilities perpetuate themselves as practical tasks" (2016: 2). For analysts of border doing, border crossing and border dwelling, this paradox poses itself anew. While orientalists tried to address it by the urge to disconnect the decolonial aspirations from the "Master's tools" and "house", theorists of the hybrid saw hope for incremental change in the very fact of eternal intermingling of colonizers and colonized: Translations can be owned from below as well and subalternized, so to speak. Finally, mestiza theorizing is caught in the paradox of decolonial agency between the risk of losing itself in endless deferrance and the risk of essentializing itself by doing new borders. In order to explore how these approaches can be thought together (and how these different risks might interact), the next chapter sets out to operationalize them – and to outline the empirical research setting in which this study traces them: a marginal entrepreneurial project in the field of direct trade coffee.

Trace 5: 'Old' and 'new' ways of making coffee, intersecting in frictional ways

The coffee business contains more than just a trace of coloniality. As I learned in places like this cooperative, various ways of making coffee intersect in practice: coffee-as-commodity (first wave), coffee-as-certified-commodity (second wave) and Direct Trade coffee (third wave) schemes compete for market shares – and for practitioners to bring them into being. In mimicking 'local' food circuits by bypassing intermediaries and by establishing relationships between particular others around the planet, Direct Trade aspires to alter (and possibly decolonize) the world of coffee. This study mobilizes this empirical context to trace neocolonial power struggles in practice by analyzing it through a social practice theory lens. By engaging in a multi-sited ethnography, I orient my study towards takes on "globalization in practice" (Thrift, Tickell, Woolgar and Rupp 2014), "globalization from below" (Mathews, Lins Ribeiro and Alba Vega 2012) and "global-local frictions" (Tsing 2005, 2015) which trace marginal, less visible ways of trans-local associating beyond states and markets.

4 Tracing positioning in practice: Research design and methodology

"The farther we stray into the peripheries of capitalist production, the more coordination between polyphonic assemblages and industrial processes becomes central to making a profit."

Anna Tsing (2015: 24)

4.1 The empirical research setting: Field and case

4.1.1 The research field: Direct Trade coffee

4.1.1.1 Why coffee?

I argue that the field of Direct Trade (DT) coffee is particularly promising to explore neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship. As a working definition of what constitutes the "field of a study", I follow Rosana Guber's anthropological approach (although expanding it to more-than-human actors as well, a claim that will be fleshed out in chapter 4.2):

> "The field of an investigation is its empirical reference, the portion of the real that one wants to get to know, the natural and social world in which the human groups who construct the former are becoming. It is composed, in principle, of all that which the investigator connects herself with; thus, the field is a certain conjunction between a physical scope, actors and activities." (Guber 2004: 83, translation is mine, see also 2001)

First, commodity trade in general is a suitable field to trace power in practice. Following raw materials such as copper, sugar or cocoa along commercial relations through the

lenses of commodity networks or commodity chains has produced a series of illuminating studies of the translocal workings of power (Mintz 1985, Hanson and Bell 2007, for an excellent overview see Head and Atchison 2008). Often, these studies focus on edible goods as they "follow food" from the field to the plate and trace human-plant entanglements in agricultural commodity markets (see Cook 2006 for an overview). The implications of such studies for MOS is illustrated by the current call for papers for an *Organization* special issue on "Fruits of Labour: Work and Organization in the Global Food System" (Böhm, Lang and Spierenburg 2018).

Second, in the context of studies on power in commodity trade, coffee is arguably an especially suitable case for tracing neocolonial power struggles. In terms of how colonial power is (per)formed – and potentially transcended – coffee practices offer a considerable amount of variance while being easily recognizable as "different forms of the same thing" (Tucker 2011). Coffee handling practices from the bush to the cup are much more diverse than those of other globally traded everyday commodities like bananas or even tea; at the same time, the forms of practicing coffee are more homogenous and visible in the everyday than those of cocoa or cotton, let alone of minerals or oil. On the consumption side, 1.6 billion cups of coffee (International Coffee Organization 2014) are sipped every day at home, on the road, in the office, at the café, mixed with milk, mixed with sugar, Italian style, Turkish style, instant, capsuled, decaf, fair, organic, even bird-friendly. That is, consuming coffee is likely one of the most regularly performed activities worldwide. It structures many lives from breakfast to work and play and establishes specific intersections of universal aspirations and particular lives around the planet in ways that often reproduce colonial power relations in the vein of "drinking the other" (à la bell hooks' "eating the other", 1992). How personal drinking coffee may be, it is always intimately connected with a multitude of geographically dispersed tasks that, together, create the value of stimulating mind and body with the energy of the aromatic brew. Roasting and bargaining, marketing and bag-lifting, grinding and cherry-picking: "Small" coffee practices form "large" associations of matter, meaning and performance, held together over distance and ever-becoming in constant change – with huge socio-economic importance: Today, coffee is said to be the second most important commodity in the world after oil, generating key revenues for 125 millions of coffee growers in tropical countries (Hoffmann 2014: 7, see figure 2). Coffee, thus, is a timing and spacing device for everyday lives around the planet; a drink that engages in (per)forming the border between night and day, sleep and being woke, dream and "facts", productivity and leisure, the here-now of the production and the then-there of imagined consumption, the here-now of the consumption and the then-there of imagined production.

World coffee exports amounted to 159.7 millions of 60kg bags in 2017, compared with 157.7m in 2016.

61% of world coffee exports are fruits of the arabica variety (all qualities), 39% low-quality robustas.

World coffee consumption amounted to 157.9m of 60kg bags in 2017, compared with 155.7m in 2016.

30% is consumed in the producer countries. Most high-quality coffee is exported to the global North.

All commercial coffees are grown in the "Coffee Belt". It extends above and below the Equator line

Map taken from Scott 2015, numbers from ICO 2018.
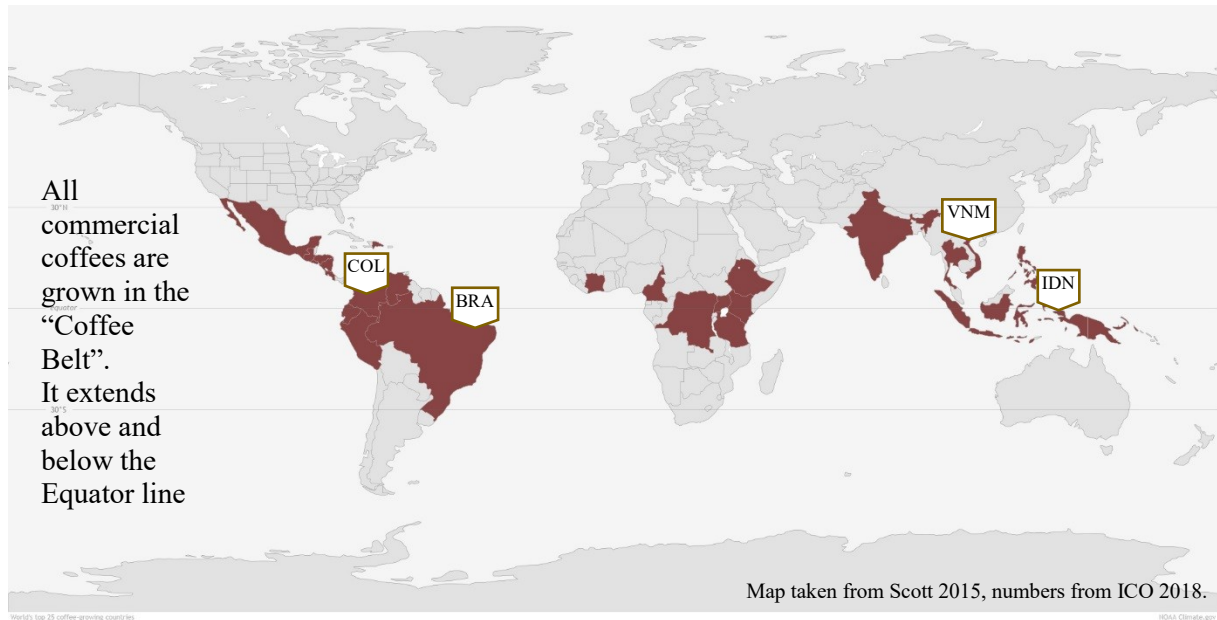
Figure 2: The Coffee Belt and key data on world coffee production and consumption.

Third, coffee markets do contain more than just a trace of coloniality. They have always been performed into existence in colonial practice associations of planetary reach (chapter 1). Sooner than other crops, coffee was traded in circuits beyond local or regional scale. Since it has emerged in the Red Sea area in the middle of the fifteenth century and then been brought to suitable agricultural sites around the world by European colonial powers, coffee is only marginally consumed where it grows; due to the logics of colonialism and capitalism, but also because of its low nutritional value as food crop as opposed to its value as cash crop (Samper 2003: 152). What is more, as has been described already in chapter 2.4 (receiving coloniality in MOS) and chapter 3.3.1.2 (applications of orientalism in MOS), organizing slave labor on coffee plantations has crucially contributed to Western managerial and organizational practices (see Cooke 2003a and 2003b and, for a decolonial reading of plantation practices, Mignolo 2010b: 333-334). In that sense, every cup of coffee can serve us as a starting point to trace the conflictive emergence of worlds, bringing us back to European colonial conquest displacing (and eradicating) coffee varieties and peoples; to emerging coffee houses for the debating bourgeois in the colonial centers at the advent of North Atlantic modernity (Cowan 2005); to the rise of factory time, standardized by coffee breaks, and the worldwide expansion of capitalism; to the coffee-powered formation of Latin American

nation states; and to the development of a volatile and crisis-prone world coffee market after the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) collapsed in 1989 (Daviron and Ponte 2005, Rincón Garcia 2005).[14]

Fourth, unequal power relations and value distributions in the field of coffee are highly contested and well documented (Burnett and Murphy 2014, Peyser 2013, Thurston 2013c, d and e, van der Ploeg 2009), but not quite from a decolonial view and even less in a practice-based language. They are no less than "a palpable and long-standing manifestation of globalization" (Clarence-Smith/Topik 2003: 1) and of the associated conversations on neocolonial power relations. Sooner than in the case of other commodities, environmental and social conditions gained consumers' attention in the 1980s and started to become regulated in global certification regimes (Fridell 2007). And sooner than in other sectors, the post-1989 (ICA collapse) market domination of a few transnational companies like Starbucks or Nestlé fueled discussions about power, participation, ownership and justice (Thurston, Morris and Steiman 2013). From 1970 to 2009, estimations show that the net share actors in coffee importing countries appropriated, namely roasters and traders, rose from 37% to 76% of the total value produced. In the same time span, producer countries were able to retain less and less value (from 57% to 21%, whereas farmers from 31% to 16%) (Samper and Quiñones-Ruiz 2017: 4). In the last years, arguably as a joint effect of certification and niche coffees which are traded differently (see next part), this trend has started to change as more value stays in producer countries (31%) vis-à-vis consumer countries (65%) again.

For a long time, an analytical preference for de-territorial macro-forces has been prevalent in coffee research, just like in decolonial studies. Yet, more recent works increasingly rely on "local" practices (understood in the everyday use, not the SPT use) to explain stability and change in "global" coffee networks. In the introduction to their extensive history of the global coffee economy, William Gervase Clarence-Smith and Steven Topik observe that "since resistance and power are not necessarily structural and overly political but, rather, take everyday forms, local culture has become a key concern, and microstudies of local resistance reveal a more complicated and varied story than eagle's-eye structuralist approaches" (2003: 15). Reproducing the established production-consumption divide, studies of livelihoods and local agency usually focus on agricultural production sites in the South (for example Piedrahita Arcila 2011), whereas entrepreneurial practices localized in the North are investigated typically by looking at the symbols and meanings of consumption (Arnould and Thompson 2005,

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[14] Kull and Rangan (2008) offer a differentiating view on how plant stories can complicate a simplistic unidirectional reading of colonial histories.

Ger and Kravets 2009), at marketing and brandscapes triggering changes in consumption patterns (Thompson and Arsel 2004), or at consumer demands triggering market innovations like fair and sustainable coffee (Arsel and Bean 2012, Southerton 2004, Fridell 2007).

As one of the few studies looking at production and consumption within a typical producer country, anthropologist Joaquín Tocancipá-Falla investigates sociopolitical and cultural forms of representation in Colombian coffee houses (2011). But even if we take the recent attention to the local side of the global-local equation into account, "studies of coffee too often reify the international market" (Topik 2003: 21). The division into studies focusing on networked associations and studies painting rich pictures of producer livelihoods or consumer meanings, follows a neocolonial methodological and disciplinary division: Either you do "local ethnography" or "global sociography". Attempts to an ethnographic depth with a trans-local eye have been made, for example by Sarah Whatmore and Lorraine Thorne in their notable actor-network study on fair trade coffee networks (1997). Already some time ago, they have brought a fresh perspective on the power-laden ways practices are stitched together into associations, an effort complemented by the valuable contribution of Laura Raynolds on the emergence and translation of fair trade and quality conventions (2002). And still, the actual practicing of (neocolonial) power relations in practice associations have remained a black box (see also Mansvelt 2005: 121).

4.1.1.2 Why Direct Trade coffee?

The growing number of studies interested in power struggles in coffee markets mirror the emergence of certification systems for agri-food commodities in general. They show an increasing demand for transparent information on the conditions and impacts of agricultural production (Lernoud research group 2017, Ruiz Molina and Urueña de la Valle 2009). From niche to mainstream in 30 years, a big number of initiatives enabling "ethical", "fair" or "sustainable" consumption have been developed, promoted and monitored by NGO's as well as, increasingly, by multinational companies through their own programs (Samper and Quiñones-Ruiz 2017, Thurston 2013f, Arsel and Bean 2012, Fridell 2007, Southerton 2004, Raynolds 2002). But although dominant agri-businesses have been pushed to lift the "commodity veil" obscuring unfair pricing and unequal value distributions (Van der Ploeg 2009) or exploitative and unsafe work practices (Burnett and Murphy 2014), consumers are increasingly overwhelmed with the diversity of labels and what they stand for. This also makes the calculation of world market shares of certified coffee notoriously hard. In 2009, the global figure was around 9% (Thurston

2013f), with countries like the Netherlands (30%) and UK (20%) leading the pack (Pay 2009). Today, the share must be considerably higher: a research group led by the International Trade Centre (ITC) concludes that in 2015, from the more than 10 million hectares of coffee producing land, an average of 3.6 million produced some sort of certified products (Lernoud research group 2017: 86-87). This represented an increase of 63.3% from 2011. The largest buyers were Nestlé, Mondelez, D.E. Master Blenders, Tchibo, Keurig Green Mountain, UCC Coffee and Starbucks (ibid.). At the same time, it is argued that the impact of certification efforts on livelihoods as well as work and labour practices along the value chain have been limited (Cramer, Johnston, Oya and Sender 2014, Jaffee 2014, Peyser 2013, Fridell 2007, but then also Rice 2013).

What is consequential for my purposes here, these studies indicate that certification efforts may depart from a well-meant impetus to decolonize coffee markets, but effectively actualize coloniality as they perform North Western dominance in updated forms (Jaffee 2014: 9). On the one hand, studies indicate that certification systems have brought at best unidirectional transparency: It has been indeed the case that fair trade (FT) has "'shortened' the social distance between consumers and producers even where the products being exchanged traverse substantial geographic distances" (Raynolds 2002: 420). But while consumers might know more about producers, this is not the case vice versa. At the same time, while it can be affirmed that FT has facilitated the access to knowledge about producers for the consumers, it has done so on the level of the "generalized other" (e.g. "the farmers in South America"), not the "particular other" ("farmer X"). As an effect, patronizing, exoticist stereotypes and neocolonial consumption practices with disempowering and "othering" effects might have even been encouraged.

On the other hand, it is argued that the mixed results of FT schemes on livelihoods along the value chain are likely related to the fact that they are not sensitive enough to local needs and conditions (Samper 2003, Piedrahita Arcila 2011). As consumer-oriented schemes with universal aspirations – valid independently of the context where they are enacted – it can be argued that they replaced one Western colonial system with another, leading to power-based negotiations to translate universal standards into marginal practice. A remarkable study here is Irene Piedrahita Arcilas' inquiry into global-local relations in Caldas, Colombia (2011). Looking at how a farmer cooperative implements organic certification schemes, she shows how a "global" expert system comes to indicate how to cultivate coffee "locally". While the introduction of new production logics influence the times and spaces of the everyday, the abstract norm of "technified coffee" itself changes when translated into practice, resulting in particular bricolages of skills,

materials and meanings, even including types of resistance (for a historical analysis of implementing universal coffee production logics see also Samper 2003).

Both the *unequal distribution of knowledge as well as the unequal distribution of power* over standard setting and implementation grants practitioners along the value chain unequal agency, following the colonial differentiation between powerful consumer countries in the North and othered producer countries in the South who keep on being invisible and silenced in the value chain.[15] In part as answer to these challenges of "old" ways of handling coffee, and enabled by the emergence of new communication technologies that lowered transaction costs, the model of *Direct Trade* (DT) as a new form of entrepreneurial world making has gained momentum in the coffee sector. DT is part of a movement known as "Third Wave Coffee", trying to replace coffee-as-commodity (first wave) and coffee-as-certified-commodity (second wave) with coffee-as-traceable-high-quality-product (Artusi 2013: 343).[16] Globally, the movement is essentially led by Northern specialty coffee shops. In the US only, their number has risen from 1,650 in 1991 to 31,490 in 2015 (Specialty Coffee Association 2018).

First, DT mimics local food circuits by bypassing intermediaries and establishing a relationship between "particular" others in the value chain. DT – but not all "Third Wave" coffee schemes – overwhelmingly guarantees a "single origin", meaning that the journey of the coffee is transparent and the travelling product is not blended with coffee beans from other origins along the way (Watts 2013).[17] Therefore, the commodity system has to be bypassed and replaced with a handling that guarantees the identity of every shipment – something the traditional ways of handling coffee is not able to do as it is worked with universal quality classes. In practice terms, this DT aspiration generates particular activities of safeguarding transparency along the value chain and implies that *coffee handling practices need to be traceable* across time and space to know who did when what to which bean, and how.

Second, by focusing on a direct relation between quality-oriented producers and quality-sensitive consumers, DT coffee emerges as "specialty coffee" originating from *somewhere* vis-à-vis "commodity coffee" originating potentially from *anywhere* (Steiman 2013a). The term "specialty coffee" was coined by coffee professional Erna

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[15] A striking example for the silencing of southern subjects and their agential potential even in critical literature stems from Daviron and Ponte's otherwise alert study on "the Elusive Promise of Development" (2005). Throughout the whole book, the extensive list of who is able to trigger change in coffee value chains lack absolutely any actor from the production side in the Global South.

[16] There is no definitive agreement on the definition of DT (See Storer 2017 for another approach).

[17] Blends of different origins are still possible in some Third Wave schemes, for example in the moment of roasting to accomplish an artisanal, unique taste by combining coffees with different profiles.

Knutsen in 1978 as she referred to special microclimates and taste profiles as in wine (Poltronieri and Rossi 2016: 86). According to the SCAA, the Specialty Coffee Association of America founded in 1982 and present in more than 40 countries today as the most prominent quality codifier and supervisor (www.scaa.org), specialty coffee in its green stage is "free of primary defects, is properly sized and dried, presents no faults or taints and has distinctive attributes" (Poltronieri and Rossi 2016: 86), and specific ways to handle coffee need to be performed to reach such a high-quality product according to the norm. It is no coincidence that the trademark of the SCAA reads "Because great coffee doesn't just happen". Again in practice terms, this DT aspiration demands that *coffee handling practices need to be constant* to guarantee a specific quality profile across different harvests. Therefore, it usually goes together with an explicit and potentially resource-intensive orientation on training mind-sets, skill-sets and tool-sets to standardize practices in a given production process.

The double orientation on a traceable journey and a high quality of the bean is directed to affluent customers interested in distinctive status consumption. In so doing, it generates additional value mainly for the craft roasters and "hipster" baristas in their Northern neighbourhoods and some surplus in the producer countries (Baker 2013, Watts 2013). What is more, the SCAA yet again stands for Western universal aspirations, this time related to quality instead of production conditions. But even if this model is mainly oriented towards Northern consumers and organized from the North again, DT is seen to have the potential to alter how coffee is handled along its journey from the plantation to the cup, namely by changing power relations through both the direct producer-buyer connections and the need for constant handling. As for the former, the reason is that the full traceability of the bean prohibits every translation where information about the origin is lost. Whereas in first and second wave commodity coffees the (Northern) buyers are usually interested in a given quality class of coffee as a raw material to be refined in roasting – with the origin obscured and irrelevant – in DT the specific location of production is central in commodifying its value. Its location and taste profile is the unique selling proposition towards the customers. Quite in positivist terms, Peterson (2013:15) calls this the "intangible" coffee quality as opposed to the "tangible" quality of the bean. If coffee is translated from a product of a specific farm to a commodity with a generic quality, the bargaining position of any given farm is weak, as buyers can source the "same" coffee from all over the world. In addition, if the handling has to be constant to safeguard minimal quality and profile variation from harvest to harvest, a much more active and empowered role of producers is not only desired, but needed to bring DT coffee into being successfully. Transparency, trust and

loyalty have to be (per)formed in steady relations along the DT association to weave practices and their practitioners together.

In short, the DT promise aspires to decolonize power relations on coffee markets by establishing transparent producer-buyer relations and the commodification of a particular quality profile of the bean that cannot be replaced by another (anonymized) producer. In terms of the associated practices along the coffee value chain, its key demands are that coffee handling be traceable and constant over space and time. Its theory of change (containing assumptions how the world changes) is, thus, that knowing particular others and knowing how to bring quality into being alters power relations, and altered power relations lead to a different value distribution over time. Even shorter: Knowledge is power, and power makes worlds.

4.1.2 The research case: A marginal entrepreneurial Direct Trade project

Set in the field of DT coffee, I investigate neocolonial power struggles by conducting an ethnographic case study of the entrepreneurial processes and practices unfolding in a marginal business initiated by José, a Colombian migrant living in Switzerland.[18] The single case (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007, Eisenhardt 1989) is set in the context of established corporate networks active in both countries and can be characterized as marginal entrepreneurship, defined in chapter 2 as the subversive process of the discovery, creation and exploitation of cracks in dominant worlds to carve out a place from where to act towards creating future goods and services. The marginal project, operating in the neocolonial borderlands between consumer countries in the South and producer countries in the North, started with a business of coffee import, followed by the opening of a coffee shop in Switzerland. More recently, a family-owned farm in Colombia was set up anew, *Finca Manantial*, that produces coffee and aims to change the way coffee is handled both in the producer region as well as in the global market; aspirations that have succeeded and failed along the way. Figure 3 shows the key places where the project operates, and where the most important scenes of the empirical narrative are set, in the context of the *eje cafetero* (coffee axis) region in Colombia.

As a DT coffee project, the focal case is part of the third wave of coffee vis-à-vis dominant coffee-as-commodity (first wave) and coffee-as-certified-commodity (second wave) schemes. At the same time, it is not a typical Third Wave project as it is initiated and coordinated by a migrant from the South instead of the common DT entrepreneur

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[18] In Colombia and by close friends, he is called Joaquín which is his birth name. In Switzerland he is known as José. (All names and some of the easily idenfitiable geographical locations are changed for reasons I explain in chapter 4.5.1.2, positionality and research ethics.)

Key places of focal case *(*name changed)*: 1 Mani-
zales (dept. capital). *2 *Santa Marta (farming,
village). 3 *Colorado (storing).* 4 Chinchiná (hulling).
5 Pereira (roasting). 6 Medellín (closest large city). 7
Cartagena (shipping). 8 Bogotá (capital).

Left map taken from http://smpmanizales.blogspot.ch/2(
festival-del-pcc-que-nos-hace.html, right map from
https://planetroasters.com/2018/03/20/colombian-coffee
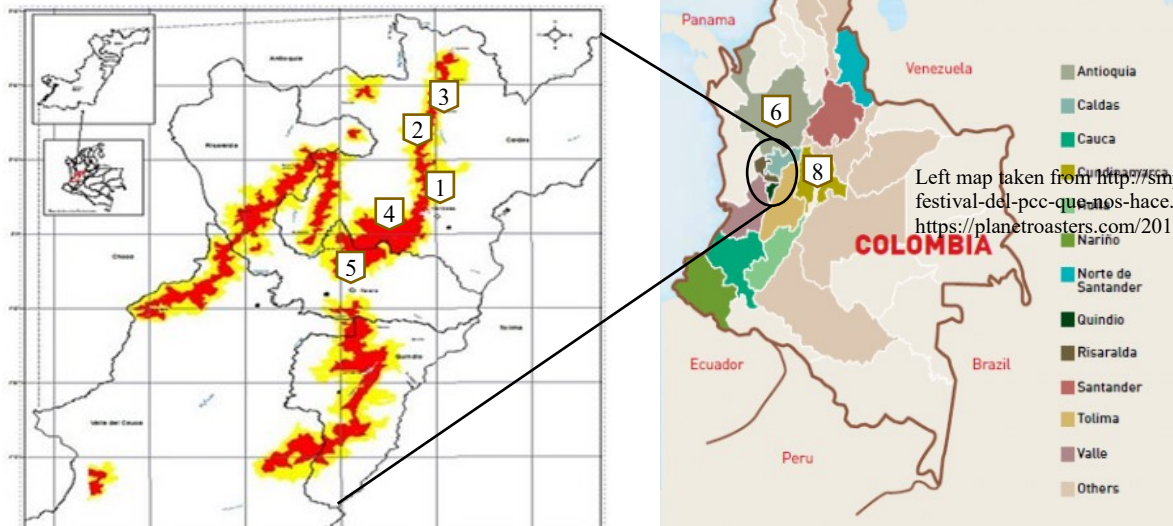
*Figure 3: Colombian coffee-producing regions and detailed map of coffee production (red and yellow)
in eje cafetero region*

without migratory experience from the North, making it marginal also within the niche
market of DT coffee. Thus, the multiple marginal positioning shall allow for a
finegrained empirical analysis of neocolonial power struggles conceived as positioning
practices. In that sense, the chosen case is atypical for the DT market, but I put forward
that it serves as a typical case for marginal entrepreneurship as it unfolds in the often
silenced contexts of precarious and/or migrant lives. In other words, it serves as an
illustrative case for the organizing, managing and entrepreneuring practices happening
in the lives of the vast majority of humans on the planet. Along the lines I have drawn
already in the problematization (chapter 2), I argue that choosing a marginal
entrepreneurial project makes unheard and colonized voices – and their ways of
associating beyond visible states and calculable markets – appear particularly well
(Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012,
Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011). As Anna Tsing writes, "the farther we stray
into the peripheries of capitalist production, the more coordination between polyphonic
assemblages and industrial processes becomes central to making a profit" (Tsing 2015:
24) – and the more the handling of frictions between colonizing and decolonizing worlds
in the making must be the prime business of organizational practice.

It is important to note that the geographical contexts of Colombia and Switzerland, in
which the chosen case is performed, have particular properties regarding coffee. They

make the study of neocolonial power as deeply embedded in everyday lives highly interesting, but inferences to other countries have to be applied with caution. Both Colombia and Switzerland are coffee world powers where coffee is of high social and economic relevance, with both coffee industries connected to each other in close ways. The roughly 500,000 coffee farmers in Colombia, 95% of them small enterprises with less than five hectares of land (Abaunza Osorio, Arango Aramburo and Olaya Morales 2013: 15) produce roughly 10% of world coffee (14m bags, ICO 2018), with two million people directly depending on coffee as primary source of income. Coffee is deeply embedded in Colombias' history and constructions of national identity. "*Colombia es café o no es*" , pronounced Colombian Senator Jorge Enrique Robledo in resolutely ontological terms during one of the last big coffee farmer protest waves ("Colombia is coffee or *it is not*", BBC 2013), the national football team is called "*los cafeteros*" ("the coffee growers"), and the history of the country is closely tied to coffee. The plant was introduced to Colombia 1723 by the Jesuits. They slowly brought it to the different regions of the country as they established colonial outposts of Christian mission and small-scale capitalist production (Palacios 1979, Pérez Toro 2013, Junguito and Pizano 1991).

In the 19th century, coffee became Colombia's most important nation-building catalyst as railways, cities and processing industries were built, as labour and financial markets were developed for coffee production, as social, political and economic institutions were established around it and as land ownership claims demanded legal and constitutional innovations over time (Junguito and Pizano 1991: 25). By handing out patches of land to tenants, typically settler families of European descent, the territory was colonized and claimed by an expanding network of coffee associations organizing trade and export. This institutionalization culminated in the foundation of the *Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia* (FNC), the Colombian Coffee Growers Federation, in 1927 (Hoffmann 2014: 188). Through the unusually strong position of the FNC in the international arena, Colombia has been able to position its coffee clearly in the high-end sector of the market, unlike the other producer countries (Cuéllar 2013, Pizano 2001). The high quality is linked to various production-side factors (100% hand-picked high quality *Arabica* coffee, soil and climate, processing techniques), and it is reflected in a price premium for Colombian milds in the global coffee markets (Hoffmann 2014: 188). The premium is defended by the FNC with a clear trademark and differentiation strategy (Murgueitio Escobar and Sandoval Peralta 2005, Kihuan, Matíz, Pinzón, Rodriguez and Rojas 2006). For example, Café de Colombia was the first foreign label to enter the Swiss AOC framework for protected origins in 2013 (*Appellation d'origine controlée*) (BLW 2013).

Finally, 95% of Colombian adults drink coffee – mostly at home, but increasingly in coffee bars like *Juan Valdéz* owned by the FNC. Global players Starbucks and (Swiss-based) Nespresso have entered the Colombian market with their offers in 2014 and 2015, respectively.

In turn, the Swiss coffee industry with Nestlé-Nespresso, dozens of big roasters and coffee machine companies, accounts for roughly 1% of the countries' GDP (more than the symbolically important national chocolate sector) while the per capita coffee consumption is one of the highest worldwide. Typical coffee sites are at home, at work, on the commute and in coffee bars. Additionally, 70-80% of global coffee is traded through Swiss-based companies (Knuchel 2011: 1). As an example for the interconnections between the two countries, most practices that enact the Nespresso value network are performed at sites in Colombia and Switzerland. Nespresso's characteristic capsules for an elevated customer segment are produced in only two factories in Switzerland close to the headquarters in Lausanne – with capsule machines produced by the Swiss company Rychiger; and virtually all Nespresso machines are assembled by the Swiss contractor Eugster-Frismag. At the same time, Nespresso's most important supplier for green coffee is Colombia whose high-quality coffee can be found in 80% of the "Grand Crus", the top blend.

Last, but not least, as for the pragmatics of doing field research, social and linguistic access to the field has been easy for me and partially established already, as I detail in chapter 4.5.1.2 (positionality and research ethics).

4.2 Social practice theory, a theory method package to trace "large" phenomena

In the last part, I detailed why I investigate the research questions in the empirical setting of DT coffee entrepreneurship. In chapter 3, I presented positioning and social practice approaches to subjectivation in order to conceptualize of neocolonial power struggles. By reviewing the decolonial literature with a special focus on positioning practices, I identified three processes how subjects are (per)formed in a world that breathes colonial power: Border doing, border crossing and border dwelling. The aim of this chapter is to operationalize these conceptual claims. In order to perform this move, after fleshing out "positioning" in chapter 3, the idea of "practice" has to be detailed now. What *is* it in practice that (per)forms border doing, crossing or dwelling, and how can *it* be studied empirically?

In chapter 3.2.2, I have introduced social practice theory (SPT) as a family of theoretical approaches which locate the social, and therefore social processes of subject positioning, in *social practices*, defined by Reckwitz as a routinized type of behaviour which consist of interconnected "elements" (Reckwitz 2002: 249). In the vein of a "flat ontology" (Nicolini 2017a: 99), discourse, matter, values, people, ideas or tools all equally join the inclusive club of such "practice elements" or, as I will conceive them from here on, "*components*" (Schatzki 2017: 137).[19] Their status depend on how they are performed, not on a howsoever imagined pre-practical substance. This is an effect of a productive conversation with the assemblage theories by Deleuze and Guattari (2004) and De Landa (2006) as well as with actor-network theory (ANT) à la Bruno Latour (1993, 2005) and John Law (1994, 2006) (see also Buchanan 2017, Müller and Schurr 2016). Namely, two conceptual innovations were borrowed that are relevant for the social-relational construction of acting subjects: First, the material side of things play a key role in the agency that is (per)formed in practice. Second, as the practice components that jointly do agency attain their subject positions through the performance, they can *mean* – and for some, even *be* (Law and Lien 2012, Law and Singleton 2005) – different things, depending on the practice they enact (Nicolini 2013: 177).

In this vein, Morley (2017) claims that SPT has evolved beyond an initial state of "element-based practice theory" since Reckwitz' seminal paper 2002. Instead of revolving around the concrete list of components that make up a practice,[20] they have moved towards a rhizomatic, assemblage-infused view on how components interlink in practice, and how practices associate to wider collectives of practices. For Gherardi (2017), SPT proponents today debate less about whether materiality matters for agency and power. This appears to be settled for now: it does. Instead, the question is whether materiality mediates human agency (as in human-centered SPT) or is constitutive of agency (as in posthuman SPT, greatly inspired by Bruno Latour's sociomateriality and Karen Barad's onto-epistemology: 2003, 2007). "While a humanist approach to practice assumes the centrality of humans as sites of embodied understandings and then proceeds to analysis of humans and their practices," writes Gherardi, "a posthumanist approach instead interrogates how all the elements within a practice hold together and acquire

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[19] I prefer Schatzki's "components" to Reckwitz' "elements". Etymologically, component is rooted in the latin *componere* or "putting together" and evokes a performance of composing. What is more, it implies that components are always already put together and don't exist in isolation from any other parts. Element, on the other hand, stems from the latin *elementum*, meaning principle or rudiment and evokes a more essentialist ontology where "basic" ingredients can exist independently from each other.

[20] To define practices as a performed integration of diverse elements is quite usual in the literature; however, the lists of elements differ. While Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012) use materials, meanings and competences, other authors prefer capabilities or knowledge instead of competences, norms instead of meanings, or resources or technology instead of materials (Kennedy, Krahn and Krogman 2013: 254, Maréchal/Holzemer 2011: 2024).

agency in being entangled" (2017: 50). In what both agree is that in an world populated by social practices rather than practitioners, people are conceptualized as "body/minds who 'carry' and 'carry out' social practices" (Reckwitz 2002: 56). Human agency is *analytically* decentered; but the specificity of humans as creative and sometimes improvising actors does not automatically mean that they are irrelevant for SPT. "It is useful", claim Elizabeth Shove and her colleagues, "to think of elements [components] *as if* they had relatively autonomous trajectories amenable to analysis, interrogation and comparison. At the same time, it is clear that elements are nothing unless integrated in practice, and that if practices are to persist they need to recruit people willing and able to keep them alive" (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 62, emphasis in original). In my study, I do apply the posthumanist view on agency, but – especially in chapter 5 – I trace humans as embodied sites where different practices intersect (for more details, see chapter 4.3.1). In addition, human lives and experiences, including my own, are essential storytelling devices that drive the ethnographic narrative forward (see chapter 4.5.3).

For Nicolini, two affordances of the outlined conceptual innovations are crucial for the empirical work of studying practice. First, the initial element-focused SPT's tended to foreground the content of practice "at the expense of its inherently performative nature" (2017b: 21), because the formulation lended itself for a reification through the back door (ibid.: 30). The risk of turning practice into a "thing" made them overly busy with the "agonizing" (ibid.: 25) boundary work of defining what this or that practice is or is not. For an assemblage- and ANT-infused SPT, the interest much more lies in "performances connected in space and time, not mysterious entities called practices" (ibid.). Second, the conceptual language put forward by SPT has been moving away from situative enactments of practices to wider associations of practices and what holds them together. For many social practice theorists, the unit of analysis has been shifting from "a practice" to a vast array of performances inscribed in interconnected bodies, minds, objects and texts which become resources for another in a relational way (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: chapter 5). These practice collectives are commonly conceived as "associations" (Nicolini 2017a), "bundles and constellations" (Schatzki 2017), "connective tissue" (Blue and Spurling 2017) or – in an attempt to stabilize them temporally within one edited volume – "nexuses" (Hui, Schatzki and Shove 2017). From now on, I use Nicolini's "*practice associations*" because, in my view, the concept is more performative than the others. It implies association work, negotiations and a certain temporality in the sense that associations have to be maintained to live on, and that they can be dissociated as well.

Despite the ongoing interest in conceptualizing types of practice connections, Hui argues that they have so far received limited empirical attention (2017: 53). At the same time, Nicolini puts forward that the potential of the practice approach to analyze "large phenomena" is high – under the condition that it goes beyond what has been called by Knorr Cetina (1981, cit. in Nicolini 2017a: 101) "methodological situationalism". The notion of methodological situationalism restricts flat ontology to concrete social interactions, a strategy which bears the risk of reducing the social to local happenings only. It therefore limits the empirical inquiry of trans-local relationships so prevalent in extensive phenomena such as neocolonial power struggles. As an alternative, Nicolini proposes a relational or "*connected situationalism*". The aim is not to take a single scene of action as the basic unit of analysis, but "rather a chain, sequence, or combination of performances *plus* their relationships – what keeps them connected in space and time" (ibid.: 101, emphasis in original):

> "Performances therefore can only be understood only if we take into account the nexus in which they come into being. What happens here and now and why (the conditions of possibility of any scene of action) is inextricably linked to what is happening in another 'here and now' or what has happened in another 'here and now' in the past (and sometimes in the future)." (Nicolini 2017a: 102)

Nicolini concludes that the "theory" in "social practice theory" is actually a misnomer, because (apart from the need to be put in plural) it is something different in two ways. On the one hand, it is more social ontology than theory, and on the other hand, its methodological implications are so consequential that it can also be seen more as methodology than theory. As a compromise, he proposes to see SPT inherently as a "*theory method package*" (Nicolini 2012: 216f, see also 2017a), a package he elsewhere even called a "package of theory, method and literary genre" (Nicolini 2017b: 26). As a social ontology, SPT offers a theoretical vocabulary and a conceptual grammar to arrange the vocabulary in ways that "bring worlds into being" in the composed texts. "A good ontology", he continues, "has to remain open […] ontology is powerful not when it provides an imaginary self-contained world, but when it allows the world to speak through it" (Nicolini 2017b: 25). In terms of crafting such an imaginary, Nicolini implies that SPT as a social ontology cannot be written first and then operationalized, it can only emerge in the engagement with phenomena and the translation of the researcher's learnings into text (see chapter 4.5.2 and 4.5.3 on data analysis and presentation). SPT is thus inherently also a "methodological orientation" (ibid.), sharing the rhizomatic sensitivity of the tradition of multi-sited ethnography in its curious tracing of performances plus their relationships (Marcus 1995, Falzon 2012, see chapter 4.5.1):

> "A rhizomatic sensitivity sees associations of practices as a living connection of performances and what keeps them together; it offers an image of how practices grow, expand and conquer new territory; it suggests that to study how large phenomena emerge from and transpire through connections between practices, we should always start from a 'here and now' and follow connections (Nicolini, 2009); and it finally offers a model for representing the gamut of connections in action." (Nicolini 2017a: 102)

I follow Nicolini in conceiving SPT as a theory method package suitable to trace "large" phenomena as "performances plus their relationships". It is important to note that the object of practice theoretical research is not practice, but phenomena of all kinds and sizes that can be re-specified by the ontology put forward – be it organization, cooking, teaching or, as in this case, neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship (Nicolini 2017b: 26). Following Heuts and Mol, the research program of SPT confronts the belief that good social science has to engage in larger-than-life universalisms by decidedly arguing for "crafting a rich theoretical repertoire [not] by laying out solid abstracting generalizations, but rather by adding together ever shifting cases and learning from their specificities" (2013: 127). In addition, practice-based approaches are able to generate representations practitioners often ask for, as Nicolini writes: SPT "allows us to produce representations that practitioners can then use to talk about their own practice – and to thereby do something about it" (2017a: 113).

The idea of SPT as theory method package implies restrictions and affordances for the researcher of power struggles. To study them in social practice, it is necessary to follow an "internally coherent approach, where ontological assumptions (the basic assumption about how the world is) and methodological choices (how to study things so that a particular ontology materializes) work together" (Nicolini 2017b: 26). Namely, neocolonial power struggles *must* (restriction) and *can* (affordance) all be analyzed with the same conceptual toolkit; for there is no discursive sphere that is ontologically different from the everyday performances where discourses "pop up". In that sense, border doing, crossing and dwelling must and can be operationalized and studied as subject positioning practices that take shape in situated performances and their connections only:

> "If practice theory can account for all aspects of the social, it should be able to account for power as a pervasive aspect of the social. Second, if practice theory is to make a difference, it must be able to provide an account of power with which it is consistent." (Watson 2017: 180-181)

"However", Watson continues, "not much is gained by noticing that power is ubiquitous to practice" (2017: 181). It is important to differentiate aspects and dimensions of

practice that are able to account for distinct ways how power is performed, and the different effects on agency and voice these different performances entail. To do this and to put Nicolini's "connected situationalism" into practice, the SPT research strategy I apply is the "conflict-sensitive orientation" (2017b: 30-31). The aim is to particularly foreground contradictions, frictions and struggles in associated practices. Associating does not imply harmony, for practices "overlap, interveave, cohere, conflict, diverge, scatter, and enable as well as constrain each other" (Schatzki 2002: 156). For the conflict-sensitive orientation, these struggles entail crucial effects on the agential potential of subject positions:

> "*Empowerment, scope for agency and voice* are effects of practice and how they are associated. Beyond the question of how practices hang together lies the issue of what effects this hanging together have on those who dwell within the nexuses and assemblages composed." (Nicolini 2017b: 31, emphasis is mine)

To conclude, SPT suggests that large phenomena are performances of practices plus their relationships. Abstractions such as "neocolonial power" or "the coffee market" are seen as convenient summaries only, without denying them the agential potential all practice components can have:

> "Our job [as practice researchers] is not to denounce them as false idols, but rather ask through what practices and technologies of representation were they produced, in which observable scenes of actions were these summaries created and, most important, what effects do they produce when deployed in practice?" (Nicolini 2017a: 113)

In this vein, I now proceed to operationalize positioning processes – as the take on neocolonial power struggles developed here – in practice. Based on the outline on SPT as theory method package, I argue that they can be traced in three types of connections at three locations: Intersections across practice, associations between practice and translations within practice.

4.3 Operationalizing positioning across, between and within practice

4.3.1 Tracing positioning across practice: Follow the intersection

For the flat ontology-infused SPT I follow here, practices (per)form associations, and associations of practices (per)form subjects. This means that the agential power a text, a human being, a hammer or a song is able to excert depends on its position in the practice that is unfolding. This position is as much negotiated with other practice components assembled in the situated enactment, as it depends on the practice's

relations to other associated practices. In other words, for proponents of a flat practice world, subjects are temporally stabilized "acting" entities both human and nonhuman, whereby the acting is a joint performance of a collective: "We act, therefore I am". Individuals and collectives both act at the same time, and agency is a networked process of "swarming together" (Latour 2005: 46). Therefore, "we all depend on other's people practices" (Nicolini 2012: 175) which hang together in an immense and evolving fabric of practice, a "gigantic, intricate, and evolving mesh of practices and orders. At its fullest, this web is co-extensive with socio-historical space and time" (Schatzki 2002: 155).

For the emergence of subjectivity, this means that attaining a generalized or relatively autonomous ontological identity is a conflictual process that takes place in practice. "As various practices of different social domains boast diverse power-relations, norms and codifications", argue Alkemeyer and Buschmann, "the acquisition of play-ability and agency" happens in moderating multiple relations and demands in which participation and "a sense of possibility" can emerge (2017: 21). This implies that practices not only intersect in space and time (as in associations), but also through and in the components that are shared between them *across* sequences of situated everyday enactments (see table 4 below for an overview). This is precisely the point where human beings can be foregrounded without giving up the practice framework. People, Reckwitz writes, as practice components are key crossing points: "As there are diverse social practices, the individual is the unique crossing point of practices" (2002: 256). Hui develops this point in the humanist SPT vein that people "thus embody intersections of numerous practices […] This positioning can bring benefits – such as the development of skills or understandings that can be incorporated into a different practice – and challenges – involving seemingly incompatible meanings or the competition between skills that degrade or obstruct each other" (Hui 2017: 60). Following humans as embodied practice intersections, and understanding how these intersections are performed by them, can help us explore what effects practices produce together on those who dwell within the nexuses (Nicolini 2017b: 156).

For example, the success or failure of a given coffee business could not only be related to ways how connections between farming, trading, certifying and preparing places work; but also to the situated intersections *across* practice associations at the coffee plantation or the market place or the certifiers' office. For Warde, "practices are not hermetically sealed off from other adjacent and parallel practices, from which lessons are learned, innovations borrowed, procedures copied" (Warde 2005: 141, see also Whatmore and Thorne 1997: 222). For example, drinking coffee is part of a flow of

daily activities like working or commuting. It is performed synchronously with other practices like socializing or reading, enabling practitioners to unpack different practice sets in the same moment, and to order their lives according to diachronically executed tasks and projects. Or, at the coffee plantation, co-creating the DT business means to perform some farming routines at the expense of others, combining them as neatly as possible with adjacent practices like shopping in town, and probably conversing with foreigners via Skype or when they visit once a year. The same *caficultor* might grow non-organic coffee in the valley and specialty coffee further up the mountain, making her part of different coffee associations that are, in turn, part of the same everyday life. All these practices stick together and cooperate, or they compete to be realized.

	Across practice (4.3.1)	Between practice (4.3.2)	Within practice (4.3.3)
General analytical approach to tracing power	*Social Practice Theory in the variant of conflict-sensitive (Nicolini 2017b: 30) connected situationalism (Nicolini 2017a: 101).* This approach traces power, conceptualized as processes of positioning, in embodied (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017), affective-discursive (Reckwitz 2017) and rhythmized (Hui 2017: 58) **practices plus their relationships** (Nicolini 2017a: 102). "How practices are linked" (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 94) in different "types of connection" (Hui 2017: 53) matter: "Empowerment, scope for agency and voice are effects of practice and how they are associated" (Nicolini 2017b: 31)		
Unit of analysis with analytical focus	Practices plus their relationships as performed in *concerted scenes of action*.	Practices plus their relationships as performed *along wider associations of practices*.	Practices plus their relationships as performed in *circular relations of "scripts" and "acts"*.
Focal type of connection	*Intersection* Human beings embody practice intersections as they move *across* different practice (associations) in everyday lives (Reckwitz 2002: 256, Hui 2017: 60)	*Association* Intermediating localized performances enact trans-situational connections *between* practices (Nicolini 2017b: 30, Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 18)	*Translation* Decontextualized and contextualized aspects *within* a practice are connected by ongoing processes of translation (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 38).
Analytical movement	*Situational* (Nicolini 2017b: 27) Follow human practitioners along their performances of immanent life worlds	*Configurational* (Nicolini 2017b: 29) Follow relations between practices over temporal and spatial distance	*Situational-configurational* (Nicolini 2017b: 27-30) Follow how scripts are enacted in situated accomplishments

Table 4: Operationalizing positioning in practice by means of social practice theory

Practices produce time *and* consume time (Shove 2009). They compete with other practices for attention of the practitioners and get squeezed and rearranged by them. "Individuals have to negotiate their own ways through timescapes simultaneously characterized by fragmentation, such that days consist of many small episodes" (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 95). A wide field of power struggles opens up. For example, time-consuming traditional ways of preparing coffee come under pressure by the squeezing of practices, enabling time efficient coffee performances – like Nespresso or coffee-to-go – to take over, and their associated practice associations with them (Sayer 2013). Practices come to be dominant as "they take time-allocation and scheduling precedence" (Pred 1981: 16) over competing practices, pushing them away along with competences, meanings and materials necessary for their performance – leaving more or less traces after their disappearance. Apart from competition, practices interact as well cooperatively, reinforcing each other. To shape the sites where practices intersect, interact and cross-fertilize therefore means to shape positioning possibilities, to shape agential potentials and ultimately to control patterns of social change: "Do power asymmetries influence which innovative performances are selected and retained […]? How does retention affect power asymmetries? Who has the discretion to create new performances?" (Feldman and Orlikowski 2011: 6). In this view, "the emergence of dominant systems and projects depends on how practices are linked, and not (only) on their capacity to compete" (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 94). Whether colonial power is reproduced, resisted, subverted or transcended depends, then, on the co-presence of components and on a population of practitioners willing and able to repeatedly integrate the present elements in the situated practice of concerted accomplishments (ibid.: 19).

In short, a first affordance of SPT to operationalize power struggles is to follow a human being, as embodied intersection of practices, as she moves *across* the enacted borders of different practices. By looking at how diverse situated practices are performed in joint accomplishments, a practice lens is able to shed light how the practices cooperate and possibly compete for the practitioner's time and attention – and what this does to subject positionings. Tracing intersections, Hui writes, is "crucial for developing analytic approaches and vocabularies more attuned to variation within as specific nexus of practices (Hui 2017: 53). I claim that following humans across practice resembles the "*situational orientation*" of place-based ethnography (Nicolini 2017b: 27). This is one half of the "connected situationalism" Nicolini proposes (2009: 27), as it focuses on the unfolding of concerted scenes of action and allows for painting thick accounts of the event history as it happened. Here, it becomes apparent why SPT is considered a theory method package, and that conceptual as well as methodological claims are intimately

related. In that sense, to study positioning across practice is the "natural" starting point to explore colonial power in everyday lives, and to start tracing the connections between performances across space and time. "Witnessing the scenes of action", Nicolini writes, "is thus in many ways, a necessary passage for any study of practice […] while for analytical purposes, practices can be conceived and examined individually, empirically we always encounter multiplicities or arrays of practice" (Nicolini 2017b: 27).

4.3.2 Tracing positioning between practice: Follow the association

A "situational orientation" helps us to understand the empirical dynamics of concerted accomplishments which always also hang together with larger associations of practices. While embodied action as the core of the performative reality of the social world "can only be spatially and temporally immediate" (Watson 2017: 177), the extension and amplification of action can only happen through intermediation. Such intermediation is rarely done without relying on other practices, or more specifically, without relying on practice components on the move between instances of performance. This is what a "*configurational orientation*" (Nicolini 2017b: 29) in SPT focuses on, as it were, the other half of Nicolini's "connected situationalism" (table 4 above). As he argues, this orientation has evolved out of the ANT-SPT dialogue and has developed useful methodological prescriptions in the vein of "following the intermediaries" (2017b: 29, see also 2009) as they move *between* situated instances of performance. In addition, it relies on Latour's ANT vocabulary as a comprehensive conceptual "infra-language" (2012: 231) which can be put to work to compensate for a weakness of Schatzki-style SPT, namely the lack of theoretical mechanisms to account for how practices connect over distance (Nicolini 2012: 179). Latour's strategy is the opposite to Schatzki's in that he "offered a grammar and toolkit for reconstructing the social in terms of a stabilized network of relations, without committing to specific mechanisms" (Nicolini 2012: 180).

In that sense, this analytical strategy moves from situative 'local' enactments of practices to wider associations of practices and what holds them in place (Nicolini 2017a and 2017b). At the same time, ANT conceives the social as associations only, while Schatzki allows to see it as practices plus the associations. As Gherardi lays out, "the situatedness of a practice being practiced in a contingent space and time is linked to other sociomaterial practices that sustain and allow the situated performance of that practice" (2017: 50). For Alkemeyer and Buschmann, "whatever happens in one practice could either be or become part of other practices elsewhere; there are cross-contextual and trans-situational connections between practices" (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 18). Such connections or associations between practices have to be worked and re-

worked to remain effect- and affectful on situated practice. Therefore, it is critical to conceive and operationalize associations themselves not as abstract processes or flows, but as "material practices and localized performances" (Nicolini 2017b: 30). Associations are, in a fundamental ontological way, *association work*.

The combination of ANT and SPT thus combines the strengths of both approaches to account for how practices have an effect over time and space without recurring to ontological levels other than that defined by action (Watson 2017: 178). Association work can be seen as the activities that bring together or pull apart components and practices. In that vein, how colonial power is performed is an outcome of "the range of elements [components] in circulation, the ways in which practices relate to each other and the careers and trajectories of practices and those who carry them" (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 19). In particular, practice associations hang together in that practices "produce" components that are performed by other practices "downstream". A typical, and fairly linear, example are practices along a value chain. For example, the practice of coffee farming and its activities – planting seedlings, nursing trees, distributing fertilizer et cetera – produce ripe coffee cherries, the central input for the practice of harvesting. Harvesting, in turn, produces picked coffee cherries, which then perform "downstream" processing practices together with other components such as machines and bags. In this case, the practice elements are material matter passed downstream to be transformed. But, as the review of SPT has shown, the club of possible components to be performed in practice is not restrictive. Practices not only perform matter in practice, but also components which are typically described as discursive or cultural: Skills, meanings and so on. In putting all of these components in motion, practices bring into being the conditions of possibility for another practices, or more particularly, the conditions of possibility to perform a practice in this way or another. They perform power.[21]

Such an ecology of materialization and mobilization of power has been studied by Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee as "nested relationality" (2015). In their investigation of the reinsurance market, they understand individual practices such as quoting or modeling as sitting at the "nexus of multiple other, interconnected work practices involved […] that is, the work practices that comprise the market are nested within each other" (2015: 16). Conceptually, there is no need to assume that a higher level of reality

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[21] This is both a difference to ANT as well as to Foucault's method to follow technologies and apparatuses of power without connecting them to an understanding of putting these intermediaries to work in practice (Watson 2017: 177). "Machines, architecture, inscriptions, school curricula, books, obligations, techniques for documenting and calculating and so forth" (Rose and Miller 1992: 183-4) materialize power, but – as practice components – they need to be enrolled and performed to have an effect.

exists which controls the associations, and empirically, the program demands to look at how practices actively constitute each other (Swan, Newell and Nicolini 2016: 11, see also Nicolini 2012).

In conclusion, to trace associations *between* practices is a means to explain how their hanging-together is performed. Here, the "association" concept is again very suitable as it evokes the possibility of discontinuous assembling of components much more than "network". A practice act can change its direction completely when a word, a memory, an object is added to the club of performed components in interpellations apparently from "nowhere". What is more, such emergent associations of interwoven components resemble messy "rhizomes" (Deleuze 2001) more than linear "commodity chains" between sites of production and consumption (Hopkins and Wallerstein 1986). They "grow in unplanned directions, following the real-life situations they encounter" (Escobar 2008: 274). A practice association as a conceptual result, then, is not so much an actor-network in practice, but rather a practice-network enacted – a network of practices that is, to take over Latours' words, "real as nature, narrated as discourse, collective as society [and] existential as being" (Latour 1993: 89)

4.3.3   Tracing positioning within practice: Follow the translation

A crucial component in nested relationalities are so-called "*general understandings*" (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee 2015, see also Welch and Warde 2017). As meta-components, as it were, they indicate "how the network of relationships work, why and what is legitimate and acceptable within this particular regime of practice" (Nicolini 2017a: 106). Other key meta-components are "*practical understandings*". They are the "how-to" protocols to integrate components "well". As for the former, in the case of coffee production, the general understanding of "we produce coffee" serves as a glue between situated enactments of practices that are distributed in space and time; in specialty coffee, the general understanding is specified as "we produce high-quality coffee"; et cetera. On the most generic level, the general understanding is an abstract idea like "coffee" that enables to perform a "we" while being flexible enough to inform every situated instance of the whole "journey". Coffee can take many forms and has many modes. It is a seed, a seedling, a plant, a cherry, a bag, a bean, an odor, a liquid and many more things, depending on what a practice needs it to be to weave actors and activities together. In that sense, general understandings imply that practices are oriented towards certain objectives, a teleology that transpires in and through practice. This resembles what Schatzki has conceptualized as "teleo-affective structures" of practices (2002). For Welch and Warde (2017), it is however important not to abandon the flat

ontology of SPT, which they perceive as a risk in the ways such teleologies are commonly conceptualized. Perceiving general understandings as somehow "external" to the performance risks re-introducing the dualisms of "local" and "global" or "performative" and "discursive" through the back door:

> "Nicolini plausibly suggests general understandings constitute 'external understandings' of the overall project in which the practice is engaged (2012: 167). How should we think about that externality? Where, external to the focal practice, does the general understanding lie, or rather, come from? […] The 'external or 'beyond' in which general understandings subsist simply is configurational, whether found specifically in discourse or in heterogeneous assemblages of practice and discourse." (Welch and Warde 2017: 185)

In other words, the knowledge of the "why" and "how" of a practice transpires in and through practice. General and practical understandings, therefore, are not other, better or more powerful practice components than others. It is just that their content consists of second order (meta) indications on why and how components are integrated and performed. An effect of a flat ontology is that they are performed as common practice components – and as such, like every other component, they need to be performed in "real-time practices" (Nicolini 2012: 163). Most SPT proponents subscribe to a processual worldview which claims that "what really exists are not things made but things in the making" (Nayak and Chia 2011: 282), and that power is stabilized in lasting practice associations "only to the extent that the mechanisms of enrolment are materialized in various more or less persistent forms" (Rose and Miller 1992: 183). As Shove, Pantzar and Watson note, every analysis of associations between practices has to remember that these connections "are living tissue: they do not exist ready-made, but are continually re-woven as practices are reproduced" (2012: 94). In their volume "The Dynamics of Social Practice. Everyday Life and how it Changes", the authors propose to trace the change and persistence of practices in the recursive interaction of "practices-as-entities" and "practices-as-performances" (ibid.: 15). They point out a difference between two layers of reality *within* practice, namely between transcendent analytical entities such as "harvesting coffee" or "roasting coffee" and their rich, bricolaged, often fractured and transient enactments in daily life.

Like in the case of the similar distinction between "ostensive" and "performative" aspects, popularized in MOS by Feldman and Orlikowski (2011), there is a risk in jeopardizing the processual understanding of practice, to re-introduce structuralism by reifying entities of neatly bounded practices, and to re-introduce ontological distinctions between discursive and performative (Nicolini 2017: 31, see also Nicolini 2012: 180). Yet, seen as a duality rather as a dualism, to trace differences between what I

simplistically call "*practice scripts*" – the general and practical understandings about why and how to perform components – and "*practice acts*" can serve to sensitize the researcher of power struggles for underlying processes. In particular, I claim that the connective force between scripts and acts are processes of translation between what is prescribed as the proper and acceptable way of doing a practice and what is put into lived, and often marginal, reality. It takes the claim serious that any point in any practice association is a place where contextualized knowledges enter into permanent power-based negotiations. In following a move which de Certeau called the duality of "strategy" and "tactics" (1984: 34), marginalized actors possess tactical power as they translate dominant strategic schemes into practice. They "own" their enactments and bricolages. In Law's words, ownership is "a question of practice, an outcome of processes of translation, of similarities and differences that crop up as something […] is displaced from one context or network to another" (Law 2002: 56). In turn, the strategic power of "scripts" shapes the sites where practices intersect, interact and cross-fertilize. It makes available or hides practice components and it largely defines and "owns" general and practical understandings which aspire to prescribe practice and subject positions available in practice; but it does not "own" the act.

I am aware of the conceptual tension of "practice scripts" with a more-than-discursive take on positioning processes as outlined in chapter 3.2.2. But the main idea of using the notion of "script" is not to essentialize general and practical understandings as scripted stuff. Instead, it should help to direct the attention to the delta between decontextualized aspirations (such as colonial norms, ideals, prescriptions) and their contextualized applications. The resolute focus on the performative by understanding the delta between practice scripts and acts as processes of translation bears resemblance to the way hybridity processes are conceptualized in decolonial studies (chapter 3.3.2). For Homi Bhabha, translation is a re-writing process with instances of de- and re-contextualization (2004: 326). In a similar vein, Shove, Pantzar and Watson write that practice components move across time and space, and that these movements involve moments of packing and unpacking. This way, "commonality (a result of the circulation of elements) and local variation (in how these elements are integrated)" (2012: 25) can be conceptually integrated: "One way of making sense of the relation between standardization and persistent diversity is to suggest that practices […] are 'homegrown' in the sense that each instance of doing is informed by previous, related and associated practices" (ibid.: 38).

Another point is necessary to make here. Instead of hierarchizing practice components, power-sensitive SPT's have moved on to differentiate practices according to their effect

on associations (Watson 2017: 179). Not all practices are equal, but "why this is the case can be explained empirically without recourse to unexplained external forces" (Swan, Newell and Nicolini 2016: 11): some practices control others by doing things like objective setting, managing, disciplining and incentivizing, not by being ontologically superior in any way. For Watson,

> "[a]ppreciating the ability of some practices to orchestrate and align others makes it possible to account for the appearance of institutional hierarchy and scale and for differential capacities to act, while retaining a flat ontology. Clearly, governing [control] technologies must articulate with the practices of governing [control] which rely upon them as means of influence and as means of shaping the conditions of possibility and thus the actions of others." (Watson 2017: 177)

This implies that an entrepreneurial world making project that aims at changing the ways coffee is handled necessarily engages in *control work*. Further detailing this point, Watson argues that

> "It is clearly relevant to point out that the practices taking place in a multinational's global HQ are shaped by embodied knowledge and tacit routine […] But the further ambition is to be able to account for the qualities of the corporate HQ that make it distinct from those other sites of practice and for how these arise, while recognising that practices are made of the same basic stuff." (Watson 2017: 181)

Again, ANT provides a useful infra-language here to integrate the idea of situated performances and transsituated connections by offering a flat ontology take on both. ANT sees translation as "the double geometric and semiotic movement of an entity in time and space and of an entity that changes from one context to another" (Steyaert 2007: 468). Translation functions as a sort of a meta-practice, namely the practice of geometric and semiotic networking through putting practice components in motion. Maneuvers and strategies of translation are recursive movements that bring networks or associations of practices into being. Thus, while translation accounts for ongoing difference in spite of connections in SPT, in ANT it accounts for ongoing connections in spite of difference. Yet again, it is only when conceiving translation as a situated practice – by infusing ANT with SPT – when the capacity of the translation approach is shown for "generating rich, thick and convincing stories of how innovations travel in the world, how they are translated in everyday practice, and how the innovation, the practice and the world are all changed in the process" (Gherardi and Nicolini 2006: 23).

At the same time, many enactments of many practices in many situations make practice 'scripts' potentially multiple. Practice scripts are constantly performed, and the body as main performer attains center stage. For Alkemeyer and Buschmann, every concerted

accomplishment is a momentary configuration of participants in the course of practice. Here, two or more participants can never occupy the same sociomaterial position. "It is this multi-perspectivity", they argue, "that introduces difference to all practices" (2017: 15). This means that during the performance of a practice, they continue,

> "participants interact with one another from various positions that differ in multiple dimensions. In order to play along while at the same time pursuing their particular position-specific interests, they have to orient their doings and sayings not only to the rules and 'teleoaffective stuctures' (Schatzki, 2002), which themselves evolve in the shared praxis, but also to the affordances of other human and non-human participants, as well as to situationally specific opportunities for intervening in the flow of praxis." (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 15)

This is why there is an inherent potential for "tactical" (De Certeau 1984: 34) creativity and innovation, even if agency is embedded in and structured by routinized patterns, cultural readings of them, and material conditions facilitating or restricting performances. In Giddens' logic of structuration so prevalent in practice approaches (1984), power is a result and a source of translation processes; translation produces and reproduces power. It is in these dynamics of retention and change that worlds are brought into being and retained at the expense of others. Understanding practices, and the associations between them, as situated performances invites the researcher to "expand the palette of methods through which we interrogate how these relationships are established, maintained and consumed beyond the transactional 'quid pro quo' principle that is built, for example, in Latour's (2005) notion of interessement" (Nicolini 2017a: 107). The performance of general and practical understandings associate practices not only through rational arguments or discursive mediation, but also through affective force fields that are inherently rhythmic, contain intensities and tempo (Hui 2017: 58). Processes of affecting and being affected, writes Reckwitz, thus need to be studied between all sorts of potential and actual practice components (2017: 253). Using the example of lack and incompleteness, this argument has been made for the suggestive force of hegemonic power formations by Laclau and Mouffe (1985). For my purposes here, this can for example help explaining colonial self-othering and mimicry as described in processes of "border doing" (chapter 3.3.1)

In short, translation can work both "as an agent of hegemonic superiority and oppression, but also as a locus of plurivocity and hybridization" (Jiménez-Bellver 2010: 12). Whether colonial power is reproduced, resisted, subverted or transcended is an outcome of how "practice scripts", namely general and practical understandings, (not) enforce performances by means of control work. To trace this, I claim that the analytical movement has to combine situational and configurational orientations (Nicolini 2017b:

29, see table 4 above). A joint focus on (moving) scripts and (local) enactments presupposes that the site of analysis is transsituational and situational at the same time.

4.4 Research questions and overview of the empirical chapters

The last two chapters presented, first, the empirical research setting of marginal DT coffee entrepreneurship and, second, the theory method package of social practice theory to trace the large phenomenon of colonial power in everyday performances. This part connects them to formulate the analytical research questions (table 5) and outline the empirical chapters guided by them (table 6 below).

General research question: Affective formulation	
1. How is colonial power still a thing? 2. Is resistance futile, or can there be hope? 3. How can marginal world making work?	*...researched in the empirical setting of marginal Direct Trade coffee entrepreneuring*
General research questions: Analytical formulation	
I. Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship perpetuate colonial power? II. Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship make the transformation of colonial power possible? III. Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship perform world making beyond colonial power?	
Specific analytical research questions (chapters)	
How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed…	a) in situated entrepreneurial practice? (chapter 5) b) in association work over temporal and spatial distance? (chapter 6) c) in controlling the translation of "practice scipts" into "practice acts"? (chapter 7)

Table 5: General and analytical research questions

The presentation of the empirical results follows in three parts which switch between practices, sites and DT aspirations in a caleidoscopic way (table 6 below). The three empirical chapters trace colonial power along the project by each focusing on practices at interconnected sites: The coffee shop *Tienda de José* in Switzerland, refining places in the Colombian province of Caldas, and the coffee farm *Manantial*. The analytical journey is constructed as a trilogy, (not slavishly) corresponding to the trias of analytical possibilities offered by SPT to trace positioning *across*, *between* and *within* practice. My unit of analysis are practices which bring coffee into being at each of these sites, either through direct "handling" or through the entrepreneurial mobilization of resources

and enrolment of actors over distance (Gherardi and Nicolini 2006) in "association" and "control work". In particular, while chapter five contrasts entrepreneurial practice (as consisting of association and control work) with operational handling, chapter six revolves around association work and chapter seven around control work. Following Schatzki's definition of a site as "where things exist and events happen" (2002: 63), I thereby adopt a view on sites as enacted in temporally and geographically dispersed activities (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee 2015, for the methodological implications see chapter 4.5.1 on multi-sited ethnography).

	Chapter five	**Chapter six**	**Chapter seven**
Title	*First making coffee, then worlds: Multiple marginality in entrepreneurial practice*	*Between worlds: (De)colonial associations in Direct Trade coffee practice*	*Who handles whom? Performing quality, control and agency in coffee harvesting*
Analytical question	How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in situated entrepreneurial practice?	How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in association work over temporal and spatial distance?	How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in controlling the translation of "practice scipts" into "practice acts"?
Empirical dynamic of coffee making	Concerted entrepreneurial accomplishments (association and control work) performed at coffee shop *Tienda de José* in Switzerland	Association work performed at processing sites in Colombia, namely around the village Santa Marta and the hulling plant in Chinchiná	Control work performed in harvesting and early processing, namely at the farm *Manantial*
Main empirical contrast	Operational practice of serving coffee and other clients *versus* entrepreneurial practice of association and control work	"Old" commodity trade coffee practices *versus* "new" direct trade coffee practices	Direct trade coffee "practice scripts" *versus* their performance in "practice acts"
Focal type of connection / analytical approach	*Intersection / situational orientation* Follow the entrepreneur as intersection *across* practice (associations) in concerted scenes of action (chapter 4.3.1)	*Association / configurational orientation* Follow trans-situational connections *between* practices along wider associations of practices (chapter 4.3.2)	*Translation / situational-configurational orientation in temporal bracketing* Follow ongoing processes of translation from "scripts" to "acts" *within* the practice of harvesting (chapter 4.3.3)

Table 6: Overview of empirical chapters

Chapter five asks how colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling is (per)formed in situated entrepreneurial practice. I follow the initiator and coordinator of the DT network, marginal entrepreneur José, at his coffee shop and trace how the business is organized in the concerted accomplishment of everyday lives. The main empirical contrast identified is between entrepreneurial practices of associating and controlling the Direct Trade network and operational practices of serving coffee and other clients. In movements *across* practices, three marginal subject positions arise and intersect. Chapter six continues the empirical story by tracing association work, and colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling, at processing sites on the Colombian side of the business. Here, DT and CT coffee associations *between* practices are followed and contrasted. Finally, chapter seven looks at colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling in controlling the translation of "practice scipts" into "practice acts". By travelling to the coffee farm and zooming in on the power struggles *within* the practice of coffee harvesting, it is shown how DT scripts are translated in situated performances. In this chapter, as the relation between scripts and acts is one of circular co-creation, I analytically focus on the relation from scripts to acts without looking at how the scripts themselves emerge. I thereby follow Langley's "temporal bracketing" strategy: "Because mutual influences are difficult to capture simultaneously, it is easier to analyze the two processes in a sequential fashion by temporarily 'bracketing' one of them" (Langley 1999: 703). As Langley explains, the strategy is fruitful when dealing with multiple units and levels of analysis, ambiguous boundaries, and variable temporal embeddedness, as in Giddens' structuration theory (1984) and the accounts thereby inspired, SPT not the least.

4.5 Methodology

4.5.1 Data construction: Multi-sited ethnography

4.5.1.1 Multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork

In order to trace neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship along the DT coffee case in Colombia and Switzerland, I apply the research methodology of *multi-sited ethnography* (Marcus 1995, Falzon 2012). As I have laid out in chapter 4.2, Nicolini claims an elective affinity of the relational SPT ontology with this methodology, sharing a rhizomatic sensitivity to trace associations of practices as a "living connection of performances and what keeps them together" (Nicolini 2017a:

102).[22] For Nicolini, methodological tools that are able to trace SPT concepts empirically are in need of two things: First, the possibility to "zoom in" on situated enactments of practice in detailed fashion and second, the possibility to uncover the connections between practices by tracing them in space and time ("zoom out") (Nicolini 2012: 231).[23] Both is offered by multi-sited ethnography in that it allows for a combination of thick descriptions of lived realities (the "ethnography" in it) with techniques to do field work on the move in order to trace the connections in the multiple sites where the practices are performed (the "multi-sited" in it). "The basic move here", Nicolini writes with respect to the second affordance, "is to follow its intermediaries (people, artefacts, and inscriptions) wherever they go" (ibid.).

In that sense, multi-sited ethnography is put into practice as a trans-local ethnographic exercise applying elements of ethnomethodology, but without engaging in a full-fledged, long-term, thick description of any particular place of investigation (Button 1991); instead, typically, the researcher is moving with the objects and subjects of study across multiple localities. The aim is to relate transient everyday performances to materials, meanings and skills transcending the instances of their enactments across and within places. While the idea of "classical" ethnography as exclusively studying single, isolated locations has probably always been a bit of a cliché, the main affordance by the "multi-sited" in multi-sited ethnography is its multi-contextuality, as underlined by Shove and colleagues: "We do not concentrate exclusively on the context-specific processes involved in producing localized configuations of knowledge, meaning, materiality and action […] we are interested in how the spatial and temporal reach of 'working configurations' is constituted and how it changes. For this we need to look beyond specific moments of integration [of practice components]" (Shove et al 2012: 11). Mansvelt agrees with this claim. She assesses that "the undertaking of ethnographic studies in one location and connecting them with other moments which are part of the same process seems as a way forward" (2005: 121-122) to study (neocolonial) power in commodity networks such as coffee.

Two important qualifications make the implications of these claims for research practice more explicit. On the one hand, as Weissköppel argues (2009), multi-sited means intense methodological reflection and process-related generation of knowledge. "Research in

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[22] Nicolini writes that "the minimal unit of analysis and description for the ethnographic study of practice is not only the performance of a real-time activity in one specific time and place, nor the ethno-methods that are used to accomplish it. Studying practice also requires appreciating the texture of material relationships and other practices on which the practice depends and which it sustains. Alternatively put, the object of the package of method and theory to study work practices presented here is necessarily a practice net, a bundle of practices, and their causal and historical connections" (Nicolini 2012: 238).
[23] For a critical discussion of the zooming metaphor, see Nicolini 2010: 239-40.

several places, therefore, becomes more an *effect* of multi-sited strategy than a *requirement* of it" (Falzon 2009: 20, emphasis is mine). The definition of what a site is becomes a co-creation of the researcher and the practitioners in the field. The field is "unsited" until empirically and theoretically relevant boundaries are drawn (Falzon 2009: 14). In a ANT-infused language, decolonial theorist Arturo Escobar argues that we can say that a given site exists only when we can trace the practices through their localized connections:

> "Through their participation in networks, elements (such as individuals) can become components of various assemblages operating at different levels. [Sites] are manifolds that do not precede the interactive processes that assemble them […] What exists is always a manifold of interacting sites that emerge within unfolding event-relations that include relations of force from inside and outside the site." (Escobar 2008: 287-290)

On the other hand, exploring multiple sites as a researcher means to engage as well with the simultaneity of distant interactions, instead of investigating only the different involved places in a serial manner through staggered field visits. As Falzon continues,

> "Fieldwork thus emerges as a process rather than event, a 'spiraling' cumulative progression which borrows on a number of empirical strands – collaboration, the appointment of field assistants, direct participant observation, Internet research, and so on." (Falzon 2009: 16).

Here, an explicit disentanglement of 'site' and 'place' is appropriate. That is, one site can include many places. In an SPT view, a site is performed into existence by activities that are not necessarily territorially bound: Sites are "where things exist and events happen" (Schatzki 2002: 63). If practitioners engage in trans-place practices such as skyping or whatsapping, they inhabit, experience, and co-produce a number of places simultaneously as it is the case for many 'global' practice associations (Falzon 2009: 16). Sites then become detached from space and place or "geographically discontinuous" (2009: 2). So, a regularly performed connection between two places – say, through daily calls between farmer and buyer or regular checks of coffee market prices set at the New York stock exchange by a Colombian farmer – is a practiced site.

The *data collection* for the multi-sited ethnography was realized in a series of participant observation visits at José's coffee house in a major Swiss city over sixteen months, comprehensive on- and offline documentary research and a five-week instance of ethnographic fieldwork in 2015 to retrace the network activities around the process of coffee handling in Colombia (farm, village, processing plant, logistics, cooperatives etc.). The generated data includes around 150 pages of fieldnotes and field sketches from

observing, and participating in, coffee practices, a total of 44 semi-structured and unstructured interviews, jottings from several dozen focused conversations with coffee farmers, workers, businessmen, villagers, researchers and a Colombian senator, and audio-visual materials including around 1600 pictures, videos and soundbites from the field (Hitchings 2011, Altheide and Johnson 1994). It was suitable to arrange the performed fieldwork into three groups of data construction, allowing me to engage in a thorough triangulation process (Rothbauer 2008) in analyzing coffee practices by means of tracing their diverse components – from performances to materials and inscriptions (see also table 10 in chapter 4.5.2 for further details):

- *Fieldwork in Switzerland*. Several dozen instances of observing entrepreneurial practices in José's coffee house over sixteen months between Ocober 2014 and February 2016, captured in jottings and written fieldnotes. 25 in-depth interviews with José, the Colombian coffee entrepreneur at his coffee shop in a major Swiss city over sixteen months between Ocober 2014 and February 2016 (average length 60-90 minutes).

- *Fieldwork in Colombia*. 5 weeks intensive field work in Caldas, Colombia in November and December 2015. Participant observation with daily field notes, 1595 pictures, several videos and soundbites e.g. at the coffee farm of José's associates, adjacent coffee farms in the valley who supply direct traders or a multinational company roasting coffee in Switzerland, drying and processing plants, logistics venues, cooperatives. 19 recorded interviews and dozens of focused conversations with coffee harvesters, coffee farmers engaged in DT and CT, plant workers, cooperative staff, FNC and government employees, traders and intermediaries, businessmen, villagers, researchers – amongst others from the university of Caldas in Manizales and the Fundación Manuel Mejía, a major coffee research center – and a Colombian senator.

- *Documentary fieldwork*. Documentary research of business papers, background articles, company documents, marketing materials, coffee grower manuals, norms and legislations on- and offline; on-site research on the Colombian Coffee Federation, on national and multinational companies and the workings of the coffee market in Colombia and abroad at the Colombian National Library and Archive in Bogotá as well as at the University of Caldas in Manizales. Used documents are cited and referenced when they are referred to in the text.

While I describe my stance and style of participant observation in the next part (positionality and research ethics), let me describe the aims and particular techniques I used in the field briefly. As for the aim of an empirical work to trace practices, it is

important to access practice as a "publicly available accomplishment based on the situated assembling" (Nicolini 2009a: 13) of practice components in real-time. Following the ontological claims of SPT laid out earlier, material and discursive aspects of the doings performed can be analytically distinguished, but one has no ontological priority over the other (ibid.). In that sense, I aimed at recording as many aspects of what is been done and said using my memory, my camera and my notebook in the moment – or close to the moment, e.g. when going to the restroom – of situated going-ons. In so doing, I was sensitized by Nicolini's "palette for zooming in" (2012: 220) to guide practice research (for a short overview of the palette, see table 7).

Focus	Examples of sensitizing research questions
Sayings and doings	What are people saying and doing? How do the patterns of saying and doing flow in time? What temporality and rhythm do they (per)form? Through which moves, strategies, methods and discusrive practical devices do practitioners accomplish their work?
Interactional order	What positions does the specific practice make available? How are these positions negotiated or resisted? What type of collective interests are sustained and perpetuated by the specific practice? How are asymmetries and inequalities produced or reproduced in the process?
Tools and mediators	What artefacts are used in practice and how? What visible and invisible work do they perform? What connections do they establish with other practices?
Practical concerns	What matters to practitioners? What do they care about? What do they see as their main object of activity? Where do they direct their efforts? What do they see as the thing to do next? When would they say the practice has been accomplished?
Learning and legitimization	How are novices socialized? What stories are used in the process? Do the practitioners use the practice to identify themselves as a community? How is the difference between insiders and outsiders brought to bear? How are practices made durable?

Table 7: Guiding questions to trace situated practice (adapted from Nicolini 2012: 220)

Often, I shadowed (trailed) participants in their daily doings and/or participated in activities such as harvesting, bag lifting, drying, transporting, physical and cup testing, negotiating and preparing coffee. At the same time, I let them talk and explain what they did and why they did it to gain an understanding of the normative dimension of practice, of what is considered a "good practitioner" and why is done what is done after all. In roughly half of the cases, I applied the particular interviewing technique of "interview to the Double" (Nicolini 2009b, see also Gherardi 2013). This technique needs conversation partners to imagine that they have a double, the researcher, who is going to replace them at their job the next day. Then, they are asked to give detailed instructions to the researcher so she will be able to take their position without being

unveiled. As methodological takes on social practices lay out (ibid., see also Hitchings 2011), people can "talk about their practices" and shed light on critical aspects and insider understandings. At the same time, a triangulation with observational and documentary approaches is needed, a claim I followed in participating in practices myself, and in analyzing documents on- and offline (Rothbauer 2008, see also Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 132 and 137. For criteria assessing "interpretative validity" in qualitative research, see Altheide and Johnson 1994).

Every day after a visit in the coffee house (fieldwork in Switzerland) and every single night in the field (fieldwork in Colombia), I sat down for up to two hours to digitalize my jottings, in-process memos and comments. In general, I followed the jotting and writing ethnographic fieldnotes techniques as recommended by the extraordinarily helpful book of Robert Emerson, Rachel Fretz and Linda Shaw (2011). Sometimes the same night, but then overwhelmingly after coming back from Colombia, I wrote out fieldnotes which would then be organized into a corpus of first order data, ready to be analyzed (see next chapter for details on data organization and analysis). Of course, the acts of jotting, notetaking and writing out fieldnotes already includes analytical thinking, but through the temporal and geographical closeness to the events, and the structured way of "advancing" from headnotes to jottings, fieldnotes and fieldnote tales, I made sure to make different analytical layers more explicit in tracing their occurrence down to specific moments in places and times. Table 8 displays my respective guidelines I always carried around with me in the field and often consulted when jotting down notes.

Type of notes	Content
Headnotes (mental)	Initial impressions: senses, setting, people (quick as it gets lost quickly). What is significant or unexpected. Carve out events interaction of ongoing flux. Also personal experience (register feelings, step back, compare with reactions of others). What do those in setting experience and react to as significant or important: stop and watch, talk and gossip, emotions, troubles and problems - who did what and reactions? Also details that are not understood yet. How routines are organized and happen (not why). Casting nets broadly first, then looking for similar events, emerging patterns and different forms or exceptions to it.
Jottings (quick notes)	*Base for fieldnotes. Good jot evokes memory later, envisions scenes. Experiencing events as potential subjects for writing: scenes, dialogue, movement, scapes like photographer, moods, rhythms. Active sensory verbatim, not evaluative summary.* Key components of scene. Concrete sensory details: feel, mood. What I would forget first (auditive, visual, kinetic).. No summaries and generalization ("always agrees"), no qualificatives ("inefficient"). Specifics! Detailed aspects: direct quotes, show not tell (describe mimics not "angry"). Will recall context! Emotional expressions and interactions, not motives or reasons General own impressions and feelings in situation, might signal key element. Overt role, start

	early with notes ("note exactly what is said"). Use small get-away windows suitable in field, coffee break, toilet, drives, evenings.
Fieldnotes (accounts of instances, e.g. days or scenes)	*Writing fieldnote to recreate memories as written scenes that depict peoples lives through selected details. <u>Unfolding emergence, not plotted dramaturgy</u>.* From field to desk. 1 hour field = 1 hour write up. Beginning: Leave field after 3-4 hours to write. Immediately after leaving field (no talk about it)! Alternatively extensive jotting, talk fieldnotes. Style of first round is outpouring, unpolished quick. Chronological or relevance, topics. Include also minor events and uncertain stuff. Leave judgements for written asides!) *Description:* visual auditive olfactory kinetic images, also appearance of characters - here not use visual clichés and generic categories, but individual specific vivid images "guy without front teeth"), action and routines. When using figurative language, always add descriptive detail of why this image. *Dialogue:* speech not written down word by word at time should be cited indirectly or paraphrased. A mix is best for flow and allowing clues on meaning and nonverbal characterizations, back and forth movements of everyday. Language! (include all languages ESP ENG SUI GER as they are into text). *Characterization*: show how persons act and live (infer, not tell characteristics). Individuals in context, daily activities. Central/peripheral characters decision by theoretical interest and research focus. Continuing contacts don't need full intro each time, but more aspects and fuller characterizations as familiarity grows. Entry only partial record - periodically reflect and capture features of major characters. Rounded flat stock/type characters. Ethnographer can also be interacting character! 1st person, active verbs. *Organization*: Sketches (still life, situating scene to contextualise subsequent action, can also be with close-up details of a particular character in it "I noted a guy that..."). Episodes narrating slices of life (1-2 paragraphs continuous interaction. Climax or not. Often mundane activities. Indicate shifts in time space persons, short transitional summary to link episodes. *Experiment with point of view*. First p, third p, focused third p (fuller sense of individuals outlook), omniscient (not recommended: reducing multiplicity, unclear how info comes about -talk? Watch?-, objectivism of older ethnographies), shifting 1st and 3rd. E.g. start with mentioning own presence (Pedro, Jesús and I sit...) then 3rd or at the end (framing) or witnessed event with 1st p asides - adds immediacy where direct quotes are not possible. *In-process analytical writing. Asides, commentaries, memos* help direct future fieldwork to specific aspects and phenomena. Asides brief lived personal sense, clarification, question on what happens in parentheses in note text. Commentaries paragraph-long reflections at the end of each set of field notes with own reactions, likely connections to other events, tentative interpretations. What did I learn today? Particularly interesting/significant or confusing/uncertain? Similar or different than before? What more do I need to know to follow up? *First writing mode (put down - correspondence written account and happening), then reading mode (reflection on how writing choices construct textual reality)*

Table 8: Field guidelines for ethnographic writing (adapted from Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 2011)

The *research tools* to perform the fieldwork included an assemblage of hard- and software materials as "little technological helpers", as the following vignette from the field shows. I present it in this extensive manner to disclose the materiality around the researcher and enable the reader to listen to the usually silenced companions of the human being tracing her research phenomena. I published the vignette on my PhD website, using the channel to blog some reflections on the fieldwork as it unfolded. Departing from more "classic" instances of ethnographic fieldwork, I wrote that

> *"[F]ieldwork can be like this: curiosity opens paths to construct new knowledge, assisted by the patient companions ballpen and notebook only. But of course, I am grateful to have a few more devices at hand. Especially when I am already introduced as researcher, I ask whether I may use my Canon EOS 700d camera to take pictures and short videos or the Philips Voice Tracer to record audio. I'm always allowed to.*
>
> *Sometimes, I use the iPhone 4 I lent from a friend for pictures or audio recordings via Evernote, as I always have it with me for calls and Whatsapp. Without a local sim card and a data bundle to flexibly arrange meetings and plans, it would be an entirely different story. As it's an older phone, I always carry an extra charger not to run out of battery. I also packed a solar charger. No need for this device so far, though.*
>
> *My home cellphone, a Samsung Note 3, is here with me as well, only in use for whatsapping and skyping home when there is WiFi – and as working backup in case my hub device, a Samsung Note 10.1 2014 Edition tablet, is just charging or in my room. It's the first time I travel without laptop, and it works perfectly: Jotting down thoughts, managing tasks and recording some audio with ever-synchronized Evernote; reading and marking up documents with the Adobe and Microsoft Office apps; processing, editing and backing up photos with Google photos and Snapseed; publishing these lines with the WordPress app; backing up just about everything with Google Drive and the external 1 tb HD WD Passport in case there is no internet. The external hard drive came in a neat water-proof case.*
>
> *Yet, one thing is indispensable to make this workflow happen. You'll always need an USB OTG (on the go) adapter to make all of these friends talk to each other – to connect the camera, the audio recorder or the external hard drive to the tablet, as they don't come with a USB port. Also, as I neither have a micro memory card mounted in my camera that could be inserted directly into the tab, nor is any Android app able to detect my video files when I connect the cam, I had to buy a small external card reader. Now, my videos are safe as well."*
>
> *Dominik, notes from the field, published as a research blog, December 2015*

4.5.1.2 Positionality and research ethics

As the vignette above makes audible, the researcher is one of many components of the practice of doing research (albeit hopefully a crucial one). To organize oneself with and around technological companions is a task which does demand attention. I think it is crucial to accept that they are never neutral intermediaries, but active mediators of the experiences in the field into "raw" data and, much later, the final text of the study. At the same time, they offer specific affordances and limitations for what the fieldworker can or cannot do in terms of her relations to the field she is immersed in. As the vignette also tells, the materiality of the quite massive digital single-lens reflex camera was so obvious that it was the usual way to start relating with the people I met on the way: "Can I take pictures?" While I was always allowed to do so except two times (in a factory and when meeting the senator in the congress), more often than not its presence served the practitioners to point out items, tools or scenarios they would perceive as important for me to take note of ("take a picture of this…here, you've got to capture that, that's important…can you make a video? Make a video here…"). The camera thus enacted an unplanned "probes" research strategy in that it got people engaged with objects to actively create artifacts (Boehner, Gaver and Boucher 2012). This brings me to the broader point of *positioniality and research ethics*. Co-enacting research together with many other human and nonhuman components has, first, epistemological-methodological implications and, second, ethical implications at the same time. As for the former, "I" am inevitably part of my data insofar that I am my most important research tool, which makes a reflection necessary on what sort of tool the "I" is, what it does and how it relates to the field, especially when researching power in a field where I represent the coloniality of being and knowing in so many ways.

In general, I would describe my position in the field as multiliminal, as I was able to choose and switch between criss-crossing subject positions many times in a flexible way. To begin with, in order to apply a reflexive sense of my own positionality as a researcher and human being embedded in sociomaterial relations, I always asked myself in the field whether I would have been granted access to a given context, and whether what has been said, shown or done would have been said, shown or done if I would have been not male, not heterosexual, not an European, not a Swiss, not "white" with a red beard, not an academic, not affiliated with a Swiss university, not being fluent in Colombian Spanish (even the local dialect) almost to the level of a second mother tongue due to being married to a Colombian for several years, or not being fluent in Colombian modes of expressing, moving and touching. Put the other way around, all what happened in the fieldwork both in Switzerland and Colombia has to be qualified by the fact that I

represent the privileged side of colonial power in almost all aspects from race, class, cultural to gender relations – and, at the same time, by the fact that many practitioners perceived me as a *suizo colombianizado* or *latinizado*, that is, a colombianized or latinized Swiss. Positionality is not only a mental concept, but spans bodily categories, too: "What are the connections between your body, bio-graphically and geo-historically located in the colonial matrix of power, and the issues you investigate?[…] It is from the body, not the mind, that questions arise and answers are explored" (Mignolo 2011: xxiv). That is, I was able to perform a form of "privileged" liminality that I certainly made use of in research practice.

In terms of the general *access* to the research case and field, this privilege was already crucial as well. I consider it important for the reader to know that due to the fact of being married to a Colombian, I became part of the Latino migrant circles in Switzerland after moving to Bern from Buenos Aires (Argentina) in 2012.[24] Thus, the selling point of my later focal case, "la Tienda de José", was mentioned to us by a Latino friend in 2013, even before choosing the research field of coffee (but after embarking on the PhD journey in 2012). We used to go there every other month, and l had mentioned my research topic as it evolved into "coffee", as well as my interest in exploring his case, one day quite casually to José. From the first encounter on, José had been very eager to share his knowledge about coffee and to tell news and stories about the "proyecto". Although my personal relation to José has definitely never been close, the relation has been friendly and casual from the start. Therefore, it was necessary to explicitly *negotiate* the conditions of the cooperation upon kicking off the research. Early on, he saw me as an ally in his cause, as someone "who knows". This sometimes led to frictional re-negotiations and frustrations from his part ("I don't know whether you understand, for the path you have taken…"), but I usually managed to calm him down by explaining once more the objective of my project along the lines of how I presented it to him in the first place (see table 9 below for the jottings of the respective visit).

An affordance of his enthusiasm though was that he opened me the possibility to go to the Colombian side of his business, where I was received by family members and friends. In exchange, I offered him to take some high quality pictures from the farm I would bring him, and I delivered a couple of gifts to his family members in Colombia he had asked me to take with me. On site, I then quickly expanded my network of

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[24] In terms of my privileged access to the Latin American academic debates and concepts it is also important for the reader to know that she is a Social Anthropologist trained at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá.

This is how I present the project to him:

- Objective: Series of profound conversations and visits to get to know the project (The history, the network/web, the necessary activities. Life history of his coffee network. Key moments, key activities, key people and actors, key locations/places. How to hold everything together?)

- Access to field: Visit in Colombia in the fall, between Sept-Dec. Contacts. Is it a good time, good coffee season?

- Product: Book, title, doctorate. English, theoretical. Not very interesting. Other paths: Blog, article in Spanish.

I go through the points and he nods and repeats a few times "no hay problema", "perfecto", "claro" o "vale". When it comes to the part of the field visit - something he himself had offered before: "why don't you visit the finca to get to know it?" - he jumps in and says that fall would be the perfect time as they are harvesting coffee in October and November. I don't have to ask him for contacts, he offers to give me the contacts. We agree on discussing the details of the visit later on as soon as I know the specific travel time to Colombia. He understands that the main outcome will be a book in English that is directed to an academic audience, but he is eager to collaborate because he sees me as kind of a facilitator of his topics, or reference for his ideas, in Colombia (village and region) as well as in Switzerland (consumers).

Table 9: Jottings of negotiating access to the case

contacts by means of snowballing through recommendations, phone numbers and addresses, sampled according to perceived relevance and potential additional information and convenience (temporal and geographical coordination). The aim was to go beyond an "inner" or "well-disposed" circle of people in order to triangulate data on the project, the coffee business and especially ways of handling coffee (on field access, see also Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

I tried to be as aware as possible of my double privilege as a "Northern" human being and a "liminal" researcher along the way; a privilege that entails a responsibility for an ethical conduct that takes the dignity and voices of the humans and non-humans I met seriously, while at the same time "using" my privileges of multiple subject positions to access particular places I would have not been able to otherwise. One example is the interview with the Colombian senator, granted after a quick call with his secretary whose number I received because I was "the Swiss business school researcher". Another example is my access to male-only evening settings in the village because I was able to play along enactments of masculinity such as yelling, ranting and male bonding (while pulling myself out of the heavy alcohol consumption early enough by pretenting to have health problems, an argument only valid for a "cultivated" European who was attributed to be "wise" enough to think about such "weaknesses"). A third example is that I used a different categorization open to me to perform in embodied fashion to bond, that of

the "countryside" or "mountain boy" (reflecting my upbringing in rural Switzerland). Especially in farm and village contexts, this has served me well e.g. to connect to the pickers and workers who sometimes dropped a casual "usted que es del campo sabe" when explaining this or that ("You know this, you are from the countryside"). I just had to be cautious that they wouldn't omit important information because they thought of me too much as an insider. So, I would then usually shift my subject position again and chose to play the foreigner card a bit more than necessary and to ask again. In general, this card also allowed me to establish trust with women somewhat better than if I would have been a Colombian researcher because I was allowed to perform a more nuanced masculinity that was not quite part of the "local" gender dynamics.

The tension between being a responsible double-privileged researcher and the risk of speaking in patronizing ways about and for the marginal (Spivak 1987) is a paradox that I will never be able to resolve, as stepping out of my body is impossible. But paraphrasing Bröckling yet again, paradoxes perpetuate themselves as practical tasks (2016: 2). In that sense, the humble performance of research in an attitude of inclusiveness as in the outlined practical applications must suffice (if one does not want to refrain fully from engaging with the *other*, which is yet another purifying colonial project in its own sense. See also Rose 2016: 140). In that sense, a trilogy of thoughts from the decolonial studies encouraged me to perceive my research approach as feasible and "OK" enough. First, Ortega expects researchers of all types and descent to perform a "lovingly, knowingly ignorant" (2017: 513) attitude – not less, but also not more. Second, Escobar writes with respect to the Latin American decolonial theorizing that "to occupy the locus of enunciation crafted by the [Modernity/Coloniality] project […] one does not need to be a Latin American nor live in the continent… [it] becomes a perspective that can be practiced from many spaces" (Escobar 2010: 44). And third, Anzaldúa ironically notes that "whites" can follow the lead of the marginalized to decolonize their own privileged contexts, even when they usually think that it is them whites who are the historical subjects of world making:

> "We [the marginalized] need to allow whites to be our allies. Through our literature, arte, corridos, and folktales we must share our history with them so when they set up committees to help Big Mountain, Navajos or the Chicano farmworkers or los Nicaraguenses they won't turn people away because of their racial fears and ignorance. They will come to see that *they are not helping us but following our lead*." (Anzaldúa 1987: 108, emphasis is mine)

Taking the responsibility of privilege seriously also includes a stance of "listening" to marginal subjects rather than "giving voice" (Yehia 2006: 101, see also Spivak 1987 and Mignolo 2008). An example for this is that I never use the word "informant" for the people I met in the field. They are fellow humans with projects of the same ontological and epistemological qualities as mine. To practice this claim, during the fieldwork in Colombia, I established a Facebook group where I invited everyone to share information not only with me, but also with the others I met, an effort that admittedly faded out after a while due to a lack of moderation (www.facebook.com/groups/trazasdecafe. See Gobo 2012 on hypertext data). Taking decolonial research as seriously as possible, to conceive of practitioners as co-creators of knowledge and to engage in more practical research is common. Rose even goes as far as to write that as researchers, we "are not the architects or the origin of our voice. Inherent in the ambition to give a voice to the marginal, the vulnerable, and the excluded is a potential misconstruction of our status vis-à-vis these others. It is not us who give the other a voice. It is they who give us ours" (Rose 2016: 144). In that sense, I tried to accompany the "flat ontology" put forward by recent SPT approaches with a "flat epistemology" to acknowledge that subjects know and are knowledgeable at the same time (versus the colonial claim that the ones know and the others are to be known, as reflected e.g. in area studies; see chapter 2.3 and 2.4 on the coloniality of knowledge and not the least academic knowledge). For Maldonaldo-Torres,

> "[t]he Decolonial Turn is about making visible the invisible and about analyzing the mechanisms that produce such invisibility or distorted visibility in light of a large stock of ideas that must necessarily include the critical reflections of the 'invisible' people themselves. Indeed, one must *recognize their intellectual production as thinking – not only as culture or ideology*." (Maldonaldo-Torres 2010: 116, italics are mine)

In that sense, what is considered academic or everyday knowledge are for me not different knowledges, but rather modes of knowledge. To use an analogy, they are not different language systems, but different performances – as in dialects or "lenguajes". Shih and Lionnet agree with these claims. With explicit reference to Chican@ studies as performed by Anzaldúa, they put forward that they are often seen as not theoretically sophisticated because of their groundedness in the social and – crucially – because they lack "the universalizing impulse that has arguably pushed Theory [with a capital T] to the abyss of death" (Shih and Lionnet 2011: 13). For them, marginal theorizing in academic and, as I would expand the argument, "everyday" fields don't necessarily lack theoretical rigor, but are instead "focused on what they perceived to be more pressing

priorities, above and beyond the need to label their methods and critical productions 'theory'" (Shih and Lionnet 2011: 14).

Theory has a place, a body and an experience; so, many of the "theoretical" constructions that emerged in the field pertain neither to myself nor to another isolated individual, but to the joint practicing of reflection in a place such as José's coffee shop. Finally, in that vein, one does not only have access to this or that "data", but also to this or that "theory" due to biographical happenings. That is, data, theoretical approaches and analytical stances "belong" not only to myself as an individual, but to a variety of people and contexts and are therefore a collective endeavor, as I described in the acknowledgements (on the researcher as "co-author" with the field, see for example Cunliffe 2002). In terms of the politics of representing the "ownership" over affirmations and ideas voiced, somewhen along the way between the fieldwork and the analysis, I realized that I needed to anonymize all the names and some of the easily identifiable places to gain a more abstracted view on "what was happening". I am aware of the risk this poses – namely, invisibilizing key agency in the story – but it served the analytical process greatly and allowed me to tackle and "write" also the more controversial content in a more confident manner, not the least because changing names also means protecting sources. To anonymize people and places in the narrative therefore stands for a fragile balance between the compromise to the humans I met along the way, and the humans who eventually read these lines and expect an orderly crafted narrative. Ideally, some of the former become the latter and recognize themselves in the text (although due to the question of English as the academic lingua franca of our times, it might be difficult: a difficulty I plan to tackle in publishing a Spanish article and a practitioner-oriented blog with key takeaways for the non-academic public on my PhD website).

4.5.2 Data analysis: Iterative triangulation

In the last part, I detailed the methodology, the aims, techniques and attitudes I applied when doing fieldwork, and the stock of collected first order data. This part takes up the thread from there and shows what I have done with the stock – from organizing it to the various and iterative analytical steps.

As of the *data organization*, one of the key challenges of the ethnographic method is the sheer mass of generated data and the great diversity of different types of data. This inevitably demands some kind of a sorting system which ideally serves as the base for more advanced categorization techniques later (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Table 10 below shows a comprehensive overview of the data organization, including

references to the types and numbers of data as well as the translation steps from raw to second order data. These translations were also linguistic. While the research unfolded overwhelmingly in Spanish speaking contexts, the jottings were already a mix of Spanish, English, German and – where it was about specific feelings or very particular evocative concepts – my mother tongue Swiss German. The fieldnotes were then mainly written in English except important direct citations which remained in Spanish. Finally, the fieldnote tales were exclusively crafted in English with only key concepts left in Spanish (with longer segments relegated to footnote status), or other languages only appearing where the multilingual setting was considered important (such as in selected scenes in the coffee shop in Switzerland).

Table 10 (below) shows that the first order data constructed in the three instances of fieldwork has been translated into four sets of second order data I-IV: Three synthesized fieldwork tales of 30 to 46 pages each and a fourth set of collected memos, vignettes and documents with key data not present in other sets. As for the fourth set IV, crafting "reduced" accounts of other field instances was sufficient and more efficient, notably focusing on, first, the practices and tasks performed, second, on additional relevant claims in the direct statements of the practitioners, third, on my in-process memos and asides and, fourth, on carefully selected places, experiences and situations where additional thick descriptions had a clear added value in terms of theoretical, empirial or narrative value.

	Social reality: Living the transient flux of doings and sayings		
Fieldwork instance	*Fieldwork in Switzerland (Oct 2014 to Feb 2016)*	*Fieldwork in Colombia (Nov 2015 to Dec 2015)*	*Documentary fieldwork (Oct 2014 to Oct 2017)*
	Coffee shop "la Tienda de José" in major Swiss city	Diverse places of coffee handling (farm, factories, village squares etc.)	Online, offline at places of coffee handling and libraries in CH and COL
Data types collected	Experiental and observational data from participant observation, saved in textual and audiovisual form	Experiental and observational data from participant observation, saved in textual and audiovisual form	Textual and audiovisual data
	Textual data: 25 semi-structured interviews,	Textual data: 19 semi-structured interviews,	

	number of open conversations with owner (av. length 60-90 minutes)	number of open conversations, often "interviews with the double"	

First order data constructions	ca. 50 pages of jottings (notebook), 27 digital jotting documents and conversation protocols (evernote on mobile or tablet) 50 pictures, 2 audios → assembled into 18 fieldnotes (with in-process asides and comments integrated)	ca. 100 pages of jottings (notebook), 79 digital jotting documents and conversation protocols (evernote on mobile or tablet) 1595 pictures, 24 videos, 49 audios with 4 fully transcribed (including a 60p transcription of an audio track of a 3-hour scene) → assembled into 29 fieldnotes	On- and offline data from artifacts and documents (business records, norms and legislations, practitioner manuals, teaching and training materials, media articles, blogs, practitioner websites, data and statistics, brochures and visual communication, coffee bags and labels)

Second order data constructions	*SET I* Fieldnote tale of the coffee house visits (44 pages)	*SET II* Fieldnote tale of the first 3 days in the field (farm, village) (46 pages)	*SET III* Fieldnote tale of several processing places (30 pages)	*SET IV* Box of memos, vignettes and documents with key data not present in other sets

Iterative triangulation	Iterations of memoing (ca. 300 in-process, coding/meta, integrative memos) and analytical vignette writing, triangulating talk and observations and documentary sources, open inductive coding, category building instances in Nvivo and Evernote, evocative multi-vocal story writing (following especially Vannini 2015b, Gherardi 2013, Nicolini 2012, Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 2011, Gobo 2008).

PhD dissertation: Writing a linear text

Table 10: Analytical process: Translations from social reality to linear text in iterative triangulation

The lower half of table 10 makes visible that the core *analytical process* which I call *"iterative triangulation"* is the key connector between the data and the writing of the linear text of this study. Triangulation as a term stems from navigational techniques to

determine points in space with measurements from a series of different places. In social sciences, the objectivizing result of the "confirmed location" is less important (obviously so in post-positivist research) than the process of using multiple standpoints to study a phenomenon (Rothbauer 2008). This can mean multiple methods, multiple data sources and data dypes, or multiple researchers. While multi-sited ethnography offers tools of methodological triangulation for constructing data in the sense of multi-anchored observations (see last chapter), I use "iterative triangulation" here explicitly (and somewhat subversively) for the analytical process to underline the importance of repetitions, varying intensities of the occupation with the data or shifting genres to work on explicating the theoretical and empirical narrative. Analysis here was thus performed as an iterative movement between writings of different analytical depth under consideration of diverse types of experiential, observational, textual and audiovisual data. For Steyaert, "a performative mode of theorizing is a creative act of multiplication. Summarized in a slogan: to theorize (multiplicity), perform a series" (2012: 160). The analytical iterations were such a series. More specifically, the analytical process involved several instances of memoing and analytical vignette writing, open inductive coding, category building, triangulating talk and observations from the field with documentary sources, creating matrices, conceptual maps and contextual relationships, evocative multi-vocal story writing, reading all of the former (crucial! See Maxwell 2013: 105) – and back. The memoing included in-process, coding/meta, integrative, commentary asides, and the category building instances were accomplished with the qualitative analysis software NVivo as well as, in more preliminary stages, Evernote taggings. A productive detour that has not found its way into the final text, but served as a preliminary analysis of how activities on the coffee farm hang together was the use of social network analysis (see appendix). By means of the free software SocNetV, I mapped illustrative prototypes of a task network from the plant to washed coffee, focused on power and betweenness centrality, and put it in a dialogue with the narrative network method of Pentland and Feldman to visualize practice tasks (2007). However, the most important analytical device clearly remained vignette and fieldnote tale writing. The superior productivity of reading/writing iterations was an insight that was not planned or expected, but is very much in line with Maxwell's remark that "[u]nfortunately, most qualitative texts and published articles deal explicitly *only* with coding, treating this as the fundamental activity in analysis and giving the impression that coding is qualitative analysis" (2013: 105). He decidedly underlines that there is no cookbook for qualitative analysis, and strategies need to be adapted if necessary on the go to "feel" when data and theory start to dialogue and resonate together.

In terms of "feeling" a dialogue between data and practice theory in particular, I followed some of the recommendations by Gherardi (2013) and Nicolini (2012: especially chapter 9) in connecting practice ethnography with analyzing practice data, as I already outlined above. In knotting together data construction and data analysis, I experienced that the "zooming in" is more pertaining to being-in-the-field and cautious ethnographic tracing of situated enactments, while the "zooming out" tended to be accomplished in the analytical procedures applied after the fieldwork in close readings of the different textual formats. In this phase, a "sensible limit for the zooming out is the capacity for providing a convincing explanation of why the practicing is the way it is, and not otherwise, and to document how the local practice connects with non-local effects" (ibid.: 238). In particular, these were guiding questions in the analytical "zooming out" (adapted from Nicolini 2012: 230):

- What are the connections between the "here and now" and the "then and there" of other practices? How are practice associations held together? Where is colonial power in these holdings-together?

- How does the focal practice contribute to the "wider picture"? Where are the traces of reproduction, resistance, subversion or transcendence of colonial power?

- How "did we get to where we are"? What are the interests, projects, hopes and manoeuvres that led us to the current state of affairs? How could the world be otherwise?

The stance guiding my analytical work was to look for hidden and invisible corners in doings and sayings and to listen more carefully to what is actually done and said by all those who bring DT (and other forms of) coffee into being by moving around objects, knowledge and themselves: Not just by the politicians, scientists and CEO's and the artifacts they produce, but also by less heard practitioners, be they human or non-human.

During the analytical writing, a "thickening" tale of condensing concepts, empirical insights and narrative story elements emerged over time. Some of the writings do not appear in the final version of the text, but served as crucial stirrup holders for the argumentation to evolve and linearize. The logic of analytical reasoning I applied was abductive, meaning that I engaged in a constant dialogue between empirical observations and meaningful SPT-derived abstractions as connective tissue between these observations (as opposed to positivist deduction from theory to "reality" and purely exploratory inductive research). An example is that I tried to come close to members meanings applying categories practitioners themselves used, while searching for ways to read them from a practice view and, in latter stages, through the content lens

of decolonial research. In that sense, I complemented the multi-local and multi-vocal triangulation of multi-sited ethnography, and the triangulation between different types of data, with a triangulation of categories that emerged from *both* trans-situated academic/literature and situated practitioner/empirical fields. Along the way, I generated roughly 300 analytical memos in Evernote – and many more on paper – that helped me navigate this sometimes overwhelmingly confusing process.

More recommendations I considered for the analytical process were those offered by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011), Gobo (2008), LeCompte and Schensul (1999) on how to analyze ethnographic data, based on the former's cautious process of ethnographic fieldnote writing. I also oriented my analysis towards the remarks by Eisenhardt (1989), Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007), Golden-Biddle and Locke (2007), Mintzberg (2005) and Janesick (1994) on generating and writing theoretical storylines especially from qualitative single cases. Finally, I was inspired by what Rabbiosi and Vanolo 2017, Dowling, Lloyd and Suchet-Pearson 2017, Rose 2016 as well as Vannini 2015a and 2015b write about engaging in non-representational methodologies. The latter sources are also relevant for the data presentation as explicated in the next part, but their insights were especially crucial in moments where the analytical process was stuck.

Zooming out to consider what a PhD dissertation does on the most general level, table 6 finally also presents the overarching bracket of academic research: the translation from social reality, as it is lived in the transient flux of things, into a linear text. In the analytical techniques and procedures I described, I thus try to do justice to the elective affinity of the more assemblage- and posthumanly infused variants of social practice theory and decolonial thought to philosophies of movement. Deleuzian rhizomes, Bergsonian becoming, Butlerian performing, Bhabhian exile or Serresian noise are part of nomadologies rejecting the a-priori, celebrating the multiple, the 'sowohl-als-auch' (as-well-as) instead of the 'entweder-oder' (either-or). "Those who give up their place move and flow […] There is no movement except by stepping aside, giving up one's place. Thus, the series of cessions make process" (Serres 1995: 76-78, cit. in Steyaert 2012: 159). They all share a curious look at the emergent flux of things without engaging in "deeply-rooted Cartesian reflex[es]" (Steyaert 2007: 460). If, in lack of a steady subject, processes, relations and interactions are the primary attributes of reality, "what really exists are not things made but things in the making" (Nayak and Chia 2011: 282) which emerge as "relatively stable relational configurations that have evolved as actualities out of an infinite number of possibilities" (ibid.). Thus, Tsoukas and Chia urge to make sense of change not by conceptualizing it from the outside, but by perceiving it from within: "Dive back into the flux itself; […] turn your face toward

sensation; bring yourself in touch with the reality through *intuition* [emphasis in original]" (2002: 571). They differentiate two complementary forms of knowing – *perceptual* knowledge for emergence and change and *conceptual* knowledge for the "vision of the far and the scattered" (James 1909 in Tsoukas/Chia 2002: 572). Perceiving and conceiving are practices, and the theories that emerge are embodied activities themselves, unable to "represent these rhizomatic becomings" (Steyaert 2012: 156).

To conclude, with my approach to data construction and data analysis, I tried to cautiously moderate the dilemma that every analysis which results in a crafted, linear text abstracts from the "concreteness of the real" (or, from a process view, is actually not abstract enough as it freezes the flux of reality into overly concrete categories) (Nayak and Chia 2011: 296, see also Mintzberg 2005: 13); as well as to embrace not-knowing, uncertainty and doubt as creative instance in the research process (Locke, Golden-Biddle and Feldman 2008: 912). The next part details the data presentation in the "final" (yet always tentative) linearity of the present text.

4.5.3 Data presentation: Hopeful Noir

SPT as a theory method package (Nicolini 2012: 2016f) offers a theoretical vocabulary to trace colonial power within, between and across practices, and lends itself to be mobilized empirically through multi-sited ethnography. Nicolini suggests that the package includes a particular "literary genre" (2017b: 26) as well, and that "the ultimate test for practice theory is neither its coherence nor elegance but its capacity to create enlightening texts" (Nicolini 2017b: 24). What I have proposed is that the analytical movements of zooming in and out correspond to a certain extent to the phases of data construction and data analysis; bringing them together is then the key task of data presentation. In this sense, the way of presenting the data in a convincing narrative is the last of three basic movements to perform SPT in empirical practice:

> "[first] zooming in on the accomplishments of practice, [second] zooming out to discern their relationships in space and time and [third] using the above devices to produce diffracting machinations that enrich our understanding through thick textual renditions of mundane practices." (Nicolini 2017b: 26).

As my iterative writing experimentations unfolded, I finally chose a literary genre to bring the synchroneous development of my research project and the Direct Trade case to life. I propose to call it "Hopeful Noir". "Noir" commonly describes a genre of movies where uprooted actors (often performing a precarious masculinity) trace connections across time and space, search a stable ground to understand their place in the world they are thrown in, and encounter multiple truths as the plot unfolds (Conard 2009). A first

wave of films such as "The Maltese Falcon" (1941) or "Chinatown" (1974) – and hommages like "LA Confidential" (1997) or "Fargo" (1996) – revolved mostly around shady crime cases where the boundaries between the "good" and the "bad", "them" and "us" are dissolved. Then, a second Neo-Noir wave dealt with questions of reality and identity more explicitly. Movies such as "Blade Runner" (1982), "12 Monkeys" (1995), "The Matrix" (1999) or "The Dark Night" (2008) celebrate dystopian "cyber punk" moods and stand for worlds where helplessness and hopefulness in the face of larger-than-life forces intersect in mesmerizing meditations as well as frenzy motions across multiplied timespaces. I believe that such a style in ethnographic writing serves to affectively generate a "sense of hope" (Escobar 2008: 284) for decolonial worlds to emerge in marginal entrepreneurial activities. In enabling voices from the colonized twilight zones to speak, it can take imperial designs as well as marginal agencies equally seriously and corresponds to the conceptual and methodological sympathies of SPT and decolonial studies. After all, they facilitate a methodology of "tracing" motions, relations and multiplications across time and space, and they are certainly open to be enacted in "experimental" (Steyaert 2012) ways to recognize the social agency of the researcher. What is more, the research item of coffee itself has, as a liminal drink, "Noir" qualities (see chapter 4.1.1).

In short, crafting a "Hopeful Noir" narrative, I do not only hope to recognize diverse agencies, but also to acknowledge my "reliance on that agency" (Rose 2016: 138) as a researcher. This is a key onto-epistemological decision bringing about a certain methodological bold- or wildness that is related to more-than-representative ethnography (e.g. Rabbiosi and Vanolo 2017, Vannini 2015a and b, Rose 2016, Dowling, Lloyd and Suchet-Pearson 2017). It is a framework in which researchers emphasize "the momentary, viscious, spirited, embodied, more-than-human, precognitive and non discursive dimensions of spatially and temporally lived experience, [calling] for a fight against 'methodological timidity', for the disruption of research habits and for the experimentation with novel expressions of creativity" (Rabbiosi and Vanolo 2017: 270). As Rose puts it,

> "Rather than emphasizing academic sageness or retrospective insight, the text resolutely focuses on the present, and the issues, anxieties, and problems the present consistently presents. In providing this perspective, the writers illustrate how the happenstance that shapes the ethnographic encounter is its greatest asset; how the demands that the situation gives rise to are precisely the dynamics that allow thought to emerge. The story they tell, the reader senses, is not one they are fashioning but one they are being fashioned by. The result is a behind-the-scenes

documentary of the event of thought – the situations that give rise to thinking." (Rose 2016: 133)

Very much in that sense, I position the empirical story as the origin of my analytical thinking rather than its evidence. Following Rose, I apply a narrative strategy which step by step traces and illuminates the encounters and events "that allowed a certain trajectory of thought to transpire" (Rose 2016: 138). While the sense of the argument develops in and through the "happenstance of the ethnographic encounter", it is obvious that the "I" of the researcher cannot be written out of the text. "I" am inevitably part of my data insofar that I am my most important research tool. In chapter 4.5.1.2 (positionality and research ethics), I already reflected upon what sort of tool the "I" is and what it does in dialogue with the field. As Holliday writes, "the voice and person of the researcher as writer not only become a major ingredient of the written study, but have to be evident for the meaning to become clear" (Holliday 2007: 122). Finally, in the larger contrast to quantitative studies, in qualitative work the voice of the researcher carries the reader in much more essential ways. "Unlike quantitative work that can carry its meaning in its tables and summaries", Richardson and St Pierre argue, "qualitative work carries its meaning in its entire text […] its meaning is in the reading" (2005: 959-60).

It is important to note, though, that I do not go as far as some more-than-representational ethnographies in that I do not engage, first, in an impressionistic or biographical style of writing characterizing autoethnography and second, in presenting fictional vignettes (Rabbiosi and Vanolo 2017). While it is already quite much to ask (or impossible: Spivak 1987) that the voices of marginal subjects *speak for themselves* in an academic text, fictional vignettes "definitely cannot 'speak for' the subjects and spaces represented, and neither 'speak of' them" (Rabbiosi and Vanolo 2017: 274). What I do, however, is synthesizing the empirical happenings in some places in the text, for example, in presenting events as if they would have happened together in a scene that actually unfolded in different scenes. These instances aim at foregrounding some relevant aspects of the social worlds to enable the analytical movement to unfold in more lucid ways. Whenever I do so, I make it explicit.

Though, in order to "flirt" (Vannini 2015a: 319) with reality instead of representing it, I do apply a number of other more-than-representational strategies Dowling, Lloyd and Suchet-Pearson present in their highly useful overview (2016). Apart from multimodal writing as described in the analytical part, I engage in the move of going beyond the written traces of text by two core means. I included a QR code track, running in parallel, that allows to reader to experience "moving traces" by use of a smartphone QR code

scanner. They add other sensorial dimensions to the reading experience and weave an evolving tissue around the materiality of the book. In addition, I include pictures from the field, or as I call them here evoking the filigrane and provisional "lines" (Ingold 2015) of the pencil, "traces from the field". Very much according to a Noir style, I present them in a low-fi, high contrast style along the way. They introduce every chapter, accompanied by a caption for the reader to connect with the content ahead. The pencil-style they are rendered in with the help of the free filter of funny.photo.to aims at showing the motion and transience of selected moments and practices without representing them "objectively" – and without focusing on the human beings involved in the performance too much.[25] As a research ethical affordance, it also makes it possible to maintain the anonymity of the involved persons while still showing their activities. Finally, they have also an important function for the politics of representation. As the possibility of marginal subjects to speak for themselves in academic text is always at least moderated by the inevitable presence of the researcher as the chief arranger of the emergent narrative, the "traces from the field" insert silences and pauses into the text. For Trinh T Minh-ha (1989, cit. in Calás and Smircich 1999: 992), images, prose, poetry and other beyond-text devices perform "interstices of silence" that have an affinity with Pérez' claim that the decolonial subject begins its presencing when silences are becoming heard (1999: 5. See also Bigo 2018 for the generative potential of silence).

In addition, the traces from the field offer somewhat of a parallel "hidden track", a storyline of what happens along the practice associations from the bush to the cup. Through this track, it becomes possible to read the pictures and their captions as a way to explore the connections between sites, people and practices in a first fast reading before "diving into" the topic. This reading, now, can also be non-linear, anchored more in the transient interest of the reader-watcher when browsing through the pages; an affordance I would like to underline in the context of the question of textual linearity. In general, when writing up a practice theoretical analysis of empirical processes in a linear fashion, a key challenge is the relational ontology that leans towards seeing causality as a circular co-creation process. The question that lies in the responsibility of my authorship is basically to do justice to the complexity of empirical worlds while making the text accessible to readers. In the words of Ann Langley,

> "Research that concludes simply that 'everything is complex' […] is limited in its appeal. […] And this is where the central challenge lies: moving from a shapeless

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[25] I later realized that my colleague Björn Müller used a similar way, and a similar reasoning, to present edited stills from his videographic material in his PhD dissertation "Organizational Creativity as Taste-Making. Towards a Pragmatics of Contemporary Dance Theater Production" (2015).

data spaghetti toward some kind of theoretical understanding that does not betray the richness, dynamism, and complexity of the data but that is understandable and useful to others." (Langley 1999: 694)

In my view, there lies hope in the fact that the linearity of a text is a question of craftsmanship and not ontology. In clearer terms, the question is: Which linearity does the text follow? A chronological linearity of clock time ("as it happened")? A geographical linearity of cartesian space? A linearity of analytical argumentation, e.g. from the abstract to the concrete? Part 4.4 has already given answers to the architecture and structure of the text, but what I would like to maintain here is that some of the vignettes, citations and images occur repeatedly in the text. The textual linearity, thus, slices through the material so that some instances appear more than once, because they sound differently depending on the rhythm, intensity and color of the context, and they therefore *are* different things. In addition, in so doing, I also tried to approach the narrative style of spiraling accounts I encountered time and again in the field.

Trace 6: "La Tienda de José", the place from where the Direct Trade network is organized

"I fired Francisco" – the empirical story begins at the chronological end and at the destination of the Direct Trade coffee journey. In this chapter, set as a chamber play in a Swiss coffee shop, we follow the initiator and coordinator of the practice associations, marginal entrepreneur José, and trace how the business is organized in the concerted accomplishments of everyday practice. By analyzing a thick ethnographic tale of a focal scene, it becomes apparent that entrepreneurial association and control work unfolds in parallel, and often compete, with operational practice: Clients want to be served, mugs want to be rinsed. Through ongoing moderation of mundane struggles along the way, three marginal subject positions arise. I claim that the way they are performed – and performed together – can tell us much about the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) and the coloniality of power.

5 First making coffee, then worlds: Multiple marginality in entrepreneurial practice

5.1 Introduction: Tracing neocolonial power across practice

With respect to the trias of analytical possibilities to trace positioning in practice developed in chapter 4.3, I embark on the empirical journey by tracing neocolonial positioning struggles *across* practice. By choosing to follow a human being as embodying intersections of practices (Reckwitz 2002: 60), I decide to offer an entry into the result chapters that allows for a comprehensive view on the Direct Trade (DT) project's aspirations; even more so because the human being we follow in this chapter is the initiator and coordinator of the practice associations, marginal entrepreneur José. How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in situated entrepreneurial practice? By exploring this analytical research question in a "situational" (Nicolini 2017b: 27) focus on practice intersections, what can be said about the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) and the coloniality of power?

As Hui lays out, intersections can bring cross-fertilizations – such as skills or understandings developed in one practice that are applied in a different one – and challenges – such as performances competing for the time and space of practitioners to enact them (2017: 60). By analyzing a thick ethnographic tale of a focal scene at the coffee shop in Switzerland, the "center of calculation" (Latour 1987) of the business, it becomes apparent that entrepreneurial practice unfolds in parallel, and often compete, with operational practice. Through ongoing moderation of mundane struggles along the way, three marginal subject positions are identified: A marginal position as migrant in the host society of Switzerland, a marginal position in Colombian producer settings as the distant emigrant boss, and a marginal position as a precarious entrepreneur vis-à-vis large (coffee) markets. Finally, it is analyzed how these subject positions intersect in multiple marginality, and what this implies for the performance of colonial power.

5.2   Setting the scene

"I fired Francisco". José looks at me, attentively waiting for a reaction. It is an afternoon in early February 2016, and it's my second time in his coffee shop in Switzerland after the weeks in the field in Colombia. I already know that the import of the whole November harvest has been "lost because of the lack in quality", as he has told me in early January. "You have been there when it failed in Chinchiná, yes or no? I wouldn't buy it as *Don Miguel* specialty coffee to import to Switzerland, it was just not good enough. And yes, it did meet the formal standards and could be exported, but at a lower price, roasted at a different place, and losing the traceability. Basically as commodity coffee", he explained back then. Today, my idea is to use the visit as a closing session of the fieldwork phase that started sixteen months ago, but the revelation that he fired the farm administrator only raises more questions.

As always in the preceding visits, a warm and coffee-laden air has received me a couple of minutes before. This time, it saves me from the Siberian breeze of a day that is cold even for Swiss standards. "Entering *La Tienda de José* is somehow like leaving Switzerland", I once jotted down after a visit. It was a simplistic claim that tried to capture the marked difference of the outside and inside moods. José's café lays somewhat hidden in a building entrance between a Spanish 'specialty' restaurant and a 'typical' Swiss restaurant. The latter marks the end of the pedestrian zone which extends well into the medieval center of this major Swiss city. People pass by constantly, but its closeness to the train station and the windy and shadowy location mean that they seldom stop around here. Below the covered sidewalk roof, a big shop window reads "La Tienda de José. 100% Café Colombiano" in tall green letters. A few posted copies of newspaper articles in Spanish and German underline that the coffee shop has caused some attention in Switzerland and Colombia. A few months ago, José added big posters with the "Don Miguel" design. At the door, a round sign says "small world financial services", bouncing every time the door opens.

As one enters the shop, one already stands in the middle of the tiny customer area, delineated by a wooden built-in bench along the window, two small round tables with a chair and a counter splitting the room in two lengthy halves. A cashier and a small Coca Cola fridge sit on top of it, hiding José's office space: Some folders and portfolios, a few piles of print-outs and copies, a tiny (and very slow, as I know from many instances of José complaining) netbook. The back wall shelves are usually dominated by black and silver *Don Miguel* bags of 0.5 and 1kg. Today, only a few are left. Below the shelves, a massive silver metallic coffee machine covers half of the working space, completed by a red electric coffee mill reminding me of a mixer, a sink and a board for the cups. A

few shelves go around the corner, holding bags of *Pereira* coffee, the brand he imports for a few years now from the Colombian company that roasts his own coffee.

Joaquín Hoyos Castaño, in Switzerland always presenting himself as José, is a 58-year old Colombian civil engineer with short, dark hair and piercing gaze, married to Marianne, s Swiss, and father of a 6-year old kid named Miguel. For those who know Colombia, his thick accent, the often tense facial expressions and the fact that he owns a small shop in a foreign city makes him a typical representative of the *Paisa* community. Originally, the *Paisa* were made up of ethnically homogeneous settler families of European descent who were given the task and right to colonize central Colombia since the mid-1800s, coming from Antioquia as *Colones Antioqueños* into the *Viejo Caldas,* a region corresponding to today's three *eje cafetero* (coffee axis) provinces of Caldas, Risaralda and Quindío. He is an expressive man of many words and likes to share his views with the clients in his shop. Often in apron, sneakers and jeans, he then stands in front of the counter and explains vividly why his coffee is different than the "origin-less" commodity blends they sell in the supermarkets – let alone the "coffee" they get at the Nespresso shop over the street or at Starbucks down the pedestrian zone.

The *Pereira* and *Don Miguel* bags on the shelves stand for separate business phases. José's entrepreneurial activities are organized around three sub-projects which were launched at different times: Establishing an import business from Colombia to Switzerland (project A), opening a coffee shop in Switzerland (project B) and launching a coffee farm in Colombia (project C). They are all oriented towards making a world in which the coffee producers, in this case Colombian farmers and intermediaries, receive a fair share of the added value by means of the two "classic" DT proposals (chapter 4.1): establish a direct connection between the coffee producer and the coffee consumer (or at least the coffee buyer) – and to maintain the information about each bean's geographical origin, and its associated particular taste profile. As José would often explain to me, the starting point of project A was the "infamous coffee chain" where the profit made stayed with the processing industries – mainly roasting – in the North, leaving the producer countries in the South with a marginal share of the total global revenue of the coffee market only. It was in the conditions of his upbringing where the core of the idea for his project was born, as this segment of the "origin story" of the project shows:

He starts his story with his grandmother. He talks with much affection about her. "La abuela sabía como, tenía claridad, más que los padres" ("the grandmother knew how, she had clarity, more than the parents"). He grew up in a family of 'colones antioqueños'. The Colombian government granted the family a tenancy and a few mules. A third of land was dedicated to sugar cane production (panela), a third was pastureland, and a third was the coffee plantation. Already back then, the income was steadily declining, he says. From the 1950s on, the father was an 'arriero' [person who transports goods using pack animals]. When José was a kid, there was big poverty. "I saw my uncle very poor, and I did not know why: The prices were the same, the conditions were the same, nobody knew why." It was the government, he says, the government impoverished them because the state managed everything in a poor way. [...] He started to study, he started to read and to develop the background of the project: Coffee, land, income, trade, having a shop, sell. Slowly, the project developed in his head. As he got involved with the "microeconomics and macroeconomics of coffee", he realized that the "people do not know". This was the fundamental problem. [...] Therefore, he developed what he calls the "formula to save the coffee chain". He is going to introduce me to the formula, he says.

Dominik, noting down the origin story of the project

As you cannot change the system as a "small guy", you need to find a niche to bypass the dominant logics of the market if you want to have impact and make your visions a reality. José's vision was to redistribute some of the value created in the industry back to Colombia. The niche José identified was to import coffee that was already roasted, instead of importing the usual green coffee to be refined in Switzerland. To find such a producer who would be willing – and able – to export roasted whole-bean coffee to Switzerland, he activated his personal networks and remembered an old school friend who was managing a roasting company in the city of Pereira. It worked, but bypassing the Colombian Coffee Growers Federation (FNC) was frictional, and the objective of a "direct contact between producers and consumers" – a core idea of the "formula" – was not easy to sell initially.[26]

In 2007, José decided to open a coffee shop in the old town of the Swiss city where he lived in order to build a customer base and enhance the visibility (project B). While the remittance line he added steadily attracted more (migrant) customers, the coffee sales stayed quite low. In part, this had to do with a lack of transparency – "origin Colombia" was not enough traceability for the specialty-coffee crowd in Switzerland he aimed at.

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[26] Abaunza Osorio, Arango Aramburo and Olaya Morales (2013: 50f) offer an interesting systemic analysis of diverse factors influencing the businesses of small scale coffee enterprises.

Thus, in order to expand traceability and control over the value chain, project C took form: To engage in coffee production directly. He bought a somewhat defunct farm from his uncle Pablo, *Finca Manantial*, and started to remodel it according to his ideas. This was relatively easy to start through the Swiss money and the family ties, but it resulted to be the most complex project to manage, starting with employing a farm administrator, enrolling his uncle as supervisor and occasional driver, find facilitators and testers, associate with processing venues that would offer their service for little money – the drying machine and especially the huller – dissociate the farm production (and the administrator's family) from the usual ways especially selling at the cooperative and convince the roaster to apply a special roast to his beans.

In Fall 2014, when I started the regular visits at the coffee shop, their first own harvest was just about to be picked, processed and successfully shipped to Switzerland. As of early 2015, the roasted *Don Miguel* specialty coffee on the shelves, grown at the *Manantial* farm and refined completely on the Colombian side of the business, marked that the project had entered a whole new phase. But months later, in January 2016, the second shipment failed to deliver high quality, which was a big problem in the light of the already invested 30,000 Swiss Francs (30,000 USD). José was right: During my fieldwork in Colombia back in November 2015, I had been on site when the beans aspiring to become *Don Miguel* failed to pass the decisive quality tests. Farm administrator Francisco was also there. He appeared nervous and afraid. He already knew what was coming.

5.3 Tracing everyday struggles in entrepreneurial practice

5.3.1 Entrepreneurial practice in context: A focal scene

Before the surprising news about firing Francisco, my visit on that cold February day in 2016 starts off as usual, although *La Tienda de José* is busier than on most other occasions. I enter, José greets me with a strong handshake, and I take a seat to wait for my turn. Four clients are already in the shop: a middle-aged woman with dark hair and an expensive-looking purse, a man with a blonde moustache in his late forties, and two blonde boys. José is just wrapping up the sale with the woman. They exchange some wishes in Spanish, she leaves the shop, and he says to the Swiss man in a German-Spanish mix "Entschuldige, Rudolf, war Maria, mi supervisora del dinero directo" ("Sorry, Rudolf, this was Maria, the supervisor of my remittance services"). Rudolf nods a barely verbalized "no worries" in Swiss German, pays his cup of coffee, tells his boys to get ready, they answer in

grammatically incorrect Spanish – the kind often spoken by children of mixed marriages or second-generation Latino-Swiss – and they leave as well. Meanwhile, a short woman in her fifties with dyed blonde hair has entered the cafe. After a quick wait, she gives José a warm welcome, calling him "Josécito". The cordial nickname indicates that they know each other. She wants to send money, but as she did not bring an I.D. ("I never carry my residence permit", she says in a confident tone), José asks her to come back with her I.D. on Friday. The shop is always closed on Thursday, when a picture of José with his son Miguel on the door reads "Daddy José is looking after Miguel". "Maybe the exchange rate improves until then", he concludes, and they say goodbye.

It's busy today. The next remittance clients are two roughly 20-year old Latina women who have entered in the meantime. "¿Cuánto tiempo?" ("How long?"), they ask. "¿Para Colombia?" (For Colombia?") – "Chile." – "Tres días habiles." ("Three work days.") – "No, entonces no." ("No, then not.") Some goodbye words, and José prepares me a Cappuccino before he dives into some urgent import business paperwork sitting behind the counter. His cellphone buzzes several times, indicating incoming messages. "What is it now with the cattle", he says more to himself while answering, apparently referring to some problems at *Finca Manantial* that need his coaching or his orders. "I can't multiply myself", he mumbles. After some ten minutes of focused clerk tasks and answering messages, José sighs "These things take so much time". Likely, he refers to the business organization paperwork, but could also mean the remittance services or the Whatsapp communication with the Colombian side, or all of these tasks together. He stands up and starts to clean the surfaces. Suddenly, he tells me that his Swiss-Colombian nephew Tommy is "out of the project". I am surprised. He had been in, voluntarily, only for a few months to set up new marketing tools (especially a website) and new sales processes (he is a trained salesman). "He's still a bit young, but he's motivated", José would usually say, but today, he just concludes "he did not have a clear direction" ("no tenia dirección"). And then, the big revelation comes: After a short pause, José looks at me and says: "And, …I fired Francisco".

I immediately feel uneasy. Later that day, I would note down: "I know that José always had his issues with Francisco and that it likely had to do with the lack of quality of the last harvest, but nevertheless I ask myself whether me being close to the different players on both sides had something to do with it. Of course not, but...I feel a bit in-between all these fractions and frictions." José continues. "He is just not a leader, he does not understand the socio-cultural." He stops. "They don't understand the socio-cultural." He refers to "the Colombians" and then goes to corporate coffee players as well who "don't

understand" his project. He mentions that a buyer from the Swiss roaster Meier Café visited his shop and assesses the possibility of doing business with them:

> "They are interested in my project [...] My wife says we should process our Don Miguel there. They know that my quality is very good [...] The problem is: That is not what I want.[...] I could roast the coffee here [in Switzerland] and not there [in Colombia] and make millions. Mhm, yes! Without worrying and everything. And these guys in Colombia [the roasting partners there], no, no...but this is not what I want. Few understand. [...] They ask me: Would you cooperate with Nestlé? This is what they ask me. I say 'yes', there is no problem if they accept it my way, if they understand what I want. It is not easy to understand." – José, on potential cooperations with established companies

He rants about the Colombian counterparts and their work mentality, the potential partners and the coffee market in general, and then starts to complain about the clients "here". He tells the story of a Swiss lady who recently entered his cafe, asking him surprised for how long he had been here, and that she had never seen the shop. He abruptly stops talking. He leaps and takes a step forward. "For seven years! Seven!", he shouts apparently insulted. "How the hell she has never seen me. I am here, and on Facebook and Twitter, and on the Blog, and in the *Berner Zeitung* newspaper." He points at the pinned article at the big window. "*Qué pasa.* What's the problem. And she is never going to come back. I know it!" He talks about the last year in "dispair" with 20,000 Francs lost and about the people "here" who wouldn't understand. He also rejects the claim that the location might be too hidden for more people to see it. "It's the people." Then, he lets me sum up his proposal for value redistribution probably to check whether at least I understand, and I say: "Direct export of refined coffee, diversification of the farm, building communities and regions that are resilient to external factors like market prices, political games or climatic shifts." He appears satisfied. "Yes! And what does a global market with a local caficulture?", he asks rhetorically. I tell the story of the departmental "Caldas" origin label I learned about in two meetings with provincial government staff in Manizales. Now, he dives into the details of his plans to certify the sugarcane production he is currently overseeing at *Manantial* with origin or sustainability labels to export it as a specialty good. The frustration is gone, he is in full fabulating mood again and passes me some documents on origin certification to read.

Today's second Swiss client after Rudolf enters the shop and buys a bag of *Don Miguel*, asking which one is the strong one. In German, José points to the black bags with the symbol of the flying bird. The man feels and smells the bag, looks satisfied and buys it. This year, I note that more Swiss clients buy bags of coffee than in 2015 and do not only stop to buy a coffee to go. Another client enters, a big man in his forties. They have met

before, as I can guess from the confident way they greet each other. He is Russian and wants to send money to Moscow, but the deal fails because of some new country regulations. In English, José recommends some other places. The Russian says thanks, but no thanks and that he only does business with people he knows, that's just less risky. He leaves the shop. José goes on with cleaning the surfaces. He remains silent for a moment and now visibly prepares to close, shutting down the coffee machine. Without me asking, he comes back to the current project status.

"I fired Francisco because he just does not understand the socio-cultural", he repeats. We rest in silence for a bit, he continues to tidy up. He then continues: "My project there is over". He continues as the owner of *Finca Manantial*, but he won't invest more money and does not guarantee to buy the output. "Now, it is much better. I now really focus on quality. This is the core of the issue, without it, it is not possible." He says that he can't import lower-quality coffee. "Well", he adds, "formally and technically it is possible, but it is not my orientation. I do not invest all of this into producing a mass coffee." He clarifies that before the commercialization, the socio-cultural context is important. I ask him about the current situation at *Manantial*. Do they have a new administrator? Yes, answers José. The "new Francisco" works out better, "you will see". No more guarantees, he says: "Supreme quality or out" ("Excelso o fuera"). Another one who could have had the job said to José "no, I can't do this, I don't know whether I can deliver". "This is what I need. Honesty", he underlines. "What I don't need is the other thing, dishonesty. Yes, yes, yes all the time and it goes into the other direction. No, no."

He puts on his red jacket and apologizes to me. He has to close as he has to go to the post office to send the remittance money of his clients. "Sometimes it's three times a day, and I always wait for twenty minutes there". He finds it takes too much effort, with the security and all the trust it needs, and says he can't deal with it anymore ("no puedo más con esto"). We step outside, he locks the door and proposes that I accompany him a bit on the way. José says that this remittance business is so time consuming, especially because of the Brazilian company "small world" he works with. "These Brazilians are somewhat arrogant. It's the same like Western Union, only smaller, he says. Appartently, they don't give credits and it works on a cash-only basis, which means that the money sent always has to be brought to the post office in cash to make the upfront payment. He gets a small fee, but he says that "this is not a good business for me anymore", but then again, that it attracts some additional customers to his business and that it has been very important for the project to have an own channel to send money. "I always pay, and I always pay on time." He refers to his coffee business now. "This is also why they [the Colombians] think that here [in Switzerland] the money flows like

out of a fountain. What makes it possible is my reputation as "Swiss" when dealing with them…and the support of my wife, obviously." He rolls his eyes and closes his jacket up to the top. We shake hands and he disappears between a mobile phone shop and a Turkish Kebab stand into a busy passage that has the mood of an arctic wind channel today.

5.3.2 Struggling across practice: A flow chart of the focal scene

The evocative narration of the scene is a as-it-happened protocol of a 60-minute visit at *La Tienda de José*. I shortened the original thick fieldnote to avoid unnecessary repetitions. The scene is perfectly representative for the daily performances at the coffee shop in terms of visible practices, interactions with clients and topics covered. While many other field tales would show a similar dynamics, this particular instance is central because it connects the project phases before and after the failed harvest in November 2015 and shows some of the measures already taken by project owner José, most notably the dismissal of farm administrator Francisco. I only fused it with minor episodes from two other visits, notably the Meier Café comment and the episode with the remittance client who never carries her residence permit. The moderate modifications are important to include two otherwise missing points which will be discussed in this chapter together with others: The relation to potential business partners and the construction of the café as a (especially Latin American) migrant place.

After translating the cognitive and affective observations of doings and sayings into written jottings, then into a thick fieldnote and finally into the presented narration, I now add another instance of translation to facilitate the analysis of the scene. Table 11 (next page) shows the most relevant activities in a flow chart that graphically maps the process described in thick ethnographic text. On the most general level, the flow chart breaks down the happenings of 60 minutes into operational practice (handling the coffee shop) and entrepreneurial practice to govern the coffee business, further differentiating the latter into "control" and "association work". Control work consists of managerial activities to make sure that the operational work along the value chain is performed according to the general and practical understandings of the project (see chapter 4.3.3). Association work is dedicated to build associations or break associations (or, in other words, dissociations) between practices within the project as well as to adjacent activities. Put in different ways, association work and control work are key entrepreneurial activities to govern the manifold of practices associated to bring the DT coffee of *Don Miguel* into being (and whose conditions of possibility they aim to define). Here, they are put in the context of the all the performances happening within the same

scene of concerted accomplishment. The activities are further distinguished by the practice site (Schatzki 2002: 63, Escobar 2008: 287, see chapter 4.5.1) they enact: the import business (project A, blue), the coffee sales (project B, brown), and the coffee production (project C, green). In addition, practices performing non-coffee associations, here especially the remittance business (black), are shown as well, and the color white stands for a residual category that can't be assigned to either of the above.

What is more, the chart shows parallel (thick lines) and sequential enactments (thin lines) and pulls out five instances where the human being embodying practice intersections is struggling throughout the various activities he enacts; namely, struggles across the coffee sites A, B and C, and struggles across the focal DT coffee association and adjacent associations, respectively (red flashes and circles in the foreground – not to be interpreted with the underlying colors the columns). It is important to note that the analytical logic here does not focus on struggles "between" them, in the sense of tensions between different logics and demands, but on the "across", because their frictional intersections are embodied by the entrepreneur and his "across" movements from one practice (site and association) to another. All of these aspects are analyzed below to shed light on the "actual" conditions in which entrepreneurial world making takes place here.
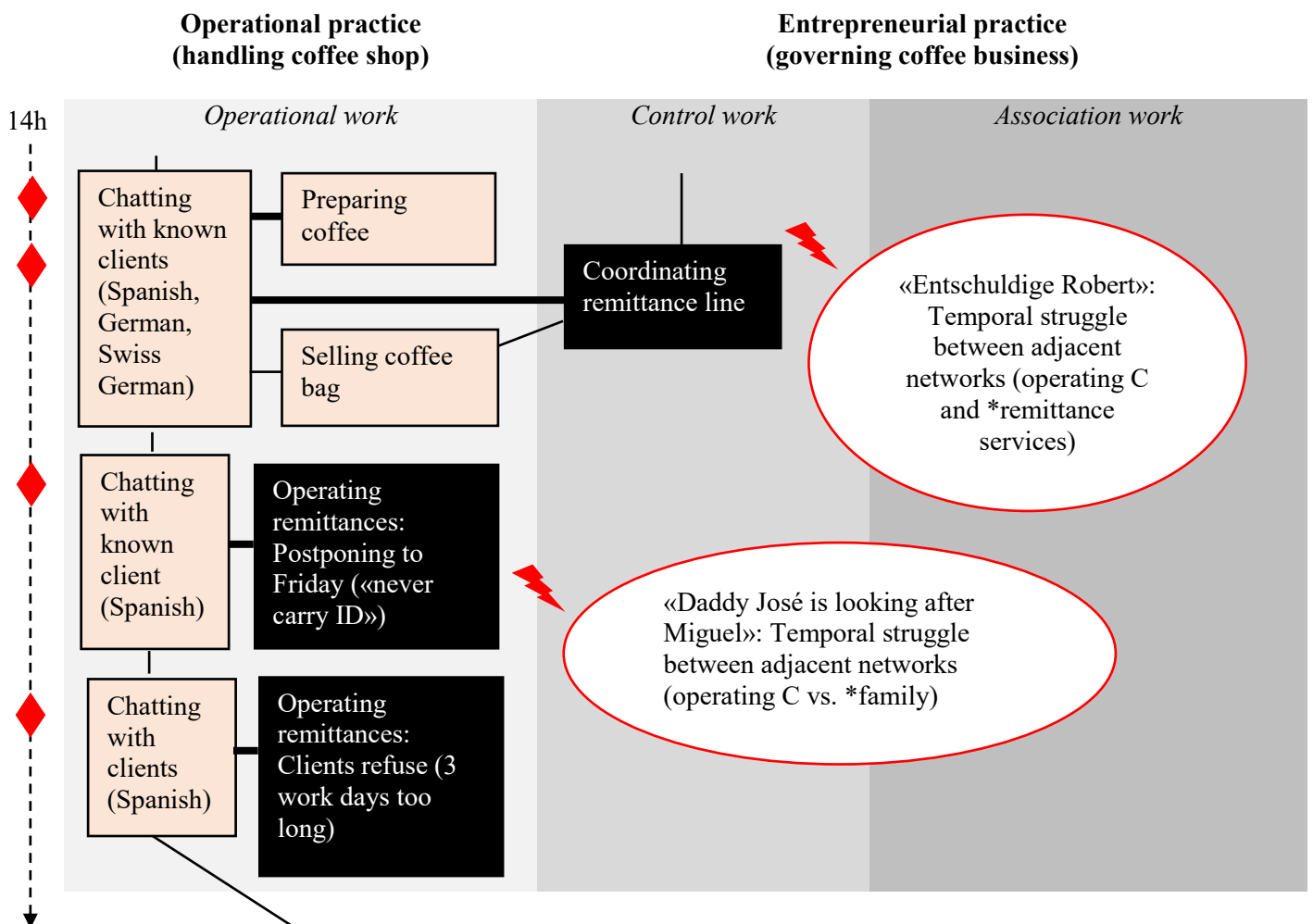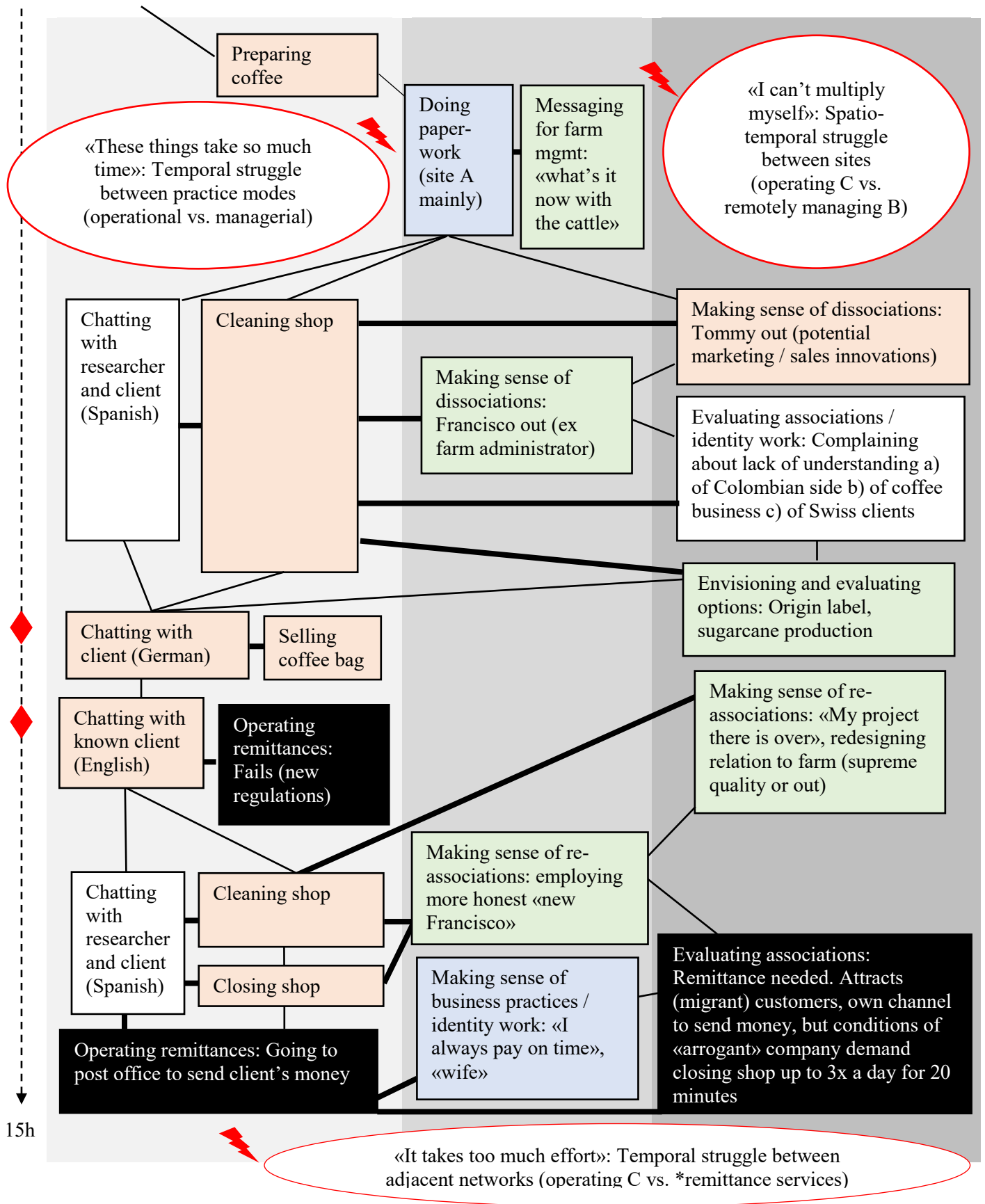
Table 11: Entrepreneurial practices in context: Breaking down 60 minutes of concerted accomplishments at the coffee shop.

Operational, control and association work are differentiated by sub-project they enact, parallel (thick) and sequential enactment (thin line), showing emergent struggles (red circles with flashes). Red diamonds indicate clients entering. Sub-projects, color codes:

A import   B sales   C prod.   *non-coffee

5.3.3 Analyzing the struggles: Entrepreneuring as marginal practice

5.3.3.1 Practices of coffee vs. non-coffee

In terms of the general pattern of practices (colors of the fields), the table visually displays what the scene narrated in thick, processual ways before. The main instances driving the plot are clients entering the shop. They trigger *operational* activities, namely serving/selling coffee or activating the remittance line to send money abroad. Whereas the former is mainly the case for Swiss clients, the latter is clearly a migrant activity. Remittances are the funds sent by emigrants or expatriates to their country of origin, mostly to friends and family. Although sealing the deal often fails, be it due to a lacking I.D., the fact that three working days to send money are perceived as too long or because of altered regulations, the remittance line attracts clients who often stay longer in the shop than the coffee clients (and come back regularly), chatting with José about the latest news of family and friends and sharing experiences as a migrant in Switzerland. Two examples here are the woman with the dyed hair ("Josécito") and Robert, the man apparently married to a Latin American woman with whom he has two bilingual sons. Thus, the coffee clients are not the main characters in this scene (and literally all the other scenes I was able to observe): They mostly enter, get their cup or bag of coffee, pay and leave. Operating the remittance line is more frequent, triggers more (multilingual) discussions with customers, and demands more coordination attention than operational activities related to serving coffee. The most dramatic instance is, of course, the end of the scene when José has to close the shop to make the remittance payments for his clients at the post office, something he has to do "up to three times a day for twenty minutes", he claims. In that sense, within the operational practices at the "center of calculation" of the coffee practice association, non-coffee related operational tasks are more time consuming than, and often take precedence to, coffee related tasks.

5.3.3.2 Operational practice vs. entrepreneurial practice (control and association work)

If we now compare the operational activities at the coffee shop with the activities identified as entrepreneurial practice (the columns), we can clearly see that handling the coffee shop takes precedence. José's work day is patterned by when clients enter, why they come (Swiss or migrants looking for coffee or remittance services) and how long they stay. He has to organize the control and association work around them and squeeze them in-between customer visits which define the rhythm of the scene. Whenever clients enter and need to be served José turns from the project owner into a "simple" agent to

handle coffee: He prepares and serves coffee, assists in purchasing decisions, receives the money, prepares the change and, as less intensive but most time consuming activity, he cleans the shop, tidying the surfaces, washing the cups and taking care of the equipment. One particular point related to the possibility of multitasking is interesting here. While he often performs operational and associative activities at the same time, the control mode seems to capture more focused attention.

Two instances illustrate this claim: First, when he talks to María, the supervisor of the remittance line, to clear a few administrative points on their list, he is not able to talk to Robert and the kids, which is why he apologizes to them ("Entschuldige Robert"). This is also the only instance where entrepreneurial practice takes precedence before operating practice, arguably because they are triggered by a visit – and, actually, also tied to operations, as José sells María a bag of coffee in the end. Second, when diving into paperwork and replying to the messages from the farm, he sits behind the counter for ten minutes in a concentrated way (being lucky enough not to have a client in the meantime). At the same time, the chats with the clients, and obviously the conversations with me, are prime instances to make sense of his entrepreneurial doings – and to envision possibilities of association to drive his project further. Although I have to be aware of a methodological artifact (I haven't seen all the entrepreneurial activities he does e.g. at night when the shop is closed), my confident impression is that the associative side of his business, namely to evaluate and establish new connections to partners or sets of activities (or to dissociate from them) are enacted mainly in discursive mode.

Based on observations and explicit questions targeted to find out about organizational practices, I claim that making and breaking associations emerge as activities of envisioning, evaluating and – at the same time – identity work ("Who am I? What is the project? What is the farm?"), enacted in fabulations and frustrations from case to case, quite easy to trigger or deviate by hinting topics or entering clients. Here, another important point is that the discursive nature makes them appear somewhat fuzzy and oriented towards the "virtual" world of possibility, but also allows them to be performed in parallel to the operational practices. In short, operational practice mostly take precedence before entrepreneurial practice, but while association work can be performed in parallel to the operations, control tasks need too much attention and are most squeezed in-between them.

5.3.3.3 Entrepreneuring as marginal practice

Third, in an attempt to bring the two preceding parts together, let us consider the white circles delineated by red lines, indicating five emerging struggles between practices. Three instances manifest struggles between the DT coffee project and adjacent practice associations, namely the remittance services, the family duties as a dad, and organizing cattle as well as sugarcane at the farm. The latter two cases enact tensions within the coffee project, namely between practices (operating vs. entrepreneuring) and sites of practices (serving vs. farming). In general, practices enacting one or the other association compete for practitioners, in this case, José, for attention and time. It has been shown above that operating practices overwhelmingly gain precedence over entrepreneurial practices due to their capacity to set the rhythms and their high urgency. You cannot make clients wait while doing a pile of paperwork.

Yet, practices do not only compete for the time of the practitioners (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 19), as three of the five instances show: They also compete for the embodied presence of José. In two cases, he has no other option than closing the shop because he cannot be there physically due to operating the remittances or the family duties. To send the client's remittance money at the post office, he shuts down the shop up to three times a day for twenty minutes, he claims. On Thursday, he closes the shop altogether to take care of his son Miguel. In one case, managing the farm in Colombia, he has no option than to be physically absent there and to remote control the activities of growing coffee, harvesting coffee, refining coffee – and, actually more often than coffee-related tasks, governing farm development issues related to cattle, pastureland, sugarcane, the old sugarcane processing plant at the farm, farm infrastructure such as road access or electricity et cetera (see chapter 7).

In that sense, marginal entrepreneuring emerges as a practice which often does not have a proper place – be it a dedicated material environment where practitioners could interact in embodied co-presence or be it a place in the agendas of the practitioners. Such a "lack of a place from where to act" corresponds with "marginal agency" as performed in lives where precarious socio-economic situations and issues of subjectivity entangle (Millar 2014, see chapter 2.2). Formulated in practice-based terms and decentering human agency in it, we can determine that entrepreneurial association and control work seems to be marginal in the everyday accomplishments. As they are shown in the narrated scene and on the flow chart, they re-emerge as peripheral and almost precarious activities sequeezed in-between mundane operational practices such as of coffee serving, walking to the post office or chatting to fellow migrants.

Table 12 below offers a second way to visualize the scene to make the points made in the precedent paragraph more explicit. It crosses the practiced work (operating / controlling / associating) with the sites of practice (importing / selling / producing) which, together, make up the coffee association in focus. I ordered the practices and sites according to their "expected marginality". The rating is based on a straightforward assessment of the mutual dependence of the sites and practices: Selling is more marginal than importing and producing because the latter creates the input for the former and many activities that enact the latter have to be performed by higher charges in the chain of command. As for the practices, it is assumed that entrepreneurial work trumps operational work in terms of the positional power implied to perform it (Watson 2017). As an additional specification, based on the observations in the coffee shop described above, association work is expected to be more marginal because it mainly performs discursive practice components and is often performed in parallel to operational activities, therefore it lacks a material anchoring or is anchored around the materiality of other activities. To give practical examples for the combinations, instances from the focal scene are plotted accordingly.

It becomes clearly visible that the entrepreneural tasks to govern the activities on the farm and along the import network are rarely operational and – building upon what has just been elaborated – have to be organized around the operations; operations not only of the coffee shop, but notably also of the remittance line. In the flow chart in table 11 above, this is made visible by the colors of the boxes; the blue and green boxes (standing for import and farming projects) sit in the middle or towards the right-hand side. The main point here is that there emerges a positive correlation between the expected marginality of a practice or practice site, and the capacity of an activity to push others away in concerted accomplishments. It is shown that the practice with the highest effective marginality – operating the coffee shop – entails the most "powerful" activities in the everyday as they gain temporal precedence over other activities, set the rhythm of the scene and have a high urgency to deliver, namely to deliver a service to the customers in the here and now. On the other hand, the practices with the most "authoritative" aspirations across time and space, managing the network and controlling the handling, are regularly pushed to temporal and spatial margins (in-between clients, at night, behind the counter). This is exemplified by the practice of remote managing the farm in Colombia via Whatsapp, happening in an unplanned and often reactive fashion in-between client contacts and in parallel to paperwork.

	Expected marginality	**Highest marginality** ⟷		**Lowest marginality**
	Practices ⟍ Sites	Operational work (op. practice)	Association work (entrep. practice)	Control work (entrep. practice)
Highest marginality	B. Selling (serving, cleaning…)	- Preparing coffee - Selling coffee in-house, to go or in bags - Cleaning the shop - Operating remittance line (non-coffee) - *Chatting with customers*	- *Envisioning and evaluating options: New marketing and sales practices (Tommy)* - *Evaluating associations: Pros/cons remittance services (non-coffee)* - *Evaluating associations / identity work: Swiss clients*	- Coordinating remittance line (supervisor visits)
	A. Importing (buying, partnering, refining…)		- *Evaluating associations / identity work: Partners on Colombian side* - *Envisioning and evaluating options / identity work: Potential cooperations e.g. with Swiss roaster*	- Doing paperwork
Lowest marginality	C. Producing (owning, employing, producing…)		- *Envisioning and evaluating options / identity work: Origin label, sugarcane production*	- Managing the farm by Whatsapp messages (here: cattle) - *Making sense of hiring and firing practices (Francisco)*

Speech bubble 1: **Effective: Least marginal** activities in the **everyday**. Temporal precedence, set rhythm, high urgency

Speech bubble 2: **Effective: Most marginal** activities in the **everyday**. Enacted in-between, pushed to temporal and spatial margins

Table 12: Crossing expected and effective marginality of practices.
With exemplifying instances from the focal scene (in italics if given practice is mainly enacted discursively)

To sum up, as the analysis of the focal scene at the coffee shop shows, entrepreneurial practice in context of concerted everyday accomplishments emerges often in and through marginal activities, using what is at hand to deal with the needs and challenges evolving within the business and in its environment. These specific challenges play out, first, in struggles between non-coffee related tasks and coffee related tasks. Here the non-coffee projects (remittance and family) trump the coffee-related activities. What is more, even governing the farm often focuses on allied non-coffee topics such as cattle and sugarcane. Second, there are struggles between operational practices and entrepreneurial practices where the former trump the latter, taking temporal precedence, setting the rhythm and having a particular urgency pushing association and control work (the two parts of entrepreneurial practice) to temporal and spatial margins.

5.4   Tracing marginal subject positioning in entrepreneurial practice

Based on the analysis of entrepreneurial practice in the context of a concerted accomplishment at the "center of calculation", I claim that they often involve marginal activities that enact materials at hand as they try to deal with the needs and challenges evolving within the business and in its environment. Two particular types of struggle have been identified which create tensions in everyday entrepreneurial practice: Struggles that emerge in the intersections across coffee-and non coffee activities, and those across diverse practice modes and sites of the coffee project itself. The next analytical step now consists in asking what these struggles do regarding to subject positioning and ultimately colonial power.

As a departure point, José is often aware of the fact that ideally, the flow of activities would be organized "better", for examply by renting an office and employing someone to sell coffee at his shop at the same time. Such a disconnect of entrepreneuring and operating activities in time and space has been discussed at several visits, and he generally hinted to a lack of resources. And yet, with respect to adjacent networks which apparently make operating the coffee business – let alone governing it – harder, the question remains: Why is it apparently not possible for him to disconnect from such "side projects", regularly making the coffee project "paying" the price for competing practices in time and space? In order to understand the relations between the coffee activities and adjacent associations, and the complicated flow of entrepreneuring and handling practices which causes inneffieciencies and transactions costs, a practice take goes beyond narrowly defined orientations of the entrepreneur and straightforward explanations such as "lack of resources". I claim that it is important to unbox what intersecting practices do: How they act together, how they possibly ally and lock-in

while creating frictions at the site of intersection which is, in the analytical focus here, the human being as performer of diverse practices.

Departing from the analysis of a focal scene, it has become apparent that the everyday work of a marginal entrepreneur like José unfolds in parallel, and often struggling, enactments of diverse types of work. In moderating these struggles, José enacts subject positions and trajectories for his project – and for himself, as the business is so profoundly personalized and identified entirely through him. Thus, I claim that by performing frictional practices and moderating them constantly, the entrepreneur enacts subject positioning. Through the practices enacted, human and non-human actors are positioned as subjects, as so-and-so-defined actors with so-and-so-defined potentials to act (to affect).

In that vein, I now explore how subject positions emerge from the practices performed. Three robust marginal subject positions emerged in my open coding of all observations and conversations from the visits at *La Tienda de José*: A marginal position as migrant in the host society of Switzerland, a marginal position of precarious entrepreneur vis-à-vis large (coffee) markets, and a marginal position in Colombian producer settings as the distant emigrant boss. One by one, they are analyzed in the next parts and then brought together regarding the implications for the performance of coloniality. Table 13 provides a first overview over the subject positions, departing from the instances of friction in the focal scene that have been analyzed in terms of their friction types and dynamics above.

Instance from focal scene	Struggle between…	Dynamics of struggle	Performed subject position(s)
"Entschuldige Robert": Coordinating the remittance line with María vs. chatting with Robert and the bilingual boys	coffee network and adjacent network (remittance)	Organizing remittances gains temporal precedence over operating coffee project (coffee project "pays" price for competing practices)	Marginal to Swiss society (migrant), to coffee market (precarious entrepreneur balancing various business activities)
"Daddy José is looking after Miguel": On Thursdays, the shop is closed tue to family duties	coffee network and adjacent network (family)	Operating family duties gains temporal precedence over coffee project **and** demands physical absence at shop (coffee project "pays")	Marginal to coffee market (precarious entrepreneur balancing private and business duties)
"It takes too much effort": Closing shop for 20 minutes to pay client's	coffee network and adjacent	Operating remittances gains temporal precedence over coffee project **and** demands	Marginal to Swiss society (migrant), to coffee market (precarious

remittance money at post office	network (remittance)	moving in space (coffee project "pays")	entrepreneur balancing various business activities)
"These things take so much time": Doing paperwork squeezed in-between serving clients	practice modes within coffee network (operating vs. entrepreneuring)	*Operating* café gains temporal precedence over *entre-preneuring* coffee network (entrepreneuring "pays")	Marginal to Colombian production setting (the boss abroad)
"I can't multiply myself": Remote managing the farm (here: cattle and sugarcane) through Whatsapp during doing paperwork	practice sites within network (serving and farming)	Operating *café* gains temporal precedence over governing and operating *farm **and*** demands physical absence at farm (farming "pays")	Marginal to coffee market (precarious entrepreneur balancing various business roles), marginal to Colombian production setting (the boss aborad)

Table 13: Instances of struggle from focal scene and marginal subject position(s) enacted

5.4.1 Migrant entrepreneur at margins of consumer market in Switzerland

In many instances during my visits at José's coffee shop, practices and sites of the coffee network intersected in ways that brought a contrast between the project – and the entrepreneur – with the Swiss majority society into being. On the most general level, considering the fact that it is a DT project that has to communicate, if not commodify, an explicit origin as a unique selling proposition, this is not particularly surprising. As trace 7 (below) shows, the whole communicative identity of the shop towards the walk-in customers and pedestrians is based on narrating the story of "José, the Colombian, bringing a 'super' product to the Swiss cusomers". In so doing, a marginal (place-based) homogenous collective and personal identity is constructed, commodified and sold. This exotization ("drinking the other") performs the DT promises very much along the lines of orientalist othering as implied in border doing. As the description of the place, as well as the narration of my own impression at the visits, has shown above, the coffee shop is explictly created to produce a place that feels "somehow like leaving Switzerland" (Dominik, notes from the field). The messages towards the outside of the shop, but also the interior design (colors, pictures, images) described in detail in chapter 5.2 and 5.3.1 are enacting a a Colombian aesthetics rather than the usual coffee shops in Switzerland. Typically, the latter are either oriented to the Italian-style espresso store with tiny tables and tinier cups, or the US/Scandinavian model with huge working tables and giant cups.

Trace 7: The marginal subject position as migrant entrepreneur becomes commodified as unique selling proposition

As table 13 above makes explicit, the subject position of a marginal migrant entrepreneur is performed particularly in *frictions between the coffee network and the adjacent network* of the remittance service. In instance 1, "Entschuldige Robert", and in instance 3, "It takes too much effort", the practices oriented to handle the remittance services trump the coffee operations – and the remittance service as such is a prime case for a daily activity that sharply separates migrant from non-migrant populations. Adapting the words of Mathews and Alba Vega, remittances are a prime case for "the globalization as it is experienced by the majority of the world's inhabitants" (Mathews and Alba Vega 2015: 27, translation is mine).[27] As the World Bank (2018) calculates for 2016, remittances account for 0.72% of the world's GDP, making it a key economic factor for example in Nepal and Haiti, where they account for a third of the annual GDP.

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[27] At the same time, many citizens of the Global North might not be particularly aware of the importance of these peer-to-peer money flows. As a small non-representative exercise during my visits, I took the liberty to ask some Swiss customers whether they knew what remittance services were. It was not uncommon for the them not to know about it, and all of them underestimated the economic importance for the receiving countries greatly.

The first Latin American example here is Honduras (18% of the GDP), while in Colombia, remittances sent back by emigrants account for 1.7% of the GDP.[28] But why maintain the associations to the "side project" of the remittances which is costly for the coffee business, because the activities performing the latter are regularly sidelined even at the very center of the project? When particularly asked about the remittance service in the focal scene, José argues that it is needed to attract customers and to own the channel to send money, but that the conditions of the remittance company are not good. What is more, the fact that he has to leave the shop up to three times a day for twenty minutes (as he claims) is probably the strongest collision of different practice associations I have experienced at his coffee shop. Yet still, closing the remittance line seems not to be a valid option.

In addition to these arguments that José brought forward, I claim that there is a reason which makes the remittance service a central force in bringing the coffee place into being. It is likely that it is key to deal with the marginality of the subject position as migrant entrepreneur, making his difficult work much more rewarding through building up an in-group of fellow (mostly Latin American) migrants. In a context of frequent interactions with "his" peers, the binary border to "these people from here" (the Swiss customers) who don't come often enough to the shop might become more marked, but also attributed in a more complicit in-group way throughout the day. For example, the scene with the woman who never carries her residence permit and calls him "Josécito" exemplifies a complicity and a shared take on migrant marginality. What is more, she must know that she can only send money with an I.D., and yet she doesn't carry one. This indicates as well that she passes to have a chat in the first place and only thinks about sending money in the second place. Based on this instance, as well as on dozens of short conversations with migrant customers at the shop, passing by José's store without necessarily having a purpose in mind apart from chatting is a regular part of the *vuelta* (round) migrants do in the city.

Other cases more clearly oriented towards remittance operations in the scene include the women from Chile and the Russian man. The confident tone applied in the conversations marks a telling overlap of trans-local financial transactions with personal, almost intimate relations between particular others, exemplified by the Russian's claim that he does "only business with whom I know". In a similar vein, José as the organizer of the remittance service works with the Brazilian company "Small World" and receives their

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[28] One particular instance in Colombia was telling for the importance of the remittances in the Colombian cafetero region. Neira, a small town between the city of Manizales and *Finca Manantial*, is nicknamed "Neira York" in the region because most families have relatives in the US, and their remittances make the town a quite wealthy place.

representative María once in a while in his shop. In terms of the restrictive conditions, they represent the "arrogant" universal aspirations of the global financial system in the "same" way Western Union does, but they are "smaller", thus, apparently more (trust?)worthy to work with. Here, the marginal subjects enact forms of 'global markets' that are often unheard and invisible for analyses of 'large' power formations. In so doing, they subvert colonial power ironically to deal with the particular struggles at the in between spaces of ambiguity (border crossing). Another interesting aspect differentiating the coffee and remittance operations is language. While almost all coffee customers are served in German – with the exeption of few Latin American clients who also drink a cup while having a chat and sending the remittances – the remittance interactions are in Spanish or, seldom, in English if the customers are from Asia, Africa or, in the scene, from Russia. An interesting in-between case is the Rudolf instance, a scene where translanguaging is enacted, a mode of using diverse sets of languages in parallel without translating them (Pennycook 2017, Blackledge and Creese 2017).

It is important to underline that the evolving construction of a marginal migrant in-group and a dominant Swiss out-group is performed in practices, and the practices with representatives of both constructions differ in terms of objective, frequency, duration, tone, confidence and language. Most coffee customers are friendly and interested, but there are moments of condescendence that often are an outcome of a well-meant exoticization rather than an open enactment of xenophobia and North Western superiority (both colonial othering patterns). For many migrants I talked to in Switzerland, this "liberal patronizing" (personal communication) is part of their shared experience and perceived as very typical for "tolerant" North Western "Citizens of the World". For example, when I once entered the store a Swiss couple was sitting at the small table and drinking café crème, having two bags of coffee beans on their table – a *Pereira* and José's *Don Miguel*. The couple was reading the labels and discussing whether they should buy a bag for home. They asked José for a recommendation, and he explained them that *Don Miguel* came from his family farm. In a whispering tone, they were unsure about the quality of the product and the production process ("…I don't know…he doesn't have a label…"), did doubt the processing ("…refined in Colombia, mhm…" – "oh…mhm…") and finally decided to buy a bag of *Pereira*, ultimately because it was a little cheaper. That day, I jotted down on my phone how they took the decision:

> *"She: But we're here already, so I think we might have to buy. [both look at José] He: I think he deserves the support for his efforts. She: Yes, it's important to encourage them. // According to the slightly pitiful tone of the couple take their decision with a low voice, it seems a little bit that they buy the bag more out of*

> *'lets support this guy with a donation and we're here now, so there's no way out' logic than out of a 'I want to buy good coffee logic'"*. Dominik, notes from the field

Thus, the reason for their purchase was likely charity with the "poor migrant", driven by a guilty conscience. José pretended not to hear nor understand, but the way he pinched his eyes and pouted his lips indicated that he very well did. The fact that they finally bought a bag out of charity to "encourage *them*" (To aspire to be "normal" members of society? A clear instance of orientalist othering) did not please him at all. They noted this, I guess, as they blushed at paying and very quickly left the shop. As he usually would to process collisions between subject positions or instances of colonial othering, he started to clean the surfaces of the store and remained silent for a minute or two. It is true that many *actually* encouraging interactions with customers who cared about José's stories of the product, the beans and the farm rather than their own guilt of being born in the North West, have taken place when I was there. In fact, they have become more frequent over the months, and more people have started to buy his coffee in bags instead of just quickly catching a coffee to go. This indicates that José did slowly succeed to build up a good reputation with his coffee, and that a group of quality- and story-interested consumers were increasingly inclined to buy his coffee. Yet, complicated clients like the condescending couple have been common throughout my visits as well. This indicates how the practice of selling coffee, in particular selling coffee to members of the majority society, is able to gradually inscribe marginalities into bodies, minds and souls through their constant reproduction.

The self-othering performance of "us, the othered" versus "them, the privileged" unfolds in selling practices and builds upon the commodification of a exotic collective and personal identity ("Café de Colombia, "La Tienda de José, the Colombian"). The difference of remittance and coffee sales practices makes differences (for example, in who owns the world in which they take place) tangible in everyday enactments. It contributes to building up colonial in-groups and out-groups, but also to creating an inner place – the coffee shop, representing Non-Switzerland – and an outer space – the street, representing Switzerland. The thin border between the two is the large shop window. It has been described how it is used as a tool to communicate the inside to the outside through messages, logos and newspaper articles, but José's place-making has stayed in a precarious visibility even after seven years of running the shop. One particular episode in the focal scene fleshes out this point, as José angrily tells the story of the Swiss lady asking surprised for how long he has been "here" and that she had never seen the shop.

José's frustration once more indicates the struggles in positioning processes entailed in running a migrant business in a host society. The citation shows that he is "here" and somehow "not here" at the same time, as he is invisible to "the people here" who "don't understand" – not because they would be stupid, but because his voice is not heard, or they basically don't care about listening. What is more, he often ranted about the lack of support from the "official side" in making his message audible, and his presence visible, in Switzerland: At one visit, he stated that "I sell Colombia, and the ambassador has not even visited my shop once." Episodes like this have been repeated various times, pointing at the difficult work it is to enroll the customers – and powerful allies and referees to reach them – into a change project such as a novel DT network managed by a migrant. In that sense, José faced a problem of access as he performs the position of a committed mediator from outside who knows about coffee and quality as opposed to most consumers who might be "good people" but misled by the big companies, or simply do not care or know about quality.

5.4.2 Clever emigrant at margins of local context in Colombia

The daily practices at the coffee shop perform subject positionings where the coffee entrepreneur and his remittance clients emerge as marginal migrants who complicitely share their embodied experiences with discrimination, migration and (well- or bad-meant) condescendence. The way their collective identity as migrants is perfomed depends on the context, here, the relation to Switzerland and the relation to Swiss customers in everyday selling practice. A crucial experience they share in this context is being in-between: They are not Colombians or Chileans or Russians living in Switzerland, but Colombian and Swiss, Chileans and Swiss, Russians and Swiss. Many of the clients in the shop live in Switzerland for years if not decades and are citizens of two countries. Yet, the common denominator of many migrants is not a "as-well-as", but rather a "neither-nor" experience of being marginal not only in the place they pass most of their lives in the herenow, but also in the place they or their families have moved out of for a myriad of potential reasons. As subject positions are contextual performances, the in-between is expressed through the enactment of different positions in different practices. In our case, the *struggle between the practice of operating the coffee shop and the entrepreneurial practice* precisely creates such a "neither-nor" position, an indication for border crossing. The operational activities compete with entrepreneurial control and association work, overwhelmingly directed to José's fellow countrywomen and -men in Colombia. Interestingly, in the context of these practices, his doings and sayings indicate that this precisely is not what they are (anymore): Fellow countrywomen and -men.

There are clear indications in the focal scene that for the entrepreneurial practice to succeed, José has to play the card of "the Swiss" in the interactions with the Colombian side: For example, through enacting business practices in a punctual, clear, honest and trustworthy manner. Once, he says "I always pay, and I always pay on time", referring to the farm, but also to the intermediaries in the refining and processing industry (huller, roaster, transport). The problem, he states, is that the Colombians think that "*here*" the money "flows like out of a fountain", but his reputation as Swiss gives him a standing and voice in Colombia he would not have otherwise. The geographical and social distance to his partners and employees in Colombia makes him a marginal player in the production settings there, as he can't access many dynamics and generally distrusts that they say the truth ("I need honesty […] "What I don't need is the other thing, dishonesty. Yes, yes, yes all the time and it goes into the other direction. No, no.").

As in this scene, José rants about Colombian work ethics and blind consumerism at almost every visit, and compares them with Switzerland where "people work hard and can be trusted". The following vignette is directly taken from a agitated monologue at one visit. After recounting the most recent complications with the Pereira coffee company who would owe him money, because they hadn't sent the full coffee order and he had already paid, he raved in April 2015:

> "*This is Colombia, I have it up here. To apologize, to say 'I'm sorry, it was a mistake, we won't do it again, we will do better', they never do it! [now very angry] They don't get it. Like this, confidence and good relations are impossible. That's the problem with Colombians, they are a bunch of unreliables.*" José, on Colombians

Whereas the marginality as a migrant in Switzerland was mainly being invisible and having no voice to convince the customers (problem of access), the marginality in Colombia is related to a problem of comprehension. Through the practices of performing his DT network, José positions himself as the clever idealist from outside, whose empancipative ideas are not comprehended by the ignorant population back in his region. They are "unreliable", they never apologize and look for scapegoats if something goes wrong. He makes sense of his time consuming coaching practices via Whatsapp and Skype – he calls his administrator sometimes up to two hours a day and regularly interacts via Whatsapp with his subordinates (chapter 7) – in a discourse reminiscent of a parent, asking the Colombians to express "I'm sorry, it was a mistake, we won't do it again, we will do better". In so doing, he enacts one of the most fundamental dynamics of colonial othering, painting the Global South as "underdeveloped" children who are too nasty, too self-interested and too immature to grow up (Escobar 2012). Such border

doing also transpires through the practices that relate him to farm administrator Francisco:

"I will not fire Francisco. He can only fire himself. One chooses to go to hell or heaven. This is a decision made by him, and Francisco has to decide. You know me. I am serious and a hard worker. I can support from here, but they have to smarten up there." José, on the responsibility of his farm administrator for the quality of the work

As part of his own investment, José trains himself to then pass on the knowledge to Francisco and all the others: He reads many books (trace 8) and regularly assists time-consuming distance trainings on development and entrepreneurship topics at night. An one occasion, uncle Pablo – the former farm owner who me will meet in the next chapters – wanted to move to another village and retreat from the project. José answered to him on the phone that "there is social responsibility for everybody, this is not an option. I have not slept in one month, but I invest this in the people in the village, in the family. It is not because of me, it is because of you!" Through his ambivalent position as a privileged, yet marginal outsider in Colombia, a bigger part of his entrepreneurial activities is dedicated to mentor and motivate others, bringing them (back) on line by enrolling moral and ethical arguments. As he shares with his counterparts that he is constantly on the brink of burn-out, he puts pressure on them to "do better". He deeply feels a moral obligation to "develop Colombia", but

"...it needs time, money and energy to do it. And I don't have none of the three (Se necesita tiempo, dinero y energía para hacerlo, y no tengo nada de los tres)." José, expressing exhaustion

Still, his distance from the actual everyday enactments throughout the network may cause problems in compliance, in understanding and add transaction costs, or may even be used strategically by "dishonest" actors. Yet, it seems to be possible to use partial visibilities and invisibilities for the sake of the project. The way José does this embodies the struggles between the subject positions performed in operational and entrepreneurial practice:

"They don't see me. They think that I do everything like a director in a big office building […] look at me, I am a civil engineer and I am here, cleaning mugs and the floor, putting on the apron. In Sneakers. Well, they don't see me…I can't change things by telephone, but they do respect me there. I don't have much money, but…" José, reflecting on his position in-between Colombia and Switzerland

Trace 8: From knowledge to impact?

From top to bottom: Talking to José about coffee growing expertise; A picture of uncle Pablo with a mule serves as a template for the Don Miguel design; newspaper articles show the resonance of the project in Switzerland ("coffee from the own plantation") and Colombia ("resounding success in Switzerland").

For the business, thus, the marginal position as the outsider who – in neocolonial frames – had the chance to be enlightened through his migration to the North can be made functional. Playing the card as "Swiss" helps José to put the vision of socio-cultural change in Colombia, triggered by model endeavours such as *Finca Manantial*, into practice – and generate outreach: For example, as an privileged outsider, he was able to

make his story the title story of a large Colombian newspaper (titled "*pisan duro en Suiza*", meaning "resounding success in Switzerland", trace 8). One day, he claims that there have been more than 200 comments and reactions, all "positive and filled with pride." Even the vice president of the coffee federation of the region reacted, a father uses the project story in his church services now, and uncle Pablo cried, thanking José for all he did for him. "Before, he was sick and broke. Now, there is income again, and he is very proud." As it seems along the trajectory of the case, the entrepreneurial project has benefitted from this outsider postion in Colombia, also because it's less risky to engage in a change project from the outside, he claims:

> "*I could not have done this in Colombia. They find you! But now, I am not there, they don't see me, they can't find me. I am Swiss, all of a sudden!*"*José, on using the invisibility of his outsider position to instill social change with lower risk*

And yet, the interaction of the "privileged outsider" position with his marginal situation in Switzerland, put to frictional work in the precarious overlap of operating and governing practices, makes that especially managerial control is hard to implement over time ("I can't multiply myself"). After the 2015 *Manantial* harvest failed the quality tests at the hulling factory and did not become *Don Miguel* coffee (chapter 6), the analysis of the problem seemed to refrain to border doing, reproducing a binary bifurcation of "we, the Swiss" versus "them, the Colombians". "I fired Francisco, he is is just not a leader, he does not understand the socio-cultural. They don't understand the socio-cultural." In a similar vein, measures taken to rule out further investment losses included the redesign of the relations with the farm, retreating to the role of the buyer who only commits to accept a shipment if it is supreme quality, and performing an employment process with special consideration of the "honesty" of the counterparts.

One of the reasons why José gets so agitated when talking about Colombia is that he does not talk about "them" only, delegating negative traits to "others", but that he painfully experiences the failures he perceives also as "own" failures. He is both Swiss and Colombian but neither of it fully, and on a very fundamental level, José performs the struggles of this "neither-nor" subject position in separating practices where he *is* José from practices where he *is* Joaquín: As coffee shop owner and towards the Swiss, he is Colombian migrant José. As project owner and privileged Swiss entrepreneur – that is, for the Colombians as well as the Latin American migrants visiting him in his shop – he is Joaquín. The following two vignettes show how the we/them and here/there boundaries are able to switch within a few seconds, together with the mode of entrepreneurial fabulation that can transform from frustration into motivation in a short time:

> *"The problem with Colombians is that* they *are a bunch of unreliables…well,* we [Colombians] *are not all like this but…*here [in Switzerland]*, on the other hand, people work hard and can be trusted." […] As* Swiss*, I like the base- and background work, not like the Yankees….they talk, they do produce, but they destroy. [continues with a anti-imperialist speech] In the village,* they *will say: 'The* countrymen of José [the Swiss] *will appear', and they will want to show* us [Swiss] *what they have achieved." José, starting to shift between multiple marginal subject positions*

The first part indicates a shift from "them" to "us" within seconds, whereas the remainder of the vignette sheds light on how he relates his Swiss identity to two "others": The villagers in Colombia and the US way to "talk, produce, destroy". Apparently, only the "Yankee" way counts as "bad" imperialism, whereas being Swiss is a guarantee for a modest and truthful approach to social cooperation. Here, hybridizing the binarism of colonists-colonized is part of a rhetorical strategy to deal with the frictions between operational and entrepreneurial project work – and the (not) privileged subject positions performed by it. This border crossing performance has another side as well. It seems to be easier to moderate the neo-colonial encounter between the Swiss and the Colombian by not only differentiating the North Western side, but also the Colombian side. I remember a visit when he was saying that all good Colombians live outside, and that those from outside were the only ones to bring the country forward. In that sense, the tension between North and South are moderated by performing a new in-group in-between place-based subject positions, relating to them in overlapping ways depending which practices are enacted in which context: The in-group of "Good Colombians living outside in a modest country." This strategy allows José to detach the neo-colonial difference from his origin and elevate himself out of the group of the immature South, as "being good" or "bad" becomes part of relational social dynamics and personal biography rather than inscribed in bodies. Once, he sighs: "There are more good than bad people in Colombia, but the good ones learn the ways of the bad."

5.4.3   Small idealist at margins of big "infamous" coffee markets

Entrepreneurial subject positions are gradually inscribed into bodies, minds and souls through their constant enactment in practice. Struggles between practices, for example in competing for practitioner's time and attention to get temporal precedence over others, are typical instances where subject positioning becomes apparent in more explicit ways. This is the idea behind the analysis of the frictional instances and the three marginal positions they perform – positions that themselves form part of the practiced

accomplishments, as the analysis of the focal scene has shown so far. While the borders done and crossed in everyday practices were marked so far by embodied struggles between us/them (the migrant entrepreneur) and between us/them as well as here/there (the clever outsider), a third set of struggles between the "small" entrepreneur and the "big" markets build upon the good vs. bad distinction. The difference also performs a binarism of place and space, whereby the farm and the café are constructed as lived places vis-à-vis universal forces (border dwelling).

On the most general level, the fact that José has to balance between the coffee network and demands of adjacent networks ("Entschuldige Robert", "It takes too much effort", "Daddy José is looking after Miguel") already perform a marginality in the markets that frustrates him regularly. Episodes of friction with Swiss customers or Colombian partners deepen the frustration that his important mission is not acknowledged by others – and therefore, that the value-driven approach doesn't turn into a stable financial income. After instances of agitation, usually a two-step coping mechanism would kick in. First, low-intensity operational practices such as cleaning the surfaces would allow him to reflect and calm down. And second, he would enage in entrepreneurial association work, evaluating the status of his precarious business, the associations he has build up or not, and the associations he could build up in the future. Crucially, this work combines two essential characteristics: It builds up a virtual space of possibility for his project to develop into (or not) – almost physically reaching beyond the tiny coffee shop – and it delineates a clear boundary between the unique nature of "his" value-driven project and the "other" money-driven market participants.

In the focal scene, the way of narrating that his project "is over" after the failure of the coffee quality tests is a good example for this. He says that "formally and technically" it is possible to import lower-quality coffee, but that "it is not my orientation. I do not invest all of this into producing a mass coffee." This shows that the virtual space of possible trajectories for his project to become is not delineated by e.g. import regulations, but by the general understanding of high-quality DT coffee. This orientation enrolls and aligns practices translocally to bring the network into being, and if he would change this overall orientation the network would alter drastically – potentially questioning the whole project. Beyond the quality aspect to align handling practices and to enroll customers, the value orientation of the project is crucial. In every visit, he repeats his vision of "more than financial payback", and of instilling social change through entrepreneuring. When asked about his motivation to produce coffee himself, he answered:

"Even though I am the owner (of the farm), it does not make sense to manage it myself. It is about the added value, they are going to have it at the finca. It is mine, but the benefit is theirs. I buy [their coffee] at a higher price than the federation. It is tough and severe in Colombia (escabroso). But it is dangerous to say 'vote for this one or the other one' to change things. It works better with a project like this. This is the way to find peace in Colombia, on the level of the whole country. Why did I do this? It is for moral factors." José, on the motivation for his business

The general understanding of the project is not only to generate sustainable development for the region, but in a very profound way "to find peace in Colombia, on the level of the whole country". In that sense, by constructing the farm as a lived place for generating value, it becomes a model for social change in the region and eventually in the country. Again, his marginal position as the clever outsider resonates here as he doesn't engage politically by supporting candidates, but with an entrepreneurial "project like this". In addition, the way he governs the farm as an idealist owner and mentor, letting the people on-site manage it, is aligned to the general orientation of redistributing benefits to Colombia in a triple sense: Financial profit through alternative money flows, building up skills by letting the Colombians partake in his privileged access to knowledge as an emigrant, and building up a novel set of values such as responsibility and honesty "to build confidence".

And yet, not only the Colombians wouldn't understand what his project was about, but also the other market actors. Apart from working towards a farm where the benefits stay on-site, a core claim of his idea is to refine his coffee in Colombia ("keep the added value there"). For this reason, he works together with the roaster *Pereira* in the city of Pereira and brings his coffee to Switzerland not as a raw product, but as a refined roasted coffee, ready to be prepared and served. This idea is set in a context where, as in every coffee producing country, the standard model continues to be "to export green coffee, the raw material to be processed elsewhere, with the value added elsewhere, with the gains made elsewhere" (José, personal communication. See also Palacios 1979, Pérez Toro 2013, Peláez 2016a, 2016b, 2015). "Few understand", "it is not easy to understand", he would frequently say in situation such as the possibility of roasting in at the Swiss factory of Meier or the multinational Nestlé, as described in the focal scene. Beyond Colombia, his motivation is to change the ways how the value distribution of the whole coffee business works. He would regularly mention the "infamous chain" of coffee where the huge part of the benefits go to the big multinationals. But, what is more important than *their* orientation is that *he* does not want to engage with the established players because it is not his idea. "The problem is: This is not what I want"; this is how he usually would end the entrepreneurial fabulations of maybe, one day, going down the

("easy") avenue of financial value and to step back from the ("hard") avenue of social value. "I could roast the coffee here [in Switzerland] and not there [in Colombia] and make millions. Without worrying and everything." The general orientation to which operating and governing practices are oriented to are hardly to be aligned with business cooperations such as with Meier or Nestlé.

What is more, the strict "me" versus "them" logic of the marginal entrepreneur more interested in production conditions than imagining markets for his products also leads to frictions with close allies in Switzerland. For example, his nephew Tommy volunteered to develop ideas for new marketing strategies and sales channels – before José threw him out because "he had no direction", meaning: "he didn't understand". I had an interview with Tommy in the decision days of how to continue together. He is a second-generation Latino-Swiss in his mid-twenties, a trained salesman with an empathic aura. When I asked him about the status of his ideas, he sighed.

> *"Well, it is complicated. I am a professional and very enthusiastic about Don Miguel and contributing to the project. But I want to do it well, to take informed decisions, to know the market and to read about coffee, direct coffee and all these things. Unfortunately, José sees things a bit differently, somehow he is happy with the turnover he has now. It seems that he does not really want to grow. He wants to be small. But he could sell much more with a good marketing strategy." Tommy, about professionalizing marketing and sales for the Tienda de José*

The perception that "he wants to be small" confirms how important the marginal position in the market has been for José, locking in with the subject position of the migrant entrepreneur in Switzerland. In my view, the reasoning that the project is so profoundly "his" and that he doesn't "want to grow" allied with the impossibility to disentangle operating and entrepreneuring practice all along the years, and the impossibility of taking decisive steps towards developing a market and a more stable income. At the same time, the fact that the operational activities are exclusively oriented towards customers, and the entrepreneurial practices towards the production, likely implies a neglect of business-to-business customers.[29]

The most crucial discussions about the business orientation, however, José would have with his Swiss wife Marianne. Often, when fabulating opportunities of developing a more profitable business, he would introduce the idea with "My wife says" or "My wife

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[29] In my intent to triangulate José's situation talking to a few other Colombian businesses in Switzerland, I interviewed a Colombian restaurant owner in another large Swiss city. Originally he didn't care about the coffee he sold, but as people started to ask more and more about the origin and quality, he wanted to switch to Colombian coffee and found José's import business on the internet. They had email contact twice, but then he did not receive any more reply for 6 months and when José wrote again, he already had another supplier.

thinks", just as in the focal scene. Although he always refused to tell me more about the details of their understanding – and would openly reject my interest in interviewing her as well – it was very clear that she covered deficits of the business and financed necessary investments e.g. at the farm. This is of crucial importance here. *First*, the marginal position as "small guy in the market" was performed in business and private life as well, constructing a double dependence of the migrant from the Swiss partner and of the male entrepreneur from the female investor. Early on, José would mention her and the son in affective oscillations between frustration and enthusiasm. The virtual entrepreneurial space to develop himself, the family and the project into is delineated by these two typical formulations, both issued in spring 2015:

> *"I cannot stop since I've taken the risk. My wife and partner is here with me…I am happy. I don't have anything, but I am happy." – "I don't sleep anymore…I'm almost sixty. And not with the kid around…I give it two more years." José, connecting family and business considerations*

In the conversation with Tommy in early 2016, I began to understand that many of the – for me – invisible entrepreneurial decisions have been made at least in coordination with his wife. After my visit in Colombia and the failed coffee harvest, this referred especially to letting go Francisco and pulling out financially of the farm. As Tommy shared with me in a confidential tone,

> *"…right now, the project is really in a very critical state. His wife is not willing to give more money. 'It's over, not one cent more'. Probably they won't continue with the plans…soon, he and me will talk about how to go on…you know, this is now even a matter of their relationship, so I don't want to be to blame for anything. This is real." Tommy, on the private-business relation of José and his wife*

Second, in the light of the financial set-up, the project now emerges as an even more marginal endeavor in the market as it is, in very essential terms, value-driven and not profitable (seemingly covered by a loss guarantee from his wife). At the same time, the performance of masculinity as the entrepreneurial risk taker ("I cannot stop since I've taken the risk") could only succeed by largely invisibilizing female agency to the customers, the business partners, the employees and the researcher. At the most, the wife would be constructed as the muse or the indispensable support (in the sense of "behind every successful man there is a strong woman"), but not as business partner with own agency and voice.[30]

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[30] Interestingly, the same pattern is unraveled in chapter 6 between the farm administrator Francisco and his wife Luisa: While their family is generally framed as a *cafetero* family, the main income actually comes from Luisa's

Third, this intersectionality of marginal subject positions and dependencies – entrepreneur, migrant, man, partner – adds yet another complicated dimension to moderating struggles between the different practices in the everyday. In that vein, the fact that "Daddy José looks after Miguel" and closes the shop on Thursdays seems to be the outcome of a negotiation between family and business demands and the roles as father and entrepreneur, respectively. How fused these practices and orientations have become is inscribed in the name of "his" own coffee, *Don Miguel* – named after his son (trace 8). In Switzerland, the value-based entrepreneurial practices often hinder an expansion of business, as the project "wants to be small", and lead to struggles which almost burn down the project, notably with his most important business partner: His wife. At the same time, building an established market position on the Colombian side has benefitted from his stubborn focus on more-than-financial values:

> *"It is not about individual profit, it is about cooperation and webs of solidarity (redes de solidaridad). It can be done [...] The web, that is not only me, that is hundreds of persons. Farmers. Workers. They applauded my project. [...] Coffee could change Colombia, because it affects thousands and thousands of people directly." José, on the motivation for his business*

As we will see in chapter 6, for these "webs of solidarity" to become it is essential to enroll actors – people, existing norms and values, machines, plants – and to align their performances to the common goal of "adding value" in Colombia. As in the example of managing practices above, entrepreneurial practices need ethical and moral arguing. The case of enrolling the hulling factury shows this as well:

> *"The only one who really understands that it is about bringing the country forward is the owner of the hulling factory. They work for Nestlé and others as well, much bigger clients than me. They actually lose money collaborating with me. To start the machine for less than 7000 kg of coffee is not worth it, they usually say, but for me, 'even for 5 kg only we start the machine." José, on making value-driven allies in building the practice association*

This shows another crucial point in building the practice association by entrepreneurial engagement with potential allies, evoking visions and creating a shared sense of responsibility to "bring the country forward". In their everyday business, it is very common that actors perform different modes of coffee and therefore make part of diverse practice associations. The performed tasks and the interplay of humans, bags and machines does not essentially change, but what makes a difference which general

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lingerie business in the village – what actually prevents them from moving to the farm and away from her customer base, as Francisco shares with me confidentially at one point.

understanding the practices cater to: It makes a difference in the attitude whether Nestlé would come and ask to start the machine with "5 kg only" or if it is a value-driven entrepreneur with a vision for the region and the country, and attitudes affect the way practices are performed. But once again, Tommy questions whether the strategy José chose to add value in Colombia is really effective, disentangling the distinction of "big and small" from "here and there":

> *"Why not roasting the coffee in the shop in Switzerland, that's what people love to see" he says. I ask him whether this would not change the core idea of the project. Well, he says, of course, this would mean to export green coffee from Colombia and to refine it here. But then, he asks in a rhetorical fashion, is it really better to roast it in Colombia with a established company there than to do it with a small independent company here? Does something change with Pereira? Or could even change more in the other way?" Dominik, notes from the field*

For most of the time during my fieldwork in the coffee shop, José would categorically reject such a reasoning. For him, making fairer, more sustainable and more peaceful places was the mission, and the "small" was located in Colombia (with him as its agent in the context of "big" abstract forces). Colombia, the region and the farm were populated borderlands in the *nepantla* sense of the word, performing border dwelling; Switzerland was not, it was rather an abstract sphere, embodied by the pedestrians scurrying by his shop window every day in a hurry, serving as a fuzzy background to his inner space engaged with matters in Colombia rather than the consumers outside. In that sense, the entrepreneurial practices, as peripheral as they were during the everyday operations in the store, were oriented towards particular borderlandish places, quite explicitly protecting them from abstract universals who would threaten and destroy them. In the focal scene, José once asks rhetorically what "a global market" does to "a local identity of caficulture", performing the dichotomy of universal globality and particular locality – only that his abstract "global" was paradoxically just out there, outside of the window, and the local place of engagement was mostly an experience through Skype or Whatsapp. A telling vignette comes from 2015 when we talked "global" coffee markets. As we discussed some documents from Rabobank in front of us, displaying price dynamics and market trends, I asked him whether this is important to him in his daily business:

> *"No, not at all. What they do here, [he points at the commodity price curves on the sheet] I don't know what it is. It is not coffee. It is something combined, a standard. These things serve me for some general information. […] The world of coffee is managed there, but it has nothing to do with coffee." José, on the power of abstract universals on the concrete world of coffee*

Here, it is clear that he does use information from the markets ("for some general information"), but that the commodity prices are "not important at all" for his daily business. What is more, he assesses the ontological status e.g. of the price curves as "something combined, a standard", "it is not coffee", "I don't know what it is". This indicates a prime example for a multiplicity of ontological spheres that are connected, yet translations from one universe to the other may not be necessary if one possesses the skill of translanguaging. Similar as in the example of the multilingual discussion with Robert before, the Rabobank case is an instance of dwelling at the border as a place of multiplicity.

For a value-driven entrepreneur like José, the tragedy lies in the colonizing power such abstract universals like commodity prices have on othered places like his coffee shop and the farm. "The prices are fixed in New York, and they take everything, it's not sufficient for the cafeteros nor the hullers nor the processing people in Colombia", he finished the scene, yet again neo-colonially assigning agency to agents outside of Colombia: "But the customers, they could change a lot, they could change it in a second". This final sentence hints to something I am going to analyze in the following discussion: How the three marginal positions as a migrant store owner, clever Colombian emigrant and small value-driven Direct Trade entrepreneur criss-cross and act together in ongoing performances of operational work and entrepreneurial work.

5.5   Discussion: Multiple marginality in entrepreneurial practice

In this chapter, I have followed a human being as an embodied intersection of practices (Reckwitz 2002: 60) and analyzed how entrepreneurial practices govern a marginal DT coffee business. I have traced border doing, crossing and dwelling in the joint enactment of diverse situated practices to disclose the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) at the coffee shop in Switzerland. In steps of evocative storytelling in a thick ethnographic tale, graphic process mapping and conceptual interpretation, it has become apparent that everyday entrepreneurial work unfolds in parallel, and often competing, enactments of different practice modes (operational work versus entrepreneurial work) and different practice sites (farming, refining and serving coffee). As the in-depth analysis of a focal scene at the coffee shop has shown, entrepreneurial practice in the context of concerted everyday accomplishments emerges often in struggles for practitioner's attention. Two particular types of these struggles have been identified: Between coffee-and non coffee activities, and within diverse practice modes and sites of the coffee project itself. First, in struggles between non-coffee related tasks and coffee related tasks, the former (remittance and family) trump the latter. Second, operational

practices generally take precedence over entrepreneurial practices and the rhythm of the scene. In so doing, they push entrepreneurial control and association work to temporal and spatial margins. Acting from these margins of world making, entrepreneurial practice uses what is at hand to deal with the needs and challenges evolving within the business and in its environment.

As a second analytical step, I followed traces of colonial power in these struggles, looking for border doing, crossing or dwelling. I argued that struggles between practices, for example in competing for practitioner's time and attention to get temporal precedence over others, are typical instances where subject positions are (per)formed. Entrepreneurial subject positions, and the positions of the businesses they bring into being, are gradually inscribed into bodies, minds and souls through their constant enactment in practice. In particular, three robust marginal subject positions were identified at *La Tienda de José* which emerged in the frictions between practices – and, at the same time, helped to moderate them (see table 14).

Marginal subject position (MSP)	**Small idealist**	**Migrant entrepreneur**	**Clever emigrant**
Positioning dynamics (chapter 5.4)	*Small idealist* at margins of big "infamous" coffee markets (5.4.3) The entrepreneur is positioned as the small guy and marginal risk taker with true and social values who fights against the corrupt ways of the coffee market and its big players.	*Migrant entrepreneur* at margins of consumer market in Switzerland (chapter 5.4.1) The entrepreneur is positioned as the committed mediator from outside who knows about coffee and quality as opposed to most consumers who do not care or know about coffee.	*Clever emigrant* at margins of local context in Colombia (5.4.2) The entrepreneur is positioned as the clever idealist from outside whose ideas are not understood by the ignorant population back in his region / Colombia / the global South who are not able to smarten up.
Main practice struggle where MSP emerges (5.3)	Moving across affective modes in entrepreneurial practice: entrepreneurial frustration vs. fabulation	Moving across performing coffee network vs. adjacent networks (remittances)	Moving across performing different aspects of coffee network: operating vs. entrepreneuring
Performed in practice site of...	Importing coffee (entrepreneurial sub-project A)	Selling coffee (entrepreneurial sub-project B)	Producing coffee (entrepreneurial sub-project C)

Table 14: Three marginal subject positions, performed in importing, selling and producing coffee

First, a marginal subject position as migrant entrepreneur is brought into being by performing, most notably, different operational practices of serving coffee (to Swiss customers) and of doing remittances (with fellow migrants). Second, the struggles between operational and entrepreneurial practices related to the coffee network have been characterized as enacting the marginal subject position of a "clever outsider" oscillating between being Swiss and being Colombian, (per)forming neo-colonial difference along the network. In a third round of looking at the positioning performances in the focal scene (and other instances of doings and sayings in the fieldwork), my analysis suggested a third marginal subject position, that of the value-driven entrepreneur in a context of powerful universal market forces, embodied by big players such as the multinationals or the Colombian Coffee Federation FNC.

As table 14 shows, the three marginal subject positions correspond to the three entrepreneurial subprojects of importing coffee (project A), selling coffee (project B) and producing coffee (project C), in the language applied here conceptualized as "practice sites". As described above, they emerge in practice struggles. As the practices performed at the coffee house switch in quick succession and sometimes overlap, the three marginal subject positions do so as well. They shift and overlap in practice to make sometimes discursive, sometimes affective-performative sense of the entrepreneurial trajectory. As an example for the performance of what – in the vein of Gloria Anzaldúas theorizing – can be called "multiple marginality" by enacting discursive practice components in the focal scene, Table 15 revisits one coherent instance of talk to get a grip once more on how these shifts intersect within seconds.

Entrepreneurial talk (one coherent instance from focal scene)	"They"	Enacted marginal subject position
"They are interested in my project […] My wife says we should process our Don Miguel there. They know that my quality is very good […] The problem is: That is not what I want.[…]	*Big players*	Small idealist at margins of big "infamous" coffee markets
I could roast the coffee here [in Switzerland] and not there [in Colombia] and make millions. Mhm, yes! Without worrying and everything. And these guys in Colombia [the roasting partners there], no, no…but this is not what I want. Few understand. […]	*The partners in Colombia*	Clever emigrant at margins of local context in Colombia
They ask me: Would you cooperate with Nestlé? This is what they ask me. […] It is not easy to understand."	*The customers*	Migrant entrepreneur at margins of consumer market in Switzerland

Table 15: (Per)forming multiple marginality: Shifting marginal subject positions

I argue, thus, that the three positions act together and help to hold each other in place: Each individual marginal position might not open too much agential potential, but exactly in that they play together they offer situative shifts "out" of one marginality and "into" another by moving across practice that open up additional scopes for marginal world making. In chapter 2, I have defined marginal entrepreneuring as the subversive process of the discovery, creation and exploitation of cracks in dominant worlds to carve out a place from where to act towards creating future goods and services. This chapter has shown how the process of marginal entrepreneuring unfolds in mundane everyday practices where indeed a strategic place lacks to safely construct the future. Instead, entrepreneurial enactments are tactical adaptations performed in precarious lives (Millar 2014, Comaroff and Comaroff 2012, Wacquant 2008).

Marginal entrepreneuring has been conceptualized as being performed in proximity to, and performing, borders. As the discussion of decolonial theorizing has shown, depending on whether processes of border doing (othering), border crossing (hybridity) or border dwelling (nepantla) are performed, borders can be lines of silencing, spaces of ambiguity or places of multiplicity. Departing from this point, we are now in the position to go a step further into the analysis to trace colonial power in marginal entrepreneurial practice. Taken together, the three marginal subject positions stand for business struggles of values, access and comprehension, namely between "good and bad", "outsider and insider" and "clever and ignorant". In the ethnographic analysis of subject positions and the associated dynamics, I distill a total of 19 different instances of border doing, crossing and dwelling. Table 16 (below) provides an overview of these instances, building upon the theorizing of border doing, crossing and dwelling in chapter 3.3. They are crossed with the three marginal subject positions of small idealist, migrant entrepreneur and clever emigrant.

First, it gets apparent that the marginal subject positions (and the associated practice sites of importing, selling and producing coffee) all perform border doing instances (2 each). To govern the production side of the business – controlling and associating work around the farm – and, therefore, the subject position of clever emigrant seems to be especially hybridizing, with 3 instances of border crossing, but also crucial orientalist reproductions of colonial power (stereotypes, mimicry). Importing coffee performs so many in-between activities that the practice site appears to become a place in its own right (3 instances of nepantla or border dwelling). This is also reflected in the unique and solitary subject position of the "small idealist", a position that "is hard to understand" for most others (José). Selling coffee, finally, is mainly performed in the tension between the nepantla place of the coffee shop and the othering done by Swiss

customers and, crucially, the core business model of Direct Trade coffee which is based on a neocolonial commodifying of place-based exoticism.

Second, I ranked the instances as "more" or "less" significant with respect to the theoretical discussion on colonial power (bold) and the entrepreneurial trajectory (asterisk), based on a close reading of the scene. The aim here is to differentiate the implications of the subject positioning processes for performing colonial power. I qualify all border doing instances as crucial enactments of coloniality (e.g., othering by stereotyping, mimcry, assigning binary agency, self-othering), while only some of the hybridizing and nepantlilizing practices enter this category (hybridizing migrantic life, nepantilizing place making at the farm and multilinguality). I also ranked the instances according to their significance for the entrepreneurial trajectory: Because they perform crucial orientation points of the project (e.g., added value on the farm, remaining "small"), because they provide key resources (private-business ties: wife, remittance business) or because the crucially contribute to the governance of the network (e.g.,

Marg. subj. pos. (MSP) + pract. site	MSP: Small idealist Practice site: Importing coffee	MSP: Migrant entrepreneur Practice site: Selling coffee	MSP: Clever emigrant Practice site: Producing coffee
Main power struggle	*Good vs. bad* Struggle of values: "Good" marginal subject against "bad" big players and market forces	*Outsider vs. insider* Struggle of access: Silenced outsider without power to reach Swiss customers on the inside	*Clever vs. ignorant* Struggle of comprehension: Entrepreneurial vision heard, but not understood in Colombia
Border doing instances *(border as line of silencing)*	***Othering by assigning binary agency:* The customers can change how the markets work, not the Southern producers.** ***Self-othering by remaining "small" and value-oriented:* Largeness and power are bad, therefore performing "other" as resistance by "not blending in": Better uncorrupted pureness than success*****	***Othering business model:* Commodifying exotic otherness as key USP in DT (drinking the other)***** ***Othering Swiss customers:* Colonial condescendence between well-meant exoticization and North Western superiority**	***Othering stereotyping in performing business relations:* People in Colombia can't be trusted, have bad work ethics, don't understand, are nasty like children** ***Othering mimicry*: Taking over enlightened Swiss position to gain status and respect in Colombia*****

Border crossing instances *(border as space of ambiguity)*	*Hybridizing association work*: Associations with big actors (implemented or or not) perform intersections of "inside" markets and "outside" resistance in an in-between space where nobody else is *Hybridizing practice entangle-ments:* Higher relevance of organizing distant production than close-by consumption leads to frictionally entangled practices of operating and entrepreneuring and a bricolaged everyday***	***Hybridizing migrantic life:* Migrant complicity in host countries performs space of irony** *Hybridizing side business:* Remittance operations as inofficial underside of globality***	*Hybridizing double nationality:* Double nationality, but instead of "as-well-as" performed as "neither-nor" position *Hybridizing distance:* Partial visibilities across network with risks, but also opportunities for entrepreneurial practice (e.g. hiding marginality in CH)*** ***Hybridizing naming strategy:* Failures of Colombians are felt as own defects; moderated by distinguishing practices done by "Northern" José from those by "Southern" Joaquín**
Border dwelling instances *(border as place of multiplicity)*	*Nepantilizing private-business ties:* Frictions with close allies, especially wife, expand colonial struggles to the ensemble of subject positions beyond business relations*** ***Nepanzilizing place making "there":* The farm as lived place to be defended from abstract powerful universals of the "global markets"*** *Nepantilizing multimodal reality:* Concrete places and abstract market forces exist at same time as incommensurable but connected universes: While translation is impossible, translanguaging is needed.	***Nepantilizing multilinguality:* Translanguaging, not translating, means multiplicity, not diversity** *Nepantilizing place making "here":* Café as a place in fragile tension of multiple "insides" and "outsides"	*Nepanzilizing as-well-as position:* Performing the in-group of "good Colombians living outside" as lived subject position in its own right
*** more significant for entrepreneurial trajectory / [no asterisk] less significant **more significant for performance of colonial power** / less significant			

Table 16: Neocolonial power struggles in marginal subject positioning: Instances of border doing, crossing and dwelling

mimicry as enacting Swissness to gain reputation in Colombia). It becomes visible that the entrepreneurial trajectory benefits from colonial othering (border doing) in crucial ways, most notably through the business model of DT as such and the mimicry that allows for a colonial control of the DT associations. Hybridity appears to be an ambiguous force for business (remittance *good*, the struggles across operational and entrepreneurial practice *bad*). Nepantla seems to benefit business through offering the key orientation of all practices (the place making at the farm "there"), through a borderlandish anchoring of the project in private life as well and by performing translanguaging skills to cope with multiple marginality. In these instances, just like different languages can interact in parallel, so do parallel modes of reality. In my view, translanguaging stands for a multiplication process without the need to translate locals to each other while acknowledging different onto-epistemological modes of accessing reality and world making.

An interesting case is the self-othering resistance. The strict defense of an "other" position as small, value-oriented entrepreneurial project harms business prospects in Switzerland but offers a lot of idealist energy to glue together the Colombian side of the practice association. In Switzerland, the value-based entrepreneurial practices more often than not hinder stable associations to expand (or "professionalize") the practice association, leading to a business which is small and "wants to be small". At the same time, associations on the Colombian side have benefitted from his stubborn focus on more-than-financial values. The next chapter will particularly focus on the double movement of bypassing established coffee networks and of building up new allies to actually make this happen as an essential part of entrepreneurial association work. As it is performed in the coffee shop, this work makes productive use of the struggles performed in practice, to fuse frustration with fabulation and to open up valid avenues of entrepreneurial change.

Trace 9: Relating social protocols, organic products and human bodies: Cupping coffee

In this chapter, I continue the empirical story by tracing back specialty Café Don Miguel from the coffee shop in Switzerland to processing sites in the Colombian countryside, for example to the cupping laboratories of the coffee cooperatives as shown in the picture. Especially in the light of the multiple marginalities of entrepreneurial practice analyzed in chapter 5, what are the dynamics of "association work" holding the business together on the Colombian side, and what traces of coloniality can be found along the way? Following Direct and Commodity Trade coffee associations, it is shown that Direct Trade per se is not automatically a decolonizing device, and practicing Commodity Trade is not without possibilities of subversion for the marginal actors at Southern production places. The othered often know that they are othered, and there are savvy ways of navigating colonial power. The fatalistic and melancholic "nos toca" (it's our turn, our position), transpiring through bodies, minds and souls of Southern producers as they perform neocolonial power relations in their everyday lives, can be reformulated in active tense as "toquemos" – let's play.

6 Between worlds: (De)colonial associations in Direct Trade coffee practice

6.1 Introduction: Tracing neocolonial power between practice

Chapter 5 has followed a marginal entrepreneur (as embodied intersection of practices: Reckwitz 2002: 60) to trace how subject positions are (per)formed in concerted everyday accomplishments, and what they do with respect to colonial power. The result was a better understanding of how squeezed and improvised the association and control work to govern the Direct Trade (DT) business often is, and how coloniality is performed in a marginal project that engages in making other worlds – namely, other worlds of coffee making. In the daily struggles to moderate and manage multiple demands and challenges from the precarious place and life of a migrant businessman, neocolonial power struggles have been shown as performed in subtle movements, affects and sayings along the way.

Two questions arise from this analysis. First, especially in the light of the marginality of the entrepreneur and his bodily absence at many places where importing coffee and producing coffee are performed, what is it that holds the practice association together by doing association work? DT aims at establishing transparent commercial relations and at ensuring traceability of a particular quality profile. In order for such new orientations to come into effect, they have to transpire through altered practices along the value chain – and through the associations made and unmade *between* practices at different sites. Entrepreneurial "association work" is needed to re-connect and re-orient practice towards DT. In the studied case of marginal DT entrepreneuring, an essential part of the "association work" performed is to unmake extant associations, or make dissociations, to established ways of making coffee. Such a task that can hardly be described completely by looking at DT discourse alone, or by tracing only the activities at the "center of calculation" of the business (see chapter 5).

And second, as we have seen already, José does perform colonial othering especially through the subject position as the "clever emigrant" in Switzerland. The Colombian side is stereotyped in colonial-orientalist ways as homogenously untrustworthy, with bad work ethics, and a lack of understanding of how business and especially his project

works. At the same time, colonial mimicry – performing Swissness towards the Colombian side – is used to gain reputation and authority in a setting of distant coordination, a lack of transparency and direct control (while, at the same time, he uses the lack of transparency to hide his own marginality in Switzerland). Therefore, the question how that Colombian side is actually performed comes into focus. Unboxing the "other side" of the business is needed. What are the dynamics of the marginal DT project outside of that Swiss coffee shop? What traces of colonial positioning performances can we find along its practice associations, and what are the colonial power struggles between practices and sites along the DT network – and between DT and the context of the dominant commodity trade (CT) coffee production settings in Colombia?

Taken together, this chapter is oriented towards the specific analytical research question: How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in association work over temporal and spatial distance? To answer this, I travel back in time – farm administrator Francisco is not fired yet – and back along the value chain from the coffee shop in Switzerland to processing sites at the Colombian countryside. As I arrive in the village of Santa Marta to trace *Café Don Miguel*, and the associated practice of marginal DT entrepreneuring that bring it into being, the empirical story continues with a thick tale to trigger a series of analytical reflections on crucial dynamics. Following Rose, this narrative strategy step by step traces the encounters and events "that allowed a certain trajectory of thought to transpire" (Rose 2016: 138). The original fieldnotes were arranged in parallel to the activities of drying wet coffee, storing dry parchment coffee and transporting it in between various places. The last analytical section zooms in on a key practice that is performed in CT as well as DT: Testing quality. The particular incident structured not only my study, but also the empirical case in a "before" and an "after".

6.2 Setting the scene

I very vividly remember the uncanny moment when I arrived in Santa Marta for the first time. José's cousin María Isabel and her husband Ángel had kindly picked me up at the airport of Manizales, the department capital. Accompanied by *Paso Doble* tunes, we were on our way to José's coffee farm *Finca Manantial*, located some two hours from Manizales and fifteen car minutes downhill from Santa Marta. The home community of José's family was a settlement of some fifty to sixty brick houses at roughly 2,000 meters above sea level, overlooking the surrounding valleys from the top of a steep hill. It was built along four streets coming up the steep slopes, all ending at the central square called

parque. On the odd dry days with good visibility, it was possible to see the Nevado del Ruíz, an active volcano frequently putting the airport out of order. The 5,321m high snow-capped peak gleaming in the distance was an imposing reminder of geological spacetime. The Andean part of Colombia made part of the ring of fire around the Pacific Ocean. It was the most seismically active region in the world with 9 out of 10 earthquakes on our planet and 75% of all volcanoes active and dormant (Wikipedia 2018b). In that setting, Santa Marta's *parque* with its colonial structure stood for durations of our own's species making that were merely a geological blink of an eye, but still easily transcended an individual's lifespan. Like in all colonial central squares on the continent, a park in the middle – some lawn delineated by a small wall to sit on, some benches, some trees, pedestrian walkways – was surrounded by pavement where cars and jeeps parked or drove slowly around it, dominated by a huge church on one side. The other three sides consisted of kiosks, a few open-front cafés and two or three billard clubs, the biggest of them with a second floor.

The day I arrived at the *parque* of Santa Marta, I saw men loading jeeps, men sitting on the small wall, a group of kids playing ball, some women walking with grocery bags, three or four dogs strolling around and, in front of a café, a few elderly men sitting on tiny tables and having a cup of coffee. They formed a row with their back to the café interior, overlooking the scene. We slowly passed the seniors in Ángel's red pick-up truck. Suddenly, María Isabel shouted: "Ángel, stop for a second, there is Don Gerardo". One of the old guys almost imperceptibly nodded his head once and watched us getting out of the car. Our eyes met for a second. I must have been very impressed, as my evening notes from that day, entitled "I enter the field", reveal:

> *"I immediately shiver by his impressive and somehow intimidating presence. 'They know that I'm coming. They know already who I am', I say to myself." Dominik, notes from the field*

The first thing I noted about Don Gerardo was his big, red nose with warts. He must have been way beyond his 80 years. Here in Colombia, this probably meant that he had seen the village turn from an isolated outpost of coffee farmers, hours on a mule-back away from any access to buyers, schools or doctors, into an outpost of coffee farmers that was still peripheral, yes, but from where a day trip to the provincial capital had become easy and affordable, just like the access to the streamlined Merengue tunes shouting out onto the square from the second floor of the billard. He was spreading his legs, was leaning a bit forward and had both his hands put on a metal walking stick in front of him. His entire face seemed to disappear behind his nose and the low-hanging hat, but as we came close I could note that he was very attentive to what was going on

by a sprinkle in his otherwise blear eyes. He greeted us with a surprisingly weak handshake and some mumbled welcome words. Another man arrived. I suddenly recognized him: It was uncle Pablo. I had seen his face at the *Tienda de José*. He was the former owner of the remodeled coffee farm and the man whose stylized picture with a mule identified every bag of *Café Don Miguel*, produced at *Manantial*, in the shelves of Josés shop back in that medieval city center in Switzerland. He was a few years younger than his brother Gerardo, wore his grey hear short and combed back what hair was left. María Isabel presented me as a contact of Joaquín (as they called José here) from Switzerland. "Of course", said Pablo. He already knew.

Pablo had considerable eye bags, did not smile and squinted his eyes. This made him appear quite serious and a bit intimidating as well, but much less than Don Gerardo (at least before the weak handshake). That day, I noted down that "the two of them could perfectly personify Colombia's history in the last 80 years in a movie or a portrait book". While María Isabel and Ángel briefly entered a shop, I stayed on the street. I casually looked around to observe the environment and those who observed me. It had started to drizzle. Three more kids played ball and smiled at me. An elderly woman watched the street, that is, me, sitting behind her open window in the first floor. Some fifty meters away, Gerardo, Pablo and their peers sat in the exact same position as before, but all had their heads turned left in my direction. I had a strange feeling. "What happens at the *parque"*, I felt, "is collective knowledge of the community within seconds". In that moment, I had already become part of the story of Santa Marta.

6.3   Tracing association work between Direct Trade and Commodity Trade

6.3.1   Performing associations: A thick tale

 "The village is a difficult story." Doña Julialba's look wanders over her farm. "And the people over there, they just don't know that producing coffee is that much work." She refers to the consumers, but also the corporations and the buyers abroad. In the distance, we see how *Manantial's* administrator Francisco, farmhand Diego and one of Julialba's workers load a couple of beige jute bags on the roof of the jeep, cautiously observed by uncle Pablo. "So much work." She slowly glances from the working men to me, squinches her eyes and hardens her voice. "And, it is especially hard as a woman." During the season, Doña Julialba receives a few bags of so-called wet parchment coffee from *Finca Manantial* to dry in her machine every day. And every day, Pablo and Francisco pick up the dry parchment coffee or "café pergamino" they delivered the day before. She is a woman in her late forties, wears a beige braided hat, as short black

leather gilet over a light blue shirt, blue jeans and black rubber boots. Judging from the authoritative tone with which she talks to the men around here, and from the skeptical eyes assessing attentively her environment, she is very used to handle the masculine performativity so prevalent around the bags, business deals and barista competitions in the coffee trade – and, of course, on the Colombian countryside. "The village is a difficult story", she repeated after a moment. "And the family is far away." Her older daughter studies in Manizales, and her husband lives in Medellín, the third major city in Colombia. He is a businessman and travels much. Only her younger 11-year old daughter still lives at the finca, but her husband "doesn't like a young woman to be stuck in Santa Marta", so she probably leaves soon as well. They own the finca for eleven years now, but she has been there for two years only, which makes the village "difficult" in a double way – as a woman and as an outsider. She happily agrees on meeting again for an interview on the dynamics of local and global coffee markets, and she insists that I have to talk to a young woman who works at the local cooperative, María. "She knows things", Doña Julialba underlines in a confident tone. I receive the contact and am relieved: Already on my second day in Santa Marta, I encounter traces to follow which go beyond José's relatives and recommendations.

We approach the men standing around the drying machine inside a big garage. It burns "cheap *cisco*", the parchment skin that is separated from the dry beans at the hulling factories downstream, and blows hot air into a 3-meter metal silo where the beans lie on different levels. "What I am doing here", Julialba points at the machine, "is essentially a favour to Joaquín." She invites me for a tour through her production facilities. "My farm is quite different to *Manantial*." She means bigger and more professionalized. She produces high-quality commodity coffee exclusively for Nespresso, regularly employs at least 16 pickers, washes and dries her coffee on the farm and sells it to the cooperative up in Santa Marta by the end of the week. She is a certified AAA producer, which means that the superior quality coffee of her farm is reserved for Nespresso. Sometimes, Nespresso people come for a site visit "to check this or that related to quality control". If a given delivery doesn't pass the quality tests at the cooperative ("very rarely"), she would be able to sell there anyways but for a lower price. Whether it's AAA or lower quality, she says that she has "no idea where the coffee goes" after the cooperative. As Julialba and me finish the finca tour and meet the others, Francisco is standing in the distance, having a longer phone call. He hangs up after a moment, joins us and says sorry. "Don Joaquín called". Uncle Pablo waited in the jeep, leaves it now to do some paperwork with Julialba in the distance, supposedly the payment for the drying service. Then, we drive back up to Santa Marta.

Trace 10: Unloading dry coffee for temporary storage in the living room.

We stop literally at the first house right at the village sign. "Mi casa", "my house", says Francisco. It's a small house with a tile roof and two floors, built on a steep edge. One part of the house is painted in white, the other, probably added when the teen twin sons Amadeo and Santiago were old enough for their own room, wears its brick walls visible. Farmhand Diego and Francisco start to unload the parchment coffee bags and bring them into the house (trace 10). A man passes with a mule, and a policeman in a green uniform slowly walks to the police station 30 meters uphill. The tropical midday sun burns down vertically. Francisco is Joaquín's most important counterpart in Colombia. He has administered *Finca Manantial* for four years now. Francisco is a slim man with a very soft, almost shy voice and gentle traits dominated by a quite big, but tidy moustache. He usually wears jeans, a shirt, a scarf, black rubber boots and a big beige hat. He must be in his forties, but he appears younger, boy-like. Five years ago, Joaquín bought the land from Francisco's uncle Pablo. According to Joaquín, the farm was deserted and had to be set up anew. That's why he employed Francisco in the beginning. The first years in charge were all about clearing the bush from weeds, trees and stones, renovating the sheds and the farmhouse, planting coffee and sugarcane, and redoing the basic transport, water and electricity infrastructure. A year ago, the DT production kicked off, and I am currently witnessing the second harvest season.

We enter the house. "Welcome", says Francisco. He presents me to his wife Luisa, a woman in her early forties with black hair, a black blouse and blue jeans. She invites me to pass over to the living room. Her voice is somewhat shy, but warm and sympathetic. The entrance room is some sort of an atelier. There are a lot of colored fabrics and threads, a sewing machine - and many pieces of lingerie neatly accommodated on different hangers at the wall. They note that I am surprised. Francisco smiles as he tells me with pride in his voice: "My wife is the dressmaker of Santa Marta. This is her shop." Luisa smiles, stops him with a wave of her hand and goes to prepare coffee. The living room is small and not taller than 1.85m. It seems even tinier as a pile of eight coffee bags blocks the orange sofa and the blue cupboard in the corner. They appear bizarrely huge and block the light. A round dining table completes the ensemble: white embroidered table cloth, four plastic table mats with pictures of fruits, cups saying "café de Colombia". A couple of little framed pictures hang on the walls or stand on the cupboard: Jesus, a still life of a fruit bowl, a still life of flowers, photographs of the sons. "Tomorrow", Francisco says, "we drive to Colorado to the storage room." They can't drive to that municipality nearby every day, he explains, so they store the parchment coffee here until the next ride.

The next day, I am back there when the eight coffee bags are picked up to be brought to Colorado. Francisco's son Santiago helps to load the jeep, and it takes off. The jeep is an iconic symbol of the Colombian *eje cafetero* region: The colorful and beautifully maintained six- to ten person vehicles serve as public transport of people and goods, connecting all the villages and towns. They have always been the means of choice to transport coffee here, along, of course, with the mule. In this demanding topography, logistics and transport are far from trivial. For example, the access to *Manantial* is an incredibly bumpy track with big stones, potholes, deep puddles every few meters and a small creek to cross. "Resembles more a hiking trail I know from the Alps than a road for cars, let alone to transport stuff", I would write down after my first arrival at the farm. I remember Joaquín saying that one of the biggest hurdles in their coffee production is that for every small thing they need a SUV, and that he would love to see the track repaired or connected to the uphill settlement of Buenavista directly. He told me that the best for *Manantial* and Santa Marta would be to have a direct access down to the Cauca valley. There, the continental Panamericana highway – its distant car columns are seen every night from the farm as a silent, glittering snake reminding the pickers of the busy world "over there" – would allow them to bring the coffee to Medellín quickly, a 2.5 million city with all the possibilities to process and commercialize the products of the village.

After the coffee bags are gone to Colorado, I sit in the living room a.k.a. storage facility the whole afternoon, write fieldnotes and converse with Luisa. She works in her atelier and receives lingerie clients every fifteen minutes: Once a teenage girl, once an elderly woman, but mostly women between thirty and sixty. When they enter, Luisa quickly closes a curtain to the living room so that the women can try on the underwear. They usually talk about village matters – how the businesses of their husbands go, which pickers work well or not, who has a drinking problem, new business alliances or prospects ("…Juan was offered that much for his farm by a foreign buyer…"), and who pays how much salary ("…he doesn't pay well, eh."). After the first client I ask Luisa whether I should go somewhere else and point to the curtain, but she only laughs and says of course not. Her shyness is gone, and she makes a very interested and smart impression on me as we talk about the prospects of coffee in the region and share stories of both our countries. As Francisco comes home around half past five, Doña Julialba just drives by with her car. He asks her about some coffee samples the hulling factory in Chinchiná has taken at different farms around here, including *Manantial* and her's. They called him yesterday to let him know that one of the probes of one of the farms did not pass "the norm", but he doesn't remember anymore which number was which farm. Julialba doesn't know the answer neither, but Luisa jumps in from the door and exactly tells the two coffee professionals the number of the probe, the name of the farm and the reasons for the failure.

Over dinner, I casually double-check some of my observations so far with Luisa and Francisco. I ask what the reaction of the other people in the village was when *Manantial* stopped to sell to the cooperative and replaced it by selling directly to Joaquín. Francisco doesn't understand the question, but Luisa gets it right away. "They of course asked why Francisco wouldn't go there anymore. First they thought that at *Manantial* the quality was too low. But Francisco had always delivered the best quality before". Francisco confirms. He mentions María, a woman from the lab, and says that some coffee farmers here don't like her because she is overly strict. But, he quickly adds "that's very good, you won't hear a bad word about her from me. Work and personal relations have to be separated". Now, I want to know how the villagers perceive Joaquín's project. Francisco says that "the reaction at first was 'yes, yes, another crazy one, he is going to do this for one year and that's it'. Of course, that's how it normally goes here. You need a Joaquín, a very strong and dedicated, serious, unique patron. Someone who has punch and persistence. And when they will see the project", he starts to smile, "they will not stop to smile". Finally, I ask whether the other farms will imitate the project when they see the success. Luisa takes over:

"The others? Well, they have no punch and persistence. They don't insist, they don't have ambition, everything is static and how it is it's OK. (No insisten, no tienen ambición, todo está estático y como es está bien). Luisa, on the lack of initiative to change things in the village

6.3.2 Zooming out: Comparing DT and CT association work

The focal scene offers a contextualized glimpse on activities enacting the DT network on the "Colombian side" of the project. In particular, three sets of processing activities from wet to stored dry coffee are described in the social context they unfold: First, the machine drying at Julialba's farm; second, temporary storage in the living room; and third, regular instances of transporting bags. To understand the importance of the these steps for the whole DT practice association, we first have to take a look at the collective of activities that translate the fruit of a coffee bush into a brown liquid in a cup. A good way to do this is to look at how practitioners understand the value chain. One of the most used models in this respect is O'Keefes "quality formula" (2009). Meant as a "tool to determine where to invest in the coffee chain with the greatest potential impact on our coffee quality" (2009), it gives key indications about the actors, connections and activities along the DT business. Table 17 (below) presents the unchanged O'Keefe model.[31] It groups fourteen coffee handling stages in three groups: Cup creation, cup conservation and cup revelation. In terms of the responsibilities for these steps (marked blue), "creation" is clearly the farmer's business, and "revelation" is performed in roasting and preparing. The latter includes activities that are differentiated by more (industrial) or less (artisanal) machine agency in the mingling of beans and water, but they can be seen as performances of different modes of the same situated practice. On the other hand, the responsibility for the "conservation" phase is split between farmer, exporter and importer. This implies that this phase needs most association work. In general, this is also the phase where CT and DT differ the most. Due to the traceability orientation in DT, a series of commodity-oriented practices have to be replaced or skipped altogether, while "new" practices have to be performed.

The table assigns each phase a relative importance for the final cup quality. The most important group in the model (marked green) is "creation" – from factors like location and husbandry to picking and on-the-farm processing. It accounts for 60% of the quality variation, while "conservation" (intermediate processing steps) and "revelation" (roasting and preparation) each contribute 20% to the final cup quality. This chapter,

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[31] The "quality formula" was put together by O'Keefe, a coffee consultant, based on his and his colleagues' extensive experience in "several countries", was presented 2007 at the "Roasters Guild Retreat as well as 2009 at the "SCAA Convention" and circulates on various practitioner's blogs (e.g. Pacas 2016).

thus, follows some of the activities in the phase of "cup conservation". The five most important single handling stages (marked orange) are picking (21%), plant nutrition (12%), planting and variety (9%), drying and extraction/preparation (8% each). It is important to note though that for O'Keefe, the numbers are not "absolute science and will never be. On the other hand we have empirical evidence that this model is roughly accurate […] These weighted values are theoretical, and are meant to give us a relative perspective of the importance of each step" (O'Keefe 2009).

There is a key point to read the table correctly. The quality indications are not additional numbers where the cautious performance of one handling step could offset for the failure in another. "Quality", as O'Keefe puts forwards, "can be completely ruined at every step in the chain" (2009). "Until the moment that the roasted coffee is brewed and transformed into a beverage", Poltronieri and Rossi put forward, "the concept of specialty coffee is locked up as a possibility, just a potentially wonderful gustatory experience" (Poltronieri and Rossi 2016: 14). In that sense, while harvesting practices obviously have to be a special focus of every Direct Trade governance, none of the other activities can be sidelined – all practices need to be aligned to quality and traceability.

Responsible	Step	Description	Phase	Relev. for cup quality (% of subgroup, % overall)
Farmer	Planting & variety	Land costs, reparing land, nurseries, planting labor, lower production varieties resutls in higher planting costs.	Cup Creation (60%)	15% (9%)
	Nutrition	Farm land, soil & annual inputs in fertalizing. These are higly senssitive to product and transport costs.		20% (12%)
	Climate	Geographic Location, Irigation & Erosion Prevention, Intentional shading.		15% (9%)
	Husbandry	Pruning, Pest & Disease Control, Weeding. These are labor intensive activities.		5% (3%)
	Ripeness	**Selective harvest of only ripe cherry. This is the most labor intensive activity in coffee production.**		**35% (21%)**
	Pulping & Fermentation	Transport to wet mill, de-pulping & fermentation		10% (6%)

			Cup Conservation		
	Washing	Washing & possibly cold water soak			15% *(3%)*
	Drying	Drying in Sun and Mechanical Dryers. This cost is highly senstive to fuel costs.			40% *(8%)*
	Origin Storage	Farmer Storage (some times exporter storage)			10% *(2%)*
Exporter	Dry Prep & Export	Includes Internal Transport Cost, Quality Identification (cupping & physical analysis) Dry milling, & Physical & Legal Export usually performed by the Exporter	Cup Conservation	**20%**	10% *(2%)*
Importer	Shipping/Freight	International Shipping + Importer fees. This cost is highly senstive to world oil prices & interest rates.			10% *(2%)*
	Green Freshness	Green Coffee Appropriate Storage, Packaging, Delivery & Use.			15% *(3%)*
Roaster	Roasting	Well trained roasters who actively cup, attend RG, etc. / high quality, well installed and maintained equip / active QC department that runs analysis on roast output / investment in testing and roast experimentation / limiting batch size / investment in data logging and roast monitoring tools / willingness to dispose of roasted coffee that isn't perfect /	Cup Revelation	**20%**	30% *(6%)*
	Roast Freshness	Expidited delivery & use, packaging quality, shipping conditions.			30% *(6%)*
	Extraction	Extraction execution, water recipe, water temperature, extraction process, grind, volume, equipment.			40% *(8%)*
Unchanged framework taken from coffee consultant K.C. O'Keefe (2009), put together here with relevance numbers from same publication. Five most relevant processing steps for cup quality marked orange. Cited on practitioner's blogs as the «O'Keele Quality Formula», e.g. Pacas 2016.					

A lot of entrepreneurial association work needed

Table 17: A practitioner model: Processing steps, cup quality and demand for association work

Along commodity networks, on the other hand, controlling each step along the chain is considerably less important as the final product does not depend on a single origin. On the buyer-driven commodity market, what matters is that there be sufficient supply of coffee of a given category, not where exactly it is produced – the focus is on standardization and norming rather than individualized bean-by-bean treatment. Finally, O'Keefe's framework stands for the mainstream orientation of DT businesses where the available subject position for Southern producers is the one of the sourcer of the raw

material. As in commodity coffee, refining, in particular roasting as the most important value-adding procedure, is done abroad. In general, the exporter country he has in mind will be a country in the South and the importing one will be a country in the North.

6.3.3 Practicing CT association work: Othering worlds of production

We now have a more concrete idea what the DT promise of traceability implies: The most consequential difference between DT and CT associations concerns what happens in between farming and roasting coffee. The next two chapters now look into this difference by following particular practices of association in the production phase O'Keefe calls "cup conservation". Where, and how, do DT practices offer traces of change and alteration towards a decolonization of coffee worlds? To find answers to this question, an analytical focus is put on the relation of practices, general understandings of the market and the subject positions performed, and their associated agential potential.

For traditional commodity farmers, the final destination of the product, but also every single production step beyond the village are obscure. What they typically do is to sell the weekly harvest as dried "parchment coffee" (the bags in Francisco's living room) to the local cooperative by the end of the week. Doña Julialba is a prime example for this, and her case also shows that it doesn't make a difference whether you produce low or highest quality grades – as soon as the sale is completed, the connection between the specific bean and the specific origin is lost on both sides. Neither knows the buyer down the road on which farm the coffee originated, nor knows the farmer where her coffee goes after the cooperative. Of course, different degrees of traceability are common in commodity coffee today, and digitalization increasingly facilitates the tracking of every shipment. For example, Nespresso is able to determine at least the cooperative where the coffee was delivered to, as they told me at different cooperatives. But the much more important trace in commodity coffee is the quality grade, not the origin. Usually, the roasters – as the biggest buyers abroad – will not demand a coffee from region X or country Y, but a coffee for example in AAA quality. Unless it is not a newer specialty/commodity-hybrid coffee (such as some country-origin Nespresso capsules like "Rosabaya Colombia"), it doesn't matter where the AAA comes from. This is why many bags of coffee in Northern supermarkets indicate as origin "Africa, Asia, Middle and South America" – basically, it's an indication of the planet where the raw material was sourced. So, whether and which traceability is performed is not a technological question, but a question of capitalist commodification: If the origin can be translated into monetary value, then its worth to trace it. If the quality class is more important, then

this will be traced. If particular production standards are demanded, such as "organic" or "fair", they will be traced by logos and certification systems. If neither origin nor high quality nor certified production are asked for by the demand in a given market segment, the coffee beans essentially become othered as a homogenized, silenced staple crop such as rice or corn. They then end up in instant coffee or ground blends for mainstream restaurants and commuter kiosks.

In terms of where their harvest goes, there are attempts to inform the farmers in a generic way about the "route of the coffee" in the cooperatives. For example, one poster that is present in all cooperatives I have visited shows the diverse steps of the Nespresso journey from the "certified farm" to the "buying point" – the cooperative – to the hulling factory and, finally, to the port wher it reaches the "final client". Another example is a glossy and visibly expensive picture book by Nespresso, laying around at the cooperatives amongst cheap flyers, dry technical files and low-quality copies on quality procedures (Nespresso 2012, trace 11). In the style of a hinged book for kids, it explains the farmers where their coffee goes to ("I produce the best coffee in the world!", a stylized farmer lets the reader know). However, few farmers actually take note of it, and when I leaf through it with one of them he is visibly disgusted by the infantilizing style. Later, cooperative staffer Felipe gives me their copy as a gift. "For your kids", he winks. Another poster advertises the FNC (Colombian Coffee Growers Federation or *Federación Nacional de Cafeteros Colombianos*) coffee expo. It shows a stylized image of a red jeep fully loaded with coffee bags and a woman on the passenger seat waving a hat, driving through hills and heading to a port with containers and a big ship ready to take off (Title: "Colombia. A new vision."). These visual elements give the practices unfolding in the sales procedure at the cooperative an air that goes beyond the individual farms – it's about the country, and all the farmers help develop Colombia if they sell to the FNC, is the inscription here. At the same time, the fact that farmers enacting commodity logics "have no idea where the coffee goes" is moderated by the trustworthy message of the FNC: Don't worry, we take care of your harvest.

The FNC is a heavily institutionalized organization with a power and complexity that is "particularly unusual in the coffee-producing world" (Hoffmann 2014: 188, Palacios 1979, Pérez Toro 2013). Founded in 1927 as a private non-profit organization, it has been able to build up a unique position which reverberates in the way coffee is organized globally and domestically. In the context of the coffee world markets, the special position of the FNC is reflected in the fact that historically, every president of the International Coffee Organization (ICO) – an international organization bringing together exporting and importing countries around the International Coffee Agreement

(ICA) – was Colombian, typically the director of the FNC. However, as the economic clauses of the ICA were abolished in 1989, the market was liberalized and the ICO has been rendered largely irrelevant in the last 30 years.[32] This went together with a continuous loss of influence of (quasi-)governmental institutions like the FNC on the "coffee journey" beyond the borders of production countries.[33] What is left as a reminder of the past global outreach of the FNC is that there still is a fixed price premium for "Colombian milds" in global markets until today (Hoffmann 2014: 188). This quality grade accounts for roughly 10% of coffee world exports (ICO 2018). Apart from Colombia, only Kenya produces a small quantity of this superior quality, an outcome of regulated plant material, specific production handling such as wet processing and rigorous quality controls (chapter 7).

Domestically, considering recent developments in DT coffee, the FNC has also lost some ground as DT farms like *Manantial* bypass the FNC as buyer and sell directly to the partners in consumer countries. But it maintains a tight grip on coffee producers and their distribution channels, favouring a structure of "independent" small farms that are, actually, largely dependent on the FNC. It is technically owned by its 500,000 coffee-producing members and controls every step in the process from providing supplies, finances and training to buying the coffee beans through fine-grained selling points and marketing them especially to the big roasters abroad. Even for DT farms, the FNC is still a massively important player to deal with, albeit not as buyer. "Its reach", describes Hoffmann, "goes deeper into coffee-growing communities and it has a hand in the creation of both social and physical infrastructure including rural roads, schools and health centers. It has also invested in other industries besides coffee to help spur on regional development and wellbeing" (Hoffmann 2014: 188).

The FNC indeed commercializes the coffee from each cooperative. Thus, the cooperative to where farmers like Julialba sell to is not organized bottom-up as it may be the case in other regions and countries, but rather top-down. All of the cooperatives have the same infrastructure, materials, tools, posters and procedures in place. One day,

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[32] A person involved with coffee trading told me that she was surprised and disappointed by the small London offices of the ICO, occupying only a small portion of the building "it once was". Today, the ICO is mainly doing research and publishes general information on trends in the coffee market – information which is, according to the expert I spoke with, "nice to have" but not necessary for traders and other actors to make decisions: There are many other organizations publishing similar outlooks. For a more detailed view on the ICO and why it broke down in 1989, I recommend Daviron and Ponte 2005.

[33] After the breakdown of the ICO, Rettberg shows how this 'global' change affected 'local' contexts in Colombian coffee regions, as the armed conflict intensified: "The decline of international coffee prices after the agreement was abandoned increased local poverty and made it difficult for the National Coffee Federation to compensate for the state's failure to provide economic stability and social services. Poverty and a weakened Federation in turn opened windows of opportunity for illegal armed actors, cultivators of illegal crops, and drug traffickers" (Rettberg 2010).

I visit the cooperative in Santa Marta and meet María, the woman mentioned by Julialba ("she knows things") and Francisco ("some don't like her because she's overly strict") in the thick tale. As usual, she already knew that I was coming: "Julialba told me about you". She's very pleased to show me the venue and explains me everything she does. First, the coffee is delivered and physical quality probes are made to determine defects. Sometimes, samples for the cup tests performed at another cooperative in a bigger village are taken (trace 11. See chapter 6.3.6 for a zoom-in on the testing). Based on the physical sample, the quality class is determined which, in turn, determines which of the four displayed prices apply for the given harvest. Neither price nor quality tags for a given coffee exist before, only expectations about them. "From here on, the quality and the price will *be there*", says the cooperative staff at different venues in only slightly different formulations. The day I visit the cooperative, a big board says: Nespresso AAA (COP 770.000), Starbucks (725.000), Cooperative Base (700.000). The prices are set daily, based on the coffee commodity market and the exchange rate from US Dollar to Peso Colombiano COP. Depending on how they fluctuate, they cover the cost of production or not.[34] Finally, the farmer accepts or rejects the deal. Usually, the performance includes that the staff reveals the determined quality and price, the farmer issues some doubts and points at this or that bean in the probe wrongly assessed as "bad", the cooperative staff pushes two beans from the "bad" to the "good" side, takes the calculator again and reiterates the assessment, the farmer frowns, visibly calculates and then says ok. It's a ritual without consequences, because mostly, the farmer has no way of rejecting. He needs the cash to pay the pickers and sustain the family, María says.

Even if a farmer has sufficient liquidity for the next week, he usually doesn't turn down the deal, as María, staff at other cooperatives and many farmers tell me. This would mean to take all the bags back to store them somewhere (where? In the living room?) and, in the meantime, to look for some private dealers "on the street". Much travelling, transporting and hassle for the uncertain prospect of getting a better deal. In general, the street prices are heavily coordinated by inofficial means anyways: Once, I travelled by car with two middlemen to the city of Pereira to talk to an experienced exporter. Every couple of minutes, we would pass a village or an intersection with one or two private coffee dealers sitting there on plastic chairs and a few bags behind them. The car would briefly stop, and the middlemen would quickly ask for the price and tell them how much they would be willing to pay, they would take off again and make a quick phonecall to

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[34] As many practitioners expanded on, one of the big political topics in Colombia in the last years is whether the coffee growers receice a guaranteed minimum price for their harvest to at least have a guarantee to cover the cost of production (see also BBC 2013, Cano Sanz, Vallejo Mejía, Caicedo García, Amador Torres and Tique Calderón 2012, Rincón Garcia 2005).

distribute the most recent price information. At the same time, also the cooperatives are perfectly informed in real time about the micro-shifts on the street markets. When I talked to Marías counterpart Felipe at the cooperative in Colorado, an elderly man slowly drove by on a motorcycle and, without stopping, shouted a price info through the big entrance portal: "Felipe oiga, allá son siete", "Felipe listen, it's seven there". Felipe nodded without watching and shouted "see you later", expecting more updates to come throughout the day. So, the generalized price for different quality classes is constantly coordinated in rhizomatic ways, performed alongside the common everyday movements and communications in the region, and basically no farmer could expect to make an exceptional deal neither "on the street" nor in the cooperative.

The majority of commodity farmers I talked to tell me that the pricing mechanisms are obscure to them. They know that the locals coordinate by phones and on motorbikes, but in general, they just "translate what comes from abroad", "*del exterior*". As we have seen also in José's reflections on large market forces (chapter 5.4.3), abstract others like "the stock / commodity / currency / oil market", "New York" or "the big companies" set the prices beyond any "local" grip to influence what happens out there (or, whether this "out there" even exists as an actual place). But there are also other opinions on the degree of knowledge the farmers about the pricing. Others have indicated that the skill level of the farmers has risen in the traditional – commodity – way of handling coffee, especially due to the education efforts of the FNC in the field. Representing different voices, José David, an intermediary enrolled by Joaquín to coordinate the commercial practices on the Colombian side, describes these changes:

> "In the countryside, the federation has educated the farmer a lot. Before, the farmer was a person without knowledge. Today, the same farmer sends his kids to study. They have become technicians. So, now they are…now, they don't go out to the market blindly. No, they do something with the product. Before, a poor farmer arrived at a storehouse and, nothing! [he claps his hands], 'that's worth so much', and they fooled him with the calculator, they fooled him with the weight. Today, no. Today […] the farmer knows more than…even me. Or he comes better informed. 'You sell the coffee at which rate here? No, no, no, a moment please. The dollar has risen. And the stock market has been at so and so much.' So, I don't know, these things have changed very much there." José David, on farmers

Immediately, the scenes at the cooperative above come to mind where the farmer has no other choice than to agree on the price for her coffee. For José David, though, this is more and more the past, as he indicates in his repeated rhetorical contrast of "before/today". It is plausible that he mainly refers to the "street markets" where prices are fixed in less centralized ways than in the cooperatives, and he describes that the

negotiations are more leveled today because the information is distributed more evenly ("Today, the farmer knows more than…even me"). They are even empowered to enact abstract entities like the stock market to gain leverage in the concrete negotiations, he somewhat complains. It gets apparent that these alterations are threatening to him as an intermediary representing buyers.

The biggest buyer of high-quality coffee in the region, Nespresso, appears in the cooperative only as an abstract entity and more as a quality standard. It generally materializes in alliance with the FNC, be it through co-branded posters controlling plant varieties ("*amigo cafetero*", see chapter 7) or quality requirements or the "route of coffee" or, for a certified AAA farmer, through the visits they do at the farm to revise "this or that related to quality control" (Julialba). That they are a roaster and produce capsules is widely unknown around here, just as any buyers are essentially black boxed behind the FNC. For example, uncle Pablo says that the farmers don't do business with Nespresso, or not many of them, "I don't know what they [Nespresso] do". Only a few traces allow the villagers to guess that Nespresso is an entity independent from the FNC, and that it might be equally or more powerful than the federation. Back at the cooperative of Santa Marta, María and me briefly go to the depot where high piles of yute bags fill up the space, differentiated by quality. A sheet attached to the biggest pile says "NESPRESSO UNFIT", an powerful marker of market segmentation (trace 11). "Too much summer this year", María comments the high pile of lower-grade coffee, referring to a too marked dry season, and a "lot of *broca* [coffee borer beetle] damage in this zone". Of course, this coffee is still sold, but at a lower price and likely to be blended with cheap foreign *robusta* varieties somewhere downstream.

It is exactly in-between the "ok" of the farmer to seal the deal and these piles where the farm origin of commodity coffee gets lost and the worlds of the particular and the universal are associated. According to the quality the physical probe has shown, the parchment bags are unloaded from the jeep, poured out into an overhead funnel to fill FNC-branded bags according to the quality grade – so, all AAA coffee from Santa Marta gets mixed together (trace 11). If you go back to dig deep in the folders in Santa Marta, you'll know how much bags Doña Julialba contributed that day to the pile of AAA, but you won't know which beans were exactly hers. That is, the physical probe is the key practice of associating concrete places with abstract standards here, transforming a weekly harvest, produced by particular socioecological entanglements, into a class of goods that can be unequivocally localized on a one-dimensional, universal classification system.

Trace 11: Translating weekly harvests into commodity coffee at the cooperative

(From top to bottom): A glossy book on "the Nespresso journey" among technical files and flyers on quality, seen as infantilizing the farmers; traceable coffee samples for additional cup testing; clearly marked "UNFIT" beans; the moment when the beans lose their farm origin and gain a globally recognizable quality grade; bags waiting to be shipped to the huller and from there to the "final client", that is, usually a foreign roaster taking over at the port.

6.3.4 Practicing DT association work: Un-othering worlds of production?

As Doña Julialba sighs in the focal scene that "the people over there, they just don't know that producing coffee is that much work", she circumscribes a key impetus of any DT business: To establish a direct, transparent relation between farmer and buyer (or even farmer, buyer and consumer). The idea is that, in comparison with the commodity farmer, the DT farmer directly interacts with the buyers abroad. (In our case, the buyer *is* the farm owner, and the farm administrator is positioned as the farmer.) This makes that DT practices generally do not perform a "commodity veil", and the coffee-in-the-making never undergoes such a profound ontological translation like commodity coffee as described in the final part of the last section. DT coffee conserves the information about the origin and the symbolic mark of its specific socioecological entanglements as it is handled along the network. It's specificity is not silenced as in the staple good production of commodity coffee. To achieve this traceability, DT networks have to "set up a program [to] ascertain the shipment, always […] it's the handling. And this handling has to be constant for the quality to be there when it reaches out to the markets abroad", said José David at one point, Joaquín's facilitator.

To achieve such a constant handling, the most important DT claim is the dissociation from every practice which cannot guarantee the origin of the bean – most notably, of course, the dissociation from the practices at the FNC-dominated cooperative in the village. What we see in the focal case, instead of a clear-cut selling instance where the responsibility (and visibility) of the farmer ends, the DT practices are related by more components than just the physical product of the bean in its various stages. That is, beans, knowledge and information produced in one practice travel more freely between each other. This makes that the involved actors are empowered, and made responsible, for a wider array of activities – and, crucially, the connections between them. This becomes visible in the focal scene in the case of transporting and storing, which stand for the connecting (and usually silenced) "lines between the dots". They demand quite some logistical attention and resources. In the thick tale, the importance of infrastructure for quality appears in various contexts, most prominently in the difficult transport situation ("access", in the words of José). Examples are the steep topography, bad roads and the need for (costly) private and public jeeps for at least two daily trips – wet coffee from farm to drying machine, dry coffee from drying machine to living room storage – and two weekly trips – dry coffee from living room to storage facility in Colorado.

What this involvement of people, matter, norms and knowledge in multiple associated practices does to the transparency of the value chain for the farmer can be seen in the following vignette, chosen as a good representation for similar dynamics in other DT

cases. At the same time, it shows the peculiarities of the focal case as well. Some days after my arrival, *Finca Manantial* administrator Francisco and me are walking down through the steep coffee plantations on a small path, something of a shortcut. Francisco greets a mule who is just standing there, watching us with a soft expression. They know each other. Francisco usually passes by four times a day. He hikes down from home to the finca at five o'clock in the morning every day. Thirty minutes down. He gets back home for lunch, climbs down a second time in the afternoon and is back again between six and seven o'clock at night for dinner. Forty-five minutes up. We are talking about what it means to work for a DT business. Francisco talks for a while, and at one point, he contrasts CT and DT:

> *"Joaquín's project is special. You know where the coffee goes to. […] Usually the federation organizes the exportation through the cooperatives. One never knows the end, and where the coffee goes to. It is important to know where it goes…if one doesn't know, one doesn't really pay attention to the product. If one would know more about the consumer, one would value quality more […] That's special about working for Joaquín. He explains us many things and tells us how things should be for the consumer. Coffee is an aliment. It has to be good (el café es un alimento. Tiene que ser bueno)." Francisco, finca administrator*

Here, Francisco explains that for him as a producer, the striking difference is that he now "knows where the coffee goes to". In this sense, trading directly with the Swiss side has indeed lifted the 'commodity veil' for him. Compared to his colleagues at other farms, he has a much clearer idea of the final consumer of his coffee thanks to Joaquín who coaches and trains them and "explains" them "how things should be for the customer". As the customer gets an (imagined) human face, Francisco is much more careful in handling the production process. As Joaquín's entrepreneurial activities open up a connection to the consumers, this connection across difference results in an acknowledgement of a commonality that triggers an enhanced quality orientation: Both consumers and producers are human and drink coffee. Thus, coffee transforms from being an unspecific mass of cherries harvested to generate some income into "an aliment" that "has to be good". In this statement, the basic quality slogan put forward by posters in many cooperatives resonates, "coffee is a drink for human consumption. Quality is making the things well from the beginning to the end" (Leaflet, *cooperativa de caficultores del norte de Caldas*, Salamina branch). From this vignette, it gets apparent why enhancing the transparency in the value chain for the producers, and not only the consumers, has the potential to enhance the quality of the product.

The orientation that producing coffee has to aim at "good" results is crucial for a DT framework, but not self-evident across different coffee-producing contexts. In other

words, what form of coffee is brought into being as a result of practices varies across networks which are governed by different general understandings of what is "acceptable" within them – and which practices and their results must be "othered" out of the network. For a quality- and origin-oriented coffee network, it is essential to meticulously govern the handling across moments and places in a risk-averse way, because every small deviation from the protocols could ruin the product profile, as we have seen in chapter 6.3.2 as well: Directly traded coffee usually has to guarantee minimal quality and profile variation from harvest to harvest. This demands a *constant handling of the coffee* and, therefore, an explicit and potentially resource-intensive orientation on training mind-sets, skill-sets and tool-sets to standardize practices in a given production process. Therefore, a much more active and empowered role of producers is not only desired, but needed to bring DT coffee into being successfully: Francisco feels responsible and even pride for the product, he is able to "own" it as he shows efforts to internalize Joaquín's training in general understandings of the project ("he explains us many things.").

Apart from additional possibilities to imagine the (still typified) final customer and the centrality of training efforts, the DT model differs from the commodity model, as performed at the cooperation, in the transparency of the pricing. *Manantial* gets paid by Joaquín for the number of *cargas* (125 kg) or *arrobas* (12,5 kg) they ship. Per *carga*, Francisco receives 800,000 *pesos colombianos* COP, roughly 260 USD. "That's good", Francisco adds, "it's above what you get on the free market" ("en el comercio libre"), which essentially means selling it at the cooperative. Although the price is still fixed elsewhere like in commodity coffee, it is set at least by a particular other, at Joaquín's desk in Switzerland, and not by abstract entities, it is higher than "on the free market", considers the production cost at the farm and does not vary from week to week. Therefore, Francisco does not have to rely on anonymous economical forces at the commodity and currency markets or the bureaucratic or political norm making in hidden offices of the federation. As he shows in many instances, compared to other farmers in the village, he is also more confident in explaining me the different variables that come into play when prices are set around here (quality, laboratory, federation).

Compared to enacting CT, DT practices perform a pricing mechanism that is done by concrete, not abstract others in more tangible negotiation processes, usually performed by phone. This enhanced knowledge, however, does not necessarily imply that farmers have more agency in determining prices. In the studied case, the performed relations were far from being relations among equals, as the neocolonial subject position of the "clever emigrant" has suggested before (chapter 5). As I trace the coffee-handling

practices on the farm and in the village, I have the privilege to closely follow the farm administrator Francisco for a couple of days. Whether we are in the midst of coffee bushes (chapter 7), whether we wait for the coffee to be dried at Julialbas farm in the thick tale of this chapter, or whether we stand in front of the lab for the harvest to be tested (chapter 6.3.6), a routinized pattern strikes me. Farm owner Joaquín calls him regularly from Switzerland, and it is more than quick coordination talk: They often speak with each other up to one hour per session. The following vignette I noted down after a day of harvesting at *Manantial* fleshes out how I experienced a typical call:

> *"Francisco has left the plantation and is sitting a bit above on the grass. It's within hearing distance; he's still on the phone. I am sure that it is Joaquín by the respectful and somewhat afraid way Francisco answers: "sí señor...aaah bueno...claro...así es...sí. Sí señor, tal cual. Aquí, sí. Sí, señor." ("Yes sir, of course, that's it, yes sir...") In Switzerland, it's 6 hours later, that is, after 10pm. The call goes on for at least 1 hour. I have been in Joaquín's café when he called Francisco, so I know a bit how the phonecall works: Questions, specifications, explanations, surely some inquiries whether I am well and what we have done, et cetera. […][I] have a feeling that this moment is crucial for me to understand more about their connection." Dominik, notes from the field*

When re-reading these notes, it becomes apparent how important the practice of calling is for the relationship between Francisco and Joaquín, and that I realized this in the very moment. Triggered by happenings in the field, it was the first time I explicitly thought about multiple forms of "being present" and how the specific ways they interact play a role in holding the network together over distance. As the call intersected with Francisco's handling and control work, I felt the sudden reduction of Francisco's attention for the picking: Francisco was still "there", but less "aware" to his immediate surroundings – and more "aware" to a voice travelling from Switzerland to Colombia in parts of a second. Everybody knew that it was his boss on the line, the tone in his voice was easy to read. In the plantation that day, I felt how uncomfortable it was for Francisco to be called, or maybe more adequately, to be heard by his subordinates while he was receiving orders and some coaching. He left the plantation to sit on the grass, but it was not far enough to be beyond "hearing distance", a fact he was probably aware of as he did not issue substantiated assessments of the process or any other more extended argumentation. *"Yes sir, of course, that's it, yes sir…"* was mostly what he said during that hour-long call. It was mostly Joaquín doing the talking. Finally, Francisco quickly left to oversee a construction site rather than continuing checking on the pickers as if he would have been embarrassed or at least uncomfortable. He was definitely stressed, maybe also due to losing one hour of his working day.

Already in the first conversations with Francisco, I could feel that to respond to both Joaquín and Pablo – the one relation more commercially and professionally, the other more socially and informally – was a situation for positioning struggles for Francisco. While his boss Joaquín led and mentored him usually remotely from Switzerland via calls and texts, former owner uncle Pablo brought him into the framework and was around almost every day. Thus, for Francisco, the fields of power he has to navigate are essentially mediated in two ways: By technology to transcend the geographical distance / bodily absence of his boss, but also by agents like uncle Pablo enrolled to embody strategic control beyond the person of the supervisor. In short, in DT networks, as the involved people, matter and knowledge perform multiple associated practices, power generally seems to be less enacted in clear-cut moments of control – such as the quality/price setting in the cooperative through physical probing and some negotiation play – but more diffusely enacted by multiple relations between worlds.

6.3.5 DT associations: More intermediaries, held together in "joint marginality"

More diffuse, more multiplicity: It was a general perception along the practices bringing DT coffee into being that the everyday enactments were more ambiguous and hybrid than the corresponding CT performances. This started at the coffee shop in Switzerland (chapter 5) and continued in the concerted accomplishments of drying, storing and transporting in around Santa Marta. Based on the production steps developed by O'Keefe (2009, chapter 6.3.2) and integrating elements of the analysis so far, Table 18 weaves the the last three sections together and serves as a connector to the continuation of the analytical narrative. The table displays the different ways commodity, standard DT and marginal DT coffee are brought into being, and what this implies in terms of the transparency along the value chain, indicated by the bold white-blue arrows. As a comparison between the arrows in CT, standard DT and the focal DT case shows, the transparency – and worlds shared – differ between the three. As has been analyzed already, the crucial moment in the CT journey is the quality/price generation and the associated ontological transformation of the bean at the cooperative (marked "X"). It makes that the different actors don't "see" beyond their "own" practice. At the same time, DT coffee creation is more dispersed over different practices. In practice theoretical terms, they are held together by other-than-physical-bean flows. Information and general understandings – "why are we doing this?" – travel with the bean. Thinking back to O'Keefe's framework, Southern producers in CT as well as mainstream DT perform the subject position of "sourcer of raw material", while in our focal case, the producer position becomes more hybrid and includes refining steps as well. The table shows practices done by, and subject positions performed in, the South as grey fields.

Step (according to O'Keefe 2009)	Commodity Trade (mainstream in COL)	Direct Trade (generic model)	Marginal Direct Trade (performed in focal case)
	Fields indicate actor in charge / *actor operating (if different to actor in charge)*. J=Joaquín, F=Francisco, P=Pablo, JA=Julialba, JD=José David, D=David, FNC = Federación de Cafeteros Colombianos, DHL= Shipping Company, X = crucial CT association instance		
Planting & variety	Farmer	Farmer	J/F/P
Nutrition	Farmer	Farmer	J/F/P
Climate	Farmer	Farmer	J/F
Husbandry	Farmer	Farmer	J/F
Ripeness	Farmer	Farmer	J/F
Pulping & Ferment.	Farmer	Farmer	J/F
Washing	Farmer	Farmer	J/F
Drying	Farmer	Farmer	J/F/P (at JA)
Origin Storage	Farmer	Farmer	J/F/P
Dry Prep & Export	FNC	Direct Exporter	J/F/JD (at D)
Shipping/Freight	Importer	Direct Importer	n/a
Green Freshness	Importer	Direct Importer	J/*Pereira*
Roasting	Roaster	Roaster	J/*Pereira*
Roast Freshness	Roaster	Roaster	J/*Pereira*
Extraction	Roaster	Roaster	J/*Pereira*
Shipping/Freight	n/a	n/a	Pereira/*DHL*
retail / preparation	B2C	B2C (Café)	J

FNC in charge and operating quality tests	Buyer / owner in charge, inter-mediaries operating quality tests	Buyer / owner in charge, inter-mediaries operating quality tests according to FNC norms

Subject positions performed by Northern actors	- Consumers - Refining producers:	- Consumers - Refining producers: - Farm owners	- Consumers - Association workers - Farm owners
Subject positions performed by Southern actors	- Producers of raw material	- Producers of raw material	- Refining producers: - Producers of raw material

Table 18: Production steps and subject positions: Commodity trade, direct trade, marginal direct trade.

Oriented towards a goal of "the added value stays in Colombia", *Café Don Miguel* is exported as refined, roasted coffee and not as the raw material of green, pre-roasted coffee. In terms of the associated practices, roasting comes before export here (and not after) and is done by the medium- sized factory of *Pereira* in the city of Pereira (indicated in bold in the table), a company where I conducted some observation and an interview. As the table displays, until the coffee reaches the roaster, all steps lie in Joaquín's responsibility and are administered by Francisco or Pablo. Then, *Pereira* is in charge of sending the delivery to Switzerland via DHL, shipped through the Caribbean port of Cartagena. The delivery takes 30 days by ship and would take 32 days by plane, apparently due to much more "bureaucracy" (Joaquín). What happens along the way, he does not now and does not need to, he says. Joaquín adds another point when talking about the associated practices. He says that it is not efficient to to "so many quality checks, especially for five tons of coffee". If we follow the diamonds in table 18, we see the instances of quality checks along the chain. While the process on the farm is checked already, it then gets apparent that the huller (David) takes a probe to comply with the export norms, the roaster *Pereira* takes one along different protocols, and the FNC again does a check at the ports.

In mainstream Direct Trade businesses, the specialty cafés often do yet another *barista*-oriented quality and profile check (indicated by the last diamond in the middle), something Joaquín does not regularly do due to lack of resources and infrastructure. As a difference to the commodity chain, it gets apparent that the diverse quality probes are done by different intermediaries, once by the FNC (at the port) and once – it is a crucial instance that comes into focus in the next part – by intermediaries enacting FNC protocols. During my fieldwork, I have been able to participate in various instances of physical bean-by-bean-counts and sensory tests at cooperatives and a hulling plant. All of the performances were greatly guided – and restricted – by abstracts such as the "export norm", the "quality norm", the "Nespresso AAA norm" or the cup test protocol of the American Specialty Coffee Association (SCAA). In general, an essential function for the traceability of DT coffee is performed by FNC export regulations, explains David, the owner of the hulling plant where *Café Don Miguel* gets processed:

> "Dominik [the farmer] sells to the client under certain conditions X. Dominik
> reports to Federation that he sold to this client […] under which conditions. […]
> With all this information, Federation assigns a contract number, a lot number and
> a thing that is called the "allocation" [he pronounces it in English]. […] So, when
> I am going to export, or when Dominik hands it over to the client at the port, all
> the documents have to coincide with […] a transit guide from the origin of the

> *coffee to the port where it will be shipped." David, plant owner, on export regulations*

If we follow the practices along the focal marginal DT network more closely, a high presence of intermediaries thus gets apparent. Here, a key person in the focal DT case is José David, somewhat of an intermediator for Joaquín. He facilitates the commercial process from the farm to the huller (or dry miller) and then to the roaster in Pereira. He is, as they say in Colombia, a *comerciante*; a private merchant, trader, dealer or handler of commercial goods without actually owning a physical shop or visible company. *Comerciante* is an ambiguous term for someone who facilitates and enables connections, opens possibilities, negotiates leverage, sits between and moves things from here to there. José David has been employed by Joaquín to facilitate alternative connections bypassing the FNC in Colombia. Apart from making sure that the traceabilty is conserved from the farm to the huller to the port, his task involves more complexity than usual DT projects, as the orientation of Joaquín's project includes shifting added value from the consumer country Switzerland to the producer country Colombia – and therefore, the additional service of roasting has to be enrolled and managed. What is more, he also embodies the invisible grip of Joaquín on the farming practices through visiting the farm, revising the plantation, taking samples and sending them to the laboratory of the huller. As it turned out, he is the expert Luisa, Francisco and Julialba refer to in the thick tale. More of these visits happen in-between seasons to evaluate the soil composition, the health of the plants et cetera. The function is to proactively assess whether the coffee is well under way. The visits also serve as training and control of the farming procedures, foreshadowing the quality demands of the coffee markets in general and the Colombian exporting norms set by the FNC in particular.

For commodity-producing farms, such visits are regularly done by FNC agronomists or, in the case of AAA farmers like Julialba, by Nespresso representatives as well.[35] Let us listen once more to José David who vividly sums up the changes that have happened through the rise of DT networks:

> *"There have been a lot of ups and downs in the life of coffee. [...] Before, one arrived and bought the coffee and simply said, OK, let's do it. [he claps his hands.]*

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[35] I had an interview once with the agronomist in charge of the Colorado region, Esteban. He explained me how they take samples and that they commonly train the farmers and harvesters in parallel. Although he frames it as a service for the coffee growers, it is also very clear that the FNC uses these visits to get a grip on the plant varieties, the used fertilizers and, ultimately, as an additional stream of income (see the coffee grower manual by FNC and Cenicafé 2013 and chapter 7). The visits cost, and the products and tools they recommend are sold in their own shops again. For Joaquín, "these so called 'trainings' by the federation don't serve", as he would express repeatedly. "They just take some samples and send you a list with a few recommendations what to do, together with the bill. That's it."

> *Today, no. The cup tests have arrived, the laboratories have stuck around, and the norms are different now. Before, the norms were more flexible around exporting. No, now, the norms are stricter, more demanding. That's why so many have come to stick around in the chain. Before, the taster [catador] did not exist, the barista did not exist. No one did exist for the internal production control in a plant. All these requirements have created these types of work. A barista earns fifteen million pesos. It's ridiculous. A good and qualified taster is a man worth six, seven million pesos…."*

One interesting point is the slightly ironic fact that an intermediary seems to lament the growing presence of other intermediaries who "stick around in the chain". The combination of bypassing commodity markets to get rid of intermediaries – and redistribute the value across the chain – with the elevated traceability and quality standards does apparently not lead to less, but to different actors along the way. A second point is related to the connection between more demanding norms due to the quality orientation of the DT model on one side, and the rise of embodied control practices by tasters, testers and barista on the other side. It seems that the more generalized and abstracts norms there are, the bigger the demand for embodied (and skilled) quality control work gets to translate these abstract universals into practice.

As this shows, bypassing the commodity system is not only achieved by dissociating from the "old" ways of handling coffee – most notably selling the weekly harvest at the cooperative – but also by creating associations and enrolling "old" components such as the FNC norm as glue between practices to-be-associated. A *first* type of such enrolments is exemplified by the case of drying practices, unfolding at the farm of Doña Julialba. It shows that the likely alliances a "new" project builds is to extant practices – the way how drying unfolds is nothing new – performed by practitioners already at the margins. In the tale above, and in the longer interview I was able to have with her a couple of weeks later, she described the village dynamics as "difficult" for her, especially in two ways – "as a woman" and as an outsider. There would have been many places in Santa Marta where they could have established a deal to machine dry the wet parchment coffee of *Manantial*, and also considerably closer venues. It takes roughly 35 minutes by jeep to get from *Manantial* to the drying place, driving up- and downhill again. And yet, Julialba it was. I argue that it played a role that both Joaquín's as well as her farm are outsider businesses in the community, and that it was in part an act of solidarity. As she expressed referring to her borrowing the drying machine for *Manantial* coffee, "What I am doing here is essentially a favour to Joaquín."

Other interesting fields of allied marginal agency in the village have been touched in the field tale. On the one hand, both Francisco as well as Julialba mention María, the woman

at the cooperative who "knows things" and is "very strict", so she is not very popular among the coffee grower community here. In my fieldwork, she was the only woman I have met who was doing the physical tests at the cooperative and embodied the powerful abstracts of the markets, prices and FNC quality norms to the farmers. The complaints indicate that she wouldn't give in in the negotiations around the probed quality for the farmers to get a little more income. It is probable that her predecessor was from the community and allowed for more flexibility in this situation of control. So, she is more professional and allows for less personal leverage in a very formalized process. What is more, I am convinced that gender dynamics play a big role here (for the marginal position of women in Colombian coffee production, see Cuellar 2013). Just like Julialba, she clearly knows how to handle the performativity around lifting bags and negotiating prices on the Colombian countryside, and this is probably what allies the two women.

Second, as the focal scene suggests as well, while marginal practitioners might attract and support each other, to relate with marginality as such performs marginal subject positions over time, making practitioners less adapted members of the community without disconnecting them entirely from it. In the field tale, this gets apparent during the dinner conversation when Luisa explains me how the relation of Francisco to the village has changed after he stopped to go to the cooperative to sell coffee every Saturday (before, he was administrating another farm). She underlines that his quality had always been very good, but that the rumours in the village first were that he or the new farm couldn't deliver anymore. In enrolling Francisco, José in a way pulled their whole family in a situation of marginality in the village, and they have started to see their farm as a proof of concept to show the village that change from within is possible ("they will not stop to smile", Francisco). At the same time, they started to perceive a gap between them and "the others" in terms of "punch and persistence" (Luisa), something that they have been apparently mentored in by Joaquín, "a unique patron". Interestingly, the frictions go directly through families and are even tangible within individuals. When I had a longer conversation with uncle Pablo at the village square about the changes in the coffee markets and José's project, I asked him whether others also thought about innovating their farms or sending the coffee abroad already roasted.

> "Yes...but there is no knowledge...they know the coffee in this form (el café en esta forma conocen). They don't know how....and then, there are the expenses to do so...to transport to the huller and then to the roaster. It costs. If they would have the financial capacity, it would be a good idea. But they don't brace up to do this, I don't know." Uncle Pablo, on going for new business models

He says "they", but at least a part of him means himself as well – a clear indication of colonial self-othering that we have encountered already in the enactments of Joaquín back in Switzerland. I had a similar conversation with a cousin of theirs, Teresa. She said that Joaquín had talked many times about his business when meeting the family, but she always felt that what the cooperative loses goes directly to the huller, the roaster and Joaquín himself. She doesn't see the value in the project because she doesn't trust outsiders (like him) but then, when the family (like him) apparently profits then it is a good idea. Thus, implementing a "new" project in a setting where "old" practices with grown orientations, interests and social connections dominate raises frictions, marginalizes the actors and places associated with the altered network, and leads to self-othering irritations as well as disbelief.

Third, in order to associate with extant practices, it seems that the marginal position of project owner Joaquín in the Colombian setting has also another facilitating effect: The project can be read in different ways which allows for different couplings to existing assemblages of practice components. What for Julialba may be the joint marginality and for Pablo as well as Francisco may be family bonds and the possibility to benefit in terms of (financial and non-financial) resources, I have found different views on the marginal DT business which allowed for situationally adapted associations. While some see Joaquín and the project as "unique", particularly the established middlemen, the facilitators and the processing professionals agreed that "hay muchos que lo hacen" ("there are many who do it"). However, when then asked what "it" implied in practical terms, different accounts were made:

> *"Last year, we sent him a coffee that was already roasted and ground. So, what do we do? We hull it here. And we get it revised by the Federation for them to give us the approval to roast and grind and export.[…] There are a lot of people sending the coffee abroad like this, uh, yes! So [Joaquín] is not the only one there."* José David, coffee intermediary

> *"No, no, these coffees [like Joaquín is doing] have been made, this type of market has been handled for many years now. There are many groups in Colombia that do this. […] They have a group of farmers that they support, they give them benefits, they have built them classrooms […] Every year, they give a computer to the kids, they pay their education, a very expensive program. But then again, I imagine that the market abroad values that."* David, owner of huller Don Camilo

While José David underlines that the export of roasted and ground coffee is very common ("uh, yes"), David, the owner of the hulling plant who was characterized by Joaquín as "the only one who understands" (chapter 5.4.3), frames the project more almost like a charity endeavor by foreign money ("they give them…for free…"). In

between the lines, it becomes clear that he doesn't fancy "this type of market", but that "the market abroad" sees value in it and commodifies the well-being of producer communities and families, so it is been made. I argue that both don't fully enact the general orientation of the business, but understand its marginality (not singularity) well enough to ally with Joaquín. At the same time, while both see that "such a market", be it to export refined coffee or commodity production conditions, is common yet not mainstream, both – and most actors I talked to – see an indispensable role of foreign initiative:

> *Actually, many [locals] have gotten into the topic, trying to make coffee to export [directly]. But they are not judicious enough. And they are not respectful enough with the topic. Because we, as Colombians, have a malice for everything. We are…god has, like, given us an exceptional ability to aim for what we may need. And sometimes, we don't utilize it for the good things, but to try to take out the biggest benefit of everything we find."* David, owner of huller Don Camilo

Such clear instances of self-othering have appeared more often around the practices of DT than CT. It seemed that the higher the transparency and awareness in the market was, the clearer became the colonial difference into consumers and producers as well as refined producers and producers of raw material. At the same time, both DT and CT practices reproduced and reinforced these subject positions by being oriented towards the teleology of serving Northern, knowledgeable and "cultivated" (Colombian senator, personal communication) consumers of a fine product, a product with an exquisite taste which comprehension and apprehension lied beyond what they themselves might have been able to acknowledge.

Taken together, to dissociate from CT avenues does not establish clear-cut DT avenues alongside the "old" ways of handling coffee. Based on what has been elaborated in the last chapter, and made more explicit in this one, the "glue" in between DT practices seem less straightforward "new" understandings that replace "old" ones, but an ambiguous understanding of "becoming marginal together", namely by subscribing to non-mainstream practices (as in the enrolment family practices), performing alliances of different and shifting marginal subject positions, and by performing situatively adapted understandings of the subject positioning.

6.3.6   Zooming in: DT quality testing, "old" components in "new" associations?

In the analysis of CT coffee, we have encountered the practice of quality testing already. Enacted at the cooperative, it serves to translate the particular product of a weekly harvest into a representative of a class of goods that can be unequivocally localized on

a one-dimensional, universal classification system. At the same time, in the last section, we have seen that quality testing is repeatedly done along the DT network to safeguard a high quality and unique taste profile of the harvest. There has even been one particular instance of quality testing identified where the intermediaries perform quality checks according to FNC norms. It is performed when the huller tests the quality of the whole harvest before processing it (and sending it to the roaster). This is where we zoom in now. (How) do the DT quality checks differ from the observed CT testing at the cooperatives, especially in this particular case where "old" FNC norms matter?

The incident of quality testing re-told here in a shortened form took place on Monday, 23rd November 2015 rougly between 12.30pm and 1.30pm in Chinchiná, Colombia. Before, the portion of the annual harvest which had been picked, processed and dried in the weeks before and stored in the municipality of Colorado had been brought to the hulling plant "*Don Camilo*" by Francisco, by means of enrolled truck and driver. In between instances of waiting and slack over an hour, Joaquín had talked to Francisco and José David on the phone and was available on the Swiss side just in case, and the baseline data had been gathered: Weight of the delivery (2191 kilos in 31 bags), producer ID, tracking numbers. Hulling, as José David explained me while showing me the machinery, is a key production step to translate dry parchment beans into green beans to be roasted. He said that at the latest, every coffee bean meets industrial processing in the hullers, the *trilladoras*. The main aim is to get rid of the dry paper-like bean skin, the parchment (trace 12). At the same time, it is an extremely rigid, detailed and somewhat violent selection process, as my field note from that day recounts:

> *"The procession begins as the beans are thrown out of the bags, put into motion and rapidly shaken on a series of big panels, wave by wave. Then, a machine classifies the size and sorts out the defect ones. From the top, coffee beans are shot in and leave below in hoses that disappear beneath the floor. Quicker than the eye is able to capture, they are sent through channels with intelligent sensors, able to identify beans that suffer a defect. The 'sane' ones are sent straight down. The 'defect' ones receive a strong, parts-of-a-second blow of air and are diverted to another route. Pft – pft – pft – pft goes the song of the applications rejected."* Dominik, noting his impressions of the hulling process

Before the beans aspiring to become *Café Don Miguel* were allowed to enter the hulling, a probe was taken to test the quality. As all of us were waiting, a worker pieced two bags with a long tool that looked like a very pointy, sting-like shovel (trace 12). Some beans slid onto the shovel, were brought in and hulled by José David in a small machine. "That's for the physical test", he told me. The weight loss of the separated parchment, the *merma*, was weighed alongside. "The machines you see repeat the same with

technology for the whole harvest, but we we assess before how the coffee will turn out in the end", he said. "Francisco brings me so much kilos of coffee, and I will get so much of superior coffee, *excelso,* and so much of low quality beans, *pasilla*. Simply put." That is, as the hulling machines anyway select defect beans out, the point of the testing in the DT framework is directly related to the FNC exportation norms (FNC 2005). In order to export green coffee from Colombia, the beans have to be free of primary defects, properly sized, and properly dried.[36] What is more, a coffee that doesn't pass physical (aspect) grading and cupping tests "cannot be a specialty coffee" (Poltronieri and Rossi 2016: 86). As plant owner David explains,

> *We handle a strict quality control. We guarantee the client [...] that there will leave a coffee in acceptable conditions to be exported and put into the international market. [...] Through the physical test, what do I establish? The "yield factor" [rendimiento]. [...] I have to determine how many kilos of dry parchment are needed to produce a bag of excelso [supreme coffee] of seventy kilos. [...] Apart from being able to determine what is the yield factor, we also determine the percentage of humidity. And the granulometry [size of the beans]." David, owner of the hulling plant Don Camilo, on the enacted standards in testing*

While the size of the beans is not particularly relevant for the taste profile and can even obscure traceability, but has rather been institutionalized by the FNC in the international arena in the last decades as a proxy for quality (Hoffmann 2014: 40 and 188)[37], humidity indeed is key. Nespresso, for example, asks for a humidity between 10 and 11.5% (source: posters at the cooperatives). The yield, finally, is the final percentage of "sane" beans after subtracting the "defect" ones and the *merma* losses. There are the famous "14 defectos del café" that are taught to practitioners on posters, flyers and in FNC workshops. Potential causes for defects vary from too dry or humid climate to practices of growing, recollecting, depulping, fermenting, washing, drying or storing. Some, not all, affect the cup quality (FNC-Cenicafé 2013: 83). As far as the DT testing is concerned, let us listen to plant owner David again:

> *"In the bean by bean count, what we call the "first group" are all the beans that affect the cup taste. The norm of the federation says that this [coffee aspiring for*

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[36] The details of the exportation norms are in constant political discussion. At the time of my fieldwork, the FNC planned to loosen the norms to allow for low-quality beans to be exported for commodity blending abroad. Some practitioners supported the plan because it allowed for bigger export quantities and therefore income, others opposed it because it would harm the strict high-quality policy of the FNC (with its associated price premium on the world markets) (see also FNC 2015).

[37] "As part of the promotion of Colombian coffee, the FNC created the terms 'Supremo' and 'Excelso'. These terms relate only to the size of the bean, and it is important to understand that they have no relation to quality. Unfortunately this classification obscures any traceability as coffee marketed this way may come from many, many farms and be blended before being sieved mechanically to the necessary sizing grade. Essentially this is generic coffee, and its naming offers no help when trying to buy quality." (Hoffmann 2014: 189)

export here] has to result in 12/60. Yes? So, according to this, I can have 12 bad beans of the first group – black ones, red ones, yellow ones – and 60 of the "second" – like bitten ones [by the broca, the coffee borer beetle], smashed ones, damaged ones [in a sample of 500 grams]." David, on the enacted standards in testing

The key norm that is enacted in the physical test is 12/60, but what makes its enactment flexible is that the second group is less clearly defined. Sometimes, only slightly bitten *brocas* are "pardoned" (they are called "*ligeramente brocados*", often referred to as group 3. FNC 2012: 3). In addition, the numbers of the groups interact and can compensate each other: For each bean below the norm in the first group, ten *brocas* are pardoned. As an example, if you have a sample with only 5 bad beans of group 1, that is 7 below the norm of 12, this gives you an additional 70 *brocas* to still comply with the group 2 norm of 60. Thus, you can have 130 in the second group (60+70) and still pass according to 12/60.

Alongside the physical test, the cup test or sensorial test was also done (trace 12). It is not to be confused with the specialty cup grading.[38] It serves to make sure that the basic "organoleptic" dimensions of the coffee "exist" (José David) – "cuerpo, amargo, dulce, acidez" and, as oriented towards a more specialty-oriented idea – "carácter" ("body, bitterness, sweetness, sourness, character"). While body is commonly referred to as "aroma" or mouthfeel (and is related to the fragrance before brewing), the other properties are more closely related to the coffee "taste". Cupping is performed by skilled personel in standardized procedures whose set-ups are as far away from a "consumption" mood as possible (for a detailed overview, see Steiman 2013b). We are now in the position to follow the bean-by-bean protocol of the tests (trace 12). Table 19 shows the activities and the enacted practice components that serve as orientation points during the performance of the practices of physical and cup testing.

Activity	Description	Components
1. Start counting bean by bean	David and José David start. They spread out the beans on the table to proceed just like María or Felipe back in the cooperatives. David separates a group of some fifty beans and quickly starts to select apparently bad ones. He forms three groups. […]	beans, table group 1, 2, 3
2. Assure conditions of the test	For one minute, there is no talk, they are very focused. I start to film. "José", David asks, "…this is to produce 12/60?" José David answers: "Yes, for them. That's why we have to look at it. I don't know. We are	12/60

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[38] That is, it is important to differentiate the specialty cup grading, which determine the distinctive taste profile according to a sensory lexicon, usually the one developed by the Technical Standards Committee (TSC) of the Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA) (ibid.), from the more fundamental physical and cup tests which examine against given baseline standards.

	those who qualify it." He whistles. "It is to produce a lot that leaves…to present it to the federation." – "Mhm. Yes, the norm", mumbles David. "Norm", mumbles José David. Both continue to select and form groups. They appear to be very concentrated.	FNC / norm norm
3. Indicating first doubts	After another moment of tense focus, David says without looking up: "This here is high", he points to one of the bean piles, "Look. They…have gone dry, right?" – "Yes?", asks Francisco. "…is it very dry?", asks José David. "Uuh", replies David, "very dry here…" José David repeats. "Very dry..." […]	dryness dryness dryness dryness
4. Involving Francisco and Joaquín	"Mhm…yes…", mumbles Francisco, and David says: "No, and when you hull, this is a problem, hermano. You know that many beans break..." – "…what is the issue to fill it into the machine… a bit dry today?", Francisco asks. He comes closer. […] They are interrupted as José David' iPhone starts to ring. "Hello…Who?… Don Joaquín!" […] He hands the phone over to Francisco who leaves the room.	technol. limitations Joaquín call
5. Deepening doubts	David and José David continue to look at the beans. […] Suddenly, José David stands up, says "so!" and looks for Francisco. Apparently, the call is over. As they come back some seconds later, Francisco feebly says that "this coffee indeed might have had a bit of temperature." […] They remain silent for a moment while David continues to check the rest of the sample. "I smell something weird, *hermano*." […] They keep on counting for a minute or so.	dryness weird smell
6. Calculating numbers: la broca	"How many so far?", José David asks. "Seventy", says David. "Seventy *broca*" [bitten by the coffee borer beetle], confirms José David. […] David points to his black selection board. "Look how it is, here you have it, hermano." The bean is big, but the bean is yellow, you know that this is bad…that is, it's due to too much drying that is…there, in [your drying] machine…"	broca bean size dryness
7. Calculating numbers: la merma	David stays silent and then says: "No, what happens is that coffees with so much *merma*, waste…" "…dangerous [to hull it], eh." José David agrees. Francisco nods as well. "If you've got a big load, there is a bit of coffee failing and you merely note it. But this is little [coffee]", explains David. – "All right, I have it". José David has finished some calculations. "*Merma* twenty eight." David confirms: "Sí, señor. La *merma*." – "OK. Twenty eighty." They throw beans back into the plastic bowl, handful by handful.	merma, techn. limits, small size of order, calculator
8. Calculating numbers: the yield factor	"And the [yield] factor?", asks José David. David replies: "…factor hundred and something…hundred and nine point fifty-one." – "109.51". José David turns towards me. "What does this mean? In order to have seventy kilos here [one bag], you need to process 109.51 kilos of parchment coffee. So that's what we do: If this is a [total] weight of 2091 kilos, and we divide it by 109.51, we get 20 bags of excelso. Twenty bags of 70 [kilos]. So, from here, 1400 kilos would leave. "1400", repeats Francisco.	yield factor potential output
9. Approaching the verdict	"The *merma* was high and the *pasilla* [group 2 beans] was too high as well. So how much *pasilla* is allowed to result from this coffee?" José David looks at David. David replies while calculating and jotting: "Yes, I was just going to give it to you, Don José." – "And we will see	merma, group 2, calculator, notebook

	how much kilos we will…" David looks up from the data, turns to José David and makes a dramatic pause. "Don José David."	
10. Co-creating the verdict	"With this coffee", he says, "we are not able to produce 12/60. No." Pause. José David stares at his notes and starts to nod slowly. Pause. "So…what do we do." José David starts to shake his head slowly. "This coffee. Won't comply with the norm." Pause. David resumes. "That is", he says, "the factor is not what scares me. What scares me is the *broca*." – "why?" – "What happens is that in here", David points at the sample, "we already are at 220 brocas… - "Claro…" – "…that is, in order for it to give us 12/60…" [both calculate. José David underlines a number.] "No, ah." David continues. "And for the norm we would have to…12…eh, 80…140…" David looks at José David. "12/180, hermano, eh. Compared to 12/60." – "No." José David shakes his head. "No way." David agrees. "It's not fit." José David wants to confirm again. "Eh, how much is the *pasilla*…and the *broca*?". David browses through the data. "The pasilla and the broca…it's all here, *hermano*…" [more calculating] "That's 20 bags and…5 bags of pasilla." José David leans back.	failure, 12/60 notebook norm factor broca 12/60 norm, calculator, notebook, 12/60 group 2, broca, calculator potential output
11. Making sense of the verdict	"So, what do we do, David. Do we send it back from here to the *finca*? Or do I talk with Don Joaquín whether he sells this here?" He continues. "…Because it doesn't pass. It doesn't. It won't. That is, it won't allow to have an export coffee." David agrees. "Can it be hulled? Yes, it can be hulled. But it won't leave as a coffee type exportation. It won't leave." […]	Joaquín export norm no techn. limits export norm
12. Mobilizing option "blending"	José David continues. "These coffees won't be thrown away, of course. They are sold for the mixtures with some other, better ones. To bring the *broca* down and be able to pass…mingle it with a coffee that has a low *factor*, that is practical to process and low in *broca*. One of those coffees." David appears more interested: "Go on." – "We have…we have…we already have 20 bags. Here. We would have to acquire [calculating] "…five thousand kilo of parchment coffee. That's it." Francisco has been silently following the whole situation in the back of the office. He intervenes for the first time since the verdict. "Five thousand", he repeats. "Five thousand kilos of parchment [to mix them]", confirms José David. […]	blend broca blend, factor broca calculator, potential input for blend
13. Rejecting option "blending", agree on temporary storage on site	David intervenes. "No, but neither like this, *hermano*." – "Why not?", asks José David. "Because, just listen carefully. In this moment, assuming that it goes very well for us, we will be able to acquire a coffee with how many *brocas*? If one does not go out to buy a specialty one already?" – "[The region of] Tolima!", José David proposes. […] Carlos rejects. "I would still say that this is a bad deal. You having to find a market for this [blend] and I having to find a [high-quality] coffee to produce it…" José David interrupts him. "No, but what is more, I don't know it over there [in Tolima]. I have no benchmark [*referente*] over there." José David claps his hands. "Let's leave it at this. I will talk to Joaquín. Will you store it for me?" – "Yes, that's no problem, *hermano*", says David. […]	broca specialty blend, high-quality Joaquín
14. Setting up cup test	David and José David are just heading upstairs. They invite me to join in. It's the last point on the agenda: The cup test. I enter a kitchen just above David' office. It's all in white and dominated by a big, round, metal standing table in the middle of the room. […] On the table, there	

	are five cups of coffee already prepared. Someone of the staff must have taken the probe, roasted it, ground it here and added the hot water from the container. Finally, two iron soup spoons and an iron pot, probably size half a liter or so, are placed besides the cups.	cups, table, spoons, pot
15. Cupping	David takes a spoon with his right hand, the pot with his left hand, puts the spoon into one of the cups, fills it, takes it out, quickly slurps the coffee with a loud sound, circulates it in the mouth for two seconds and spits it into the pot. […] David turns to me: "You want, Dominik? Let's go, Dominik." I ask whether I should do as they do. They nod and continue. I imitate what they do and slurp the coffee, also trying to mimick the loud sound they make. […] Then I spit it out. I don't note much, neither much body – the haptic feel – nor much taste – the flavor feel. […]	
16. Co-creating the cup verdict	David repeats it and then says: "The cup…dirty. It has some…" José David also takes a spoon and tastes in the same way. "Ah. It's burnt." They sip more of it, look at each other, nod and shake their heads. In between two spits, David says: "If the decision was upon me, I would prefer…" – "No." José David is clear. "It doesn't give me, no me da."	dirty taste dryness (burnt) failure
17. Receiving humidity data, making the verdict definititve	The woman who has quickly left the lab comes back. As she enters, she informs the men: "10.30." – "10.30!", José David shouts. She talks about the confirmed percentage of humidity. It should be between 11.5 and 12, they say. "Well, no. With this, and with these [other results] that it has given…" – "It's to turn down. Now." José David puts down the spoon.	dryness failure

Table 19: (Not) becoming quality coffee:a bean-by-bean protocol

The outcome of the scene is clear. The 2015 harvest of the *Finca Manantial* has failed. The beans will never become *Café Don Miguel* and will instead be sold as cheap and silenced raw material to be blended somewhere in the commodity universe. The option to blend it with high quality beans and to still export it to Switzerland as a specialty coffee was immediately rejected. Why it failed is equally clear:

- the beans were too dry or "burnt" (relevant in physical test, cup test and humidity test; enacted 8 times)
- the *broca* were way too high (relevant in physical test and for blending; enacted 6 times)
- the taste was "dirty" (especially relevant in cup test; enacted 2 times)

By far the most important orientation of the test practice was the "norm", "export norm", "12/60" or "federation" (enacted 10 times), with project owner Joaquín's strategic orientation present in the background, especially around the blending option (enacted 3 times). Neither the "factor" nor the "size of the bean" were considered problematic. An additional problem, which suddenly became irrelevant after the failure of norm compliance, was the technological limitation of the hulling plant (2 times), related to the

combination of the small order size. José David explained this later: "The mechanical part of the machine plays a role […] when you come with thousands of brocas and you throw your lot in, you will see that, with such a level of *broca*, the *broca* will be eliminated neither by the strainers nor the electronics, nothing, this quits nothing. The physical stuff you've got here [on the table], this will remain." He linked the problem to the risk of losing one's registration as exporter as well: "With a coffee that comes out like this, and you present it to the federation with more than two hundred *brocas*, they will even freeze your document. And that's that."

In terms of the analytical journey, it has become clear that the DT network performs CT practice components such as the FNC norms. The obvious reason is that the FNC regulates the DT markets as well, and if you want to export, you have to follow the norm. A less obvious reason is linked to the apparent contradiction that what aims to be exported here is *not* green coffee, but actually roasted coffee – and yet, the green coffee norms are performed as extremely relevant components. In my interpretation, the reason is that the entrepreneurial project enrolled the FNC norm and its institutional and traditional power for doing association and control work on the Colombian side. 12/60 is a clear and well-known orientation point for the intermediaries and serves as a proxy for specialty quality without knowing other protocols such as the SCAA guidelines. To enroll the authority of the FNC behind 12/60 should have also helped to align the activities performed from farm to test – except that it finally failed.

After the failure, the reasons would then be traced back to practices at the farm, especially those that had to do with the pest management and the watering, but also led to a revision of practices of on-the-farm processing, drying and storing. As David explained me, some of the problems of the dirty cup were already reflected in the group 1 in the physical test, where storage problems also enter: "Because if a coffee is already dry and is stored at a place where it absorbs more humidity, the coffee can start to deteriorate its cup taste". The living room at Francisco's house, therefore, might not have been the best of places to store coffee. Francisco would blame the overly marked dry season; the high infestation rate of *broca* in the whole zone (likely relevant reasons, see also María's assessments in chapter 6.3.3); and farmhand Diego for the "dirty cup" because he apparently cleaned the on-the-farm processing machinery with detergent (I can't assess whether this was true or not), which apparently was very consequential in that chemical traces polluted the cup taste. So, he fired Diego right away. Eventually, farm administrator Francisco as the responsible person on site was let go by Joaquín, as we already know from chapter 5, and the personal relation between Joaquín and uncle Pablo deterioriated for a while.
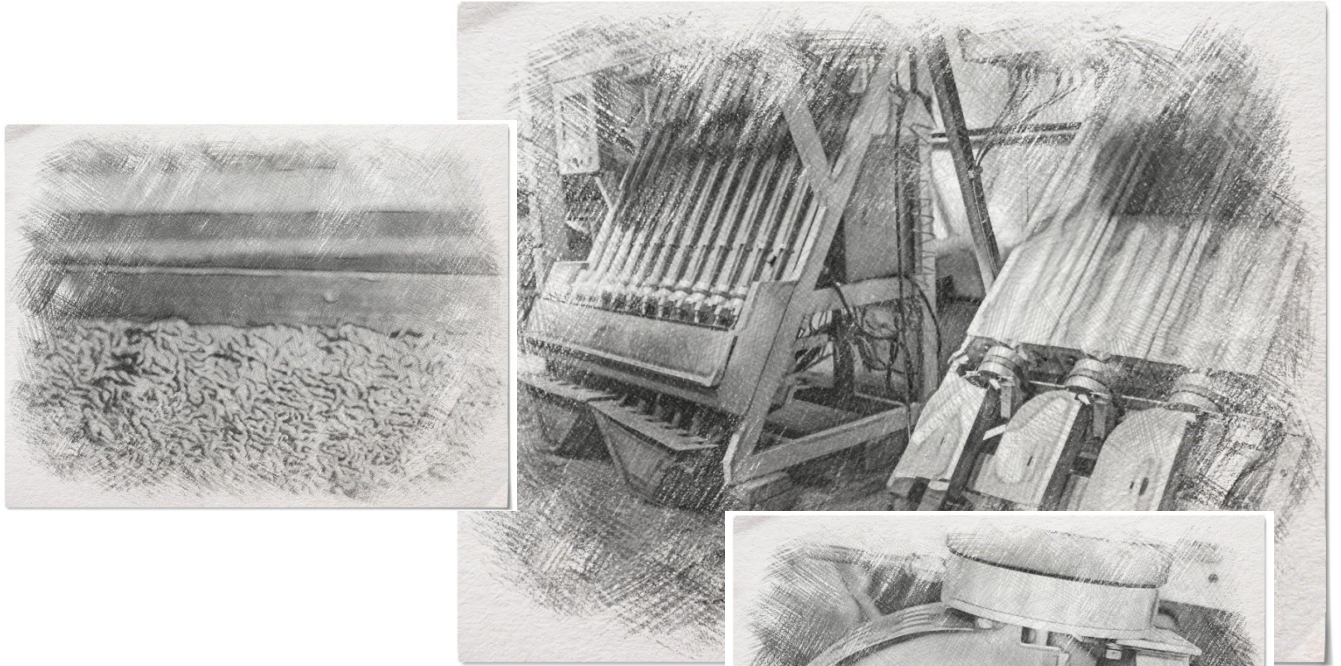
Trace 12: Machine and human quality assessments at the hulling factory

(Clockwise): Waves of beans are put into motion to shake off the parchment skin; "pft", and the defect beans are mechanically deviated by strong, parts-of-a-second blows of air; a closer look on the bifurcation – good beans travel on, bad beans are othered; pinching bags for the quality test sample; a first sensory contact with the freshly hulled sample; focused concentration at the bean-by-bean count during the physical test; slurping and spitting during the cup test; othering bad beans on the selection board.
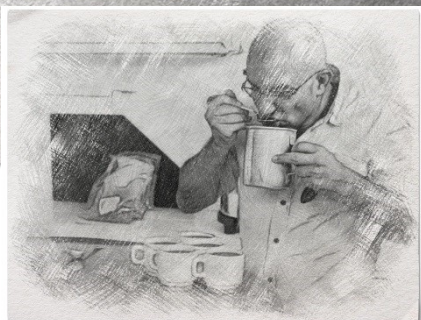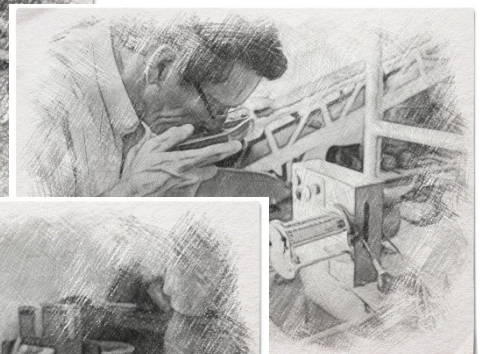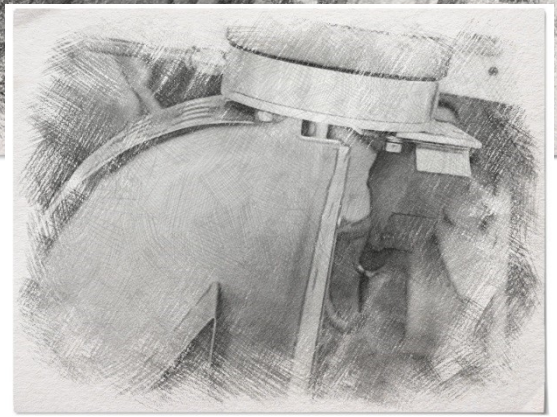
6.4 Discussion: (De)colonial associations in Direct Trade practice

Starting with the evocative storytelling of a thick tale (6.3.1), the chapter set out to trace the practices where DT and CT coffee differ the most along the value chain, namely in practices doing association work during the "cup conservation" phase (O'Keefe 2009, 6.3.2). This "configurational orientation" (Nicolini 2017b: 29) allowed me to paint a clearer picture where, and how, entrepreneurial association work is done along the marginal DT network, and what the implications for the agential potential, positions of marginal subjects and (per)forming colonial power are (see table 20 below for an overview). When zooming in on the particular coffee handling practices along the value chain, a key difference between DT and CT has crystallized in what happens with the dry parchment bags at the end of the week. The paths Santa Marian coffee embarks on do bifurcate in what happens between drying and hulling. As the case of Doña Julialba shows, the typical CT handling is to sell the harvest at the cooperative and to transform the particular product of a week's work at the farm into representations of standardized quality classes. For the farmers, further travels lie behind the "commodity veil", and the world of "raw" production is subsequently silenced along the CT value chains (6.3.3). In DT, on the other hand, the handling needs to constantly guarantee the origin and identity of the bean, and every extant practice where these traits are lost have to be avoided. This has been traced in the performances bringing *Café Don Miguel* into being, outlined in the thick tale and then detailed in chapter 6.3.4.

In short, whereas CT others coffee into a commodified raw product and the farmer into a voiceless producer of raw materials, DT maintains the voice of product and producer audible. This points out an essential difference of association work as performed in DT and CT, respectively. In CT, association work is a question of weaving together the world of the farm and the 'global' coffee markets. This is done paradigmatically by the practice of the quality/price setting as shown in the cooperative, where unequal negotiations between the farmers and the staff at the end of the harvest week lead to take-it-or-leave-it situations (where the farmers usually take the offer). Here, the staff represent the FNC and "abstract universals" such as market prices, exchange rates, quality norms, but the association work is performed in bodily co-presence. On the other hand, in DT, association work is a multimodal question, combining bodily co-presence with response co-presence via calls or texts. This establishes a temporal and spatial discontinuity and leads to a routinized flow of association activities throughout the harvest season, and even throughout the year. Such activities are performed by more, not less intermediaries compared to CT, which is a counter-intuitive finding (6.3.5). It seems that the more different – and potentially competing – generalized and abstracts

norms there are (FNC, SCAA, AAA etc.), the bigger the demand for embodied (and skilled) quality control work gets to translate these abstract universals into practice.

Again, as a contrast, in CT, association is practiced in one instance on Saturdays which can be thought of as an "eye of a needle" between worlds. Coffee is first a concrete agricultural product produced somewhere, then it represents a universal quality class together with thousands of tons of coffee produced anywhere. In DT, association work performs coexisting worlds: Before a harvest is even quality tested and has physically become high-quality specialty *Café Don Miguel*, it is already performed as *Don Miguel* in that all the performances are oriented to it *as if* it was already what it aspires to become. It is, but not yet; it is virtually, but not yet actually. Until the moment that the roasted coffee is brewed, the "concept of specialty coffee is locked up as a possibility" (Poltronieri and Rossi 2016: 14). Commodity coffee, as a result of CT association work, is first this and then that. Direct Trade coffee, as a result of DT association work, is *this and that at the same time*. It is multiple.

The implications of such a multiplicity for the association of DT practices along the network are not trivial. It means that the practice sites of farming, importing and finally serving – the subprojects of the marginal entrepreneurial project – are co-produced by enactments along the value chain, rather than stitched together by individual and highly powerful instances of association work (such as the quality/price setting by physical probing at the cooperative).

In line with this finding, I argue with respect to *border crossing* that the practices bringing DT coffee into being are more ambiguous and hybrid than the corresponding CT performances (6.3.5). The involved people, matter and knowledge are components of multiple associated practices, holding them together in "joint marginality" by other-than-physical-bean flows. Yet, what has relativized this difference is the presence of rhizomatic ways of market organization also in CT coffee. On the one hand, men sitting at intersections on plastic chairs and old men driving by by moto embody less visible and less accessible ways of shaping how 'global' standards are 'locally' enacted and coordinated. On the other hand, I was lucky enough to observe the dynamics of the lingerie shop in the entrance of their home where Luisa would receive dozens of clients per afternoon, an avenue through which information about business practices travels. It seemed to me that a big portion of the social fabric of the village is woven by the women who lead less visible lives in the community – and less accessible ones for a foreign male researcher as well – but have a crucial information function for the working of the coffee market in the region, whose visible side is performed by the husbands, fathers, brothers and sons. Thus, in terms of what "the village" is, there are two clearly

distinguishable venues: A male-dominated public arena, the square or *parque*, and a field of more invisible female connections performed in private. The former defines sales negotiations at the cooperations and on the street, the latter is able to foster labor market practices in the region by facilitating off-script information on who works how, and whose business goes how, and who pays how much.

However, with respect to the performed subject positions along the DT production network, they indeed seem to be more hybrid and less clear-cut than in commodity coffee. In the latter, the positions are clear: The South delivers the raw material, the North refines it and consumes it. As the general understanding of refinement expands beyond "roasting", it becomes the glue between practices such as transporting and storing as well, empowering these formerly silenced practices onto a level where they matter for the final product. Everything has to be handled well, because "it has to be good". While the disclosure of practices in between the farm and the roaster fosters a (potentially decolonizing) DT understanding of qualified producers along the chain, the subject position of the consumer remains Northern. Or, more adequately formulated, the consumption all production practices are oriented to is Northern, and the consumer of the beans that fail along the way is Southern: Othered beans for othered customers.

A telling instance for such *border doing* happened when Luisa served coffee in the thick tale. It was a *Don Miguel* bag I had brought them from Switzerland. She commented: "It's the first time we have it. It's even the first time we see it like this", with Francisco adding "normally, we don't drink such fine coffee". Usually, they buy what's in the supermarket and prepare it in a pan with boiling water and a lot of sugarcane: "*Sello Rojo* if it has to be good or fine instant coffee like *Colcafé* or *Nescafé* or *Buen Día*", she explained. However, they may be known as "good coffee", but the raw materials they use are low-quality blends of placeless *Robusta* plant varieties, sometimes mixed with the low-quality grades.[39] For me, one of the most telling indications of this othering as performed in the daily accomplishments at the farm and in the village are the so-called *"pasilla"* low quality beans (chapter 7.5.2). They are separated early in the process, but not thrown away as they can still be sold to local buyers as "third quality" to much lower prices. *Pasilla* loosely translates to "coffee that doesn't pass". It almost sounds like a cute endearment for something that is othered by the dominant system but is still of

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[39] "Nuestro mejor café se queda en Colombia" – our best coffee stays in Colombia -, told me the package of one of these well-marketed brands as I strolled through the small supermarket by the square of the village. The claim does not reflect the common market practices I have been able to trace, and its indication "Industria Colombiana" (Made in Colombia) often does not refer to the origin of the beans. As a coffee practitioner told me, Colombia actually imports coffee to cover the domestic demand. Often, coffees apparently made in Colombia come from Ecuador, which in turn means: blends of lowest quality commodity *Robustas* from all around the world. They become Ecuadorian when imported to the free ports of the southern neighbor.

some value. *Pasilla* brings in 10'000 COP per *arroba*, that is 3.25 USD for 12.5 kg. To compare, at the time of my visit the highest quality brings in seven to eight times more, and the production cost for a kilo approached 2 USD at the time. Once, I asked Francisco where it goes. The local market, he said. "The bad coffee stays here". He said that they don't have money for the more expensive one. After a short break, he sighed:

> *"Pasilla es nuestro café. Nos toca esto."* ("This is our coffee. This is our destiny.").

"Nos toca" is hard to translate. The ambiguous formulation is ubiquitous in Colombia. It means "this is our destiny", "it's our turn", "it's our [subject] position" or literally "it touches us", expressing something between fatalism and guilt, and exemplifying the belief of the own impotence and unavailability to act and affect. But without the belief in self-efficacy, it is hard if not impossible to take over responsibility over the world one co-enacts through the practices one performs – or to internalize orientations one enacts, as empowering and decolonizing as they may be.

In a context of coloniality at large, I claim that entrepreneurial attempts at making other worlds have to consider the (multiple) performances of visible and less visible social fabrics: The "old" power relations are already in place, and a marginal change project is a matter of working creatively with them. In that sense, to dissociate from CT avenues does not automatically establish clear-cut "new" worlds alongside the "old" ones. Especially in the case of marginal entrepreneuring, the chance of establishing clear-cut "new" associations besides existing ones is low. Based on what has been elaborated, the "glue" in between DT practices seem less straightforward "new" understandings that replace "old" ones, but an ambiguous understanding of joint marginality. A jointly enacted *border dwelling*, thus, seems to hold the marginal associations together. This is performed in various performances presented in chapter 6.3.5: Performing marginal subject positions by subscribing to non-mainstream practices (as the enrolment of Francisco's family shows), performing alliances of different and shifting marginal subject positions (as Doña Julialba's enrolment shows), performing situatively adapted understandings of the subject positioning a given association allows for (as the citations by David and José David show). All three processes, I claim, offer a crucial "glue" for the "webs of solidarity" (Joaquín) to become on the Colombian side of the business, and to align the situated performances of people, machines, and plants to the common goal of "adding value" in Colombia. At the same time, they also frequently perform instances of self-othering where the marginal subversion of colonial power turns into a reproduction of it.

In terms of the outcomes of the dynamics of border doing, crossing and dwelling, the findings in this chapter indicate that the agential potentials and positions of marginal subjects do shift between CT and DT, but that there are also continuities in colonial power relations. One telling case for the latter is the risk distribution along the value chain. In CT and DT, the price for the shipments are defined at different moments, but the resulting risk distribution is surprisingly comparable. In CT, the farmer sells by the end of the week in a take-it-or-leave-it mode, while the DT farmer sells and delivers by the end of the harvest. The big silenced question in DT is: What happens to the deal if the aspired quality does not materialize in the end (chapter 6.3.5). After the failure to comply with the export norm, the whole project was highly shaken and only major reconfigurations stabilized the business again.

On the other hand, in the commodity system, farmers deliver coffee to the cooperatives at the end of the week. A failure in delivering "good" coffee to the selling point at the end of the week doesn't result in a failure of the whole project or farm. You just sell the harvest for a lower price, and the "system" can process every quality in segmented markets. On the buyer-driven commodity market, what matters is that there is sufficient supply of coffee of a given category, not where exactly it is produced – the focus is on standardization and norming rather than individualized bean-by-bean treatment. Only a repeated low-quality production will lead to abandon coffee as the overall income is not worth it anymore. This means that the feedback in commodity coffee is quite instantaneously and direct, locking in with a neocolonial othering of Colombians and more broadly Southern producers as untrustworthy. By contrast, selling to a DT buyer happens once or twice per season (as performed at *Manantial*). So, the control feedback is more remote temporally and spatially (later, far away) unless no additional control instances during the enactment of the practice are introduced – a problem if neocolonial stereotypes, reducing trust along the network, are practiced.

If we look at it from a view on neocolonial power struggles, the CT system does not hide that it is built as a Northern-oriented othering system that definitely and always others Southern producers and silences the coffee bean. The DT system, on the other hand, only tells the story of the beans and producers which pass the quality tests and hides the failures. As the case of unsuccessful *Café Don Miguel* shows, it is built on a silenced mass of unfit coffees that ultimately enter the CT markets. Finally, as has been shown, both CT and DT other the Southern customers as they reserve the lowest-quality grades for them. From a decolonial view, the market segmentation in high and low quality coffee alone is not the problem; the problem is that these quality classes are and binarily lock in with the performance of colonial subject positions. In that sense, a closer

look on the way both networks are practiced shows differences, but also similarities with respect to marginal subject positions and their involved agential potential (see table 20 for a summary).

	commodity trade coffee (established)	**direct trade coffee (focal case)**
Coffee as…	A commodified raw material with generic origin (if any), e.g. *Colombia-FNC*	An aliment with particular origin and name (*Don Miguel*)
Association work	*Paradigmatic practice: Testing actual (present) product quality* Performed in unequal quality/price setting negotiations between farmers and cooperative staff representing FNC and "abstract universals" such as market prices, exchange rates, quality norms. Performed in bodily co-presence at coffee cooperative where weekly harvest is brought to Metaphor: CT association work performs eye of a needle between universes (this-then-that)	*Paradigmatic practice: Safeguarding virtual (future) product quality* Performed in calls e.g. between farmer and owner of the project, aiming at training, sharing vision and control ("he tells us many things") Performed in spatial and temporal discontinuity: Across distance, ongoing instances throughout the year Metaphor: DT association work performs multiple, co-present universes (this-and-that)
Relation between quality and price	*Both determined on the spot* Pricing: Set by abstract universals (commodity price, exchange rate, quality norms), performed in quality/price setting in moment of delivery	*Price determined before shipment is produced* Pricing: Set by particular others in negotiations (long) before delivery and quality tests. Higher than CT, considers production cost, constant.
Relation between association work and marginal agency (embodied by farmer)	Practices along value chain connected by flows of raw material, nothing else connects (no knowledge about other places, actors and practices travels, or only in codified form) But: Conditions rhizomatically coordinated "from below", and farmers are increasingly empowered to use abstract universals Risk: Low quality, low price. Farmer sells by end of the week, take-or-leave pricing per quality (you can always sell harvest, only price varies)	Practices along value chain connected by flows of raw material and knowledge. Farmers sees beyond the village and imagines customer as typified human being But: Conditions largely set by buyer / owner, although farmers are empowered by owner in terms of quality production Risk: Low quality, low price. Farmer sells by end of season, price depends of quality (risk of not being able to sell DT coffee and to fall back to CT markets in the end)

Performed subject positions	Southern farmers: Producer of raw material Southern intermediaries: Producer of raw material Northern intermediaries: Producer of refined goods Northern consumers: *The* consumers. Southern consumers: Othered (low quality)	Southern farmers: Producer of raw material Southern intermediaries: Producer of refined goods Northern intermediaries: Buyer of refined goods Northern consumers: *The* consumers. Southern consumers: Othered (low quality)

Table 20: Differences in associating commodity and direct trade coffee.

We have seen that CT and DT differ in the ways coffee is handled along the value chain and how these practices are associated, but that there are also continuities in terms of the performance of colonial power relations. While DT per se is not automatically a decolonizing device, practicing CT is not without possibilities of subversion for the marginal actors at Southern production places. One example was the rhizomatic price coordination via moto and telephone, translating 'global' markets into 'local' variants by using own tools instead of the tools of the 'Masters'. Another example was the sometimes resisting, sometimes ironizing stance towards the clearly othering information book for farmers, produced by Nespresso in style of a children book: The othered often know that they are othered, and there are savvy ways of navigating colonial othering. The fatalistic and melancholic "nos toca", transpiring through bodies, minds and souls of othered Southern producers as they perform neocolonial power relations in their everyday lives, can be reformulated in active tense as "toquemos" – let's play.

6.5 After the failure: Fading out, fading away

José David explains the next steps after the failure in cup and physical testing. "Also this one has to be commercialized. Selling it at the cooperative or even to a comerciante somewhere…" We reach farm administrator Francisco at the entrance gate, and José David continues. "…I don't see it…it doesn't fit the norm." Francisco pinches his eyes. "It didn't give cup?" – "It's down to a very normal cup already", José David answers. "Very much within the low profile. I understand that Joaquín wants something different…it has no body." […]

He takes his cellphone and marks a number. "Don Joaquín, very good afternoon. José David speaking. Ehm, we now have the indications of the coffees we have brought today…yes, 2192 kilos. Eh…the truth is that…eh, even less. How do we say…like, it didn't pass." Joaquín's answer is nineteen seconds long and inaudible to me and Francisco. Francisco sighs. "Uy no." […] Some three minutes later, they come back again. […] José David talks to Francisco. "Don't be afraid. No. Remain calm, tranquilo. Because this is normal, in this business, this is very normal." […]

The driver who brought the now rejected coffee is still waiting besides the truck. He sees me. "Almost there, or what." […] He laughs unbelievingly. He doesn't seem angry, rather sarcastic facing the big delay. […] Francisco arrives. "It didn't pass", he says. The drives seems surprised. […] Suddenly, the driver offers Francisco a cigarette. "But also he won't fire you either! Why would he want to fire you. Right? Why. What for. If you have to sell coffee, you can sell coffee anywhere. Right? If it is common and ordinary coffee you go and sell it in whatever coffee cooperative." […]

[…] Before I leave the place, I want to make a final check whether I got the main lines of what has just happened. "I don't know if I understood well, but one thing [David] said was that they won't to the hulling, right?" – "No, because it doesn't have the quality he needs here." – "It's not export quality." – "Mhm." – "And another thing he said is, like, mixing it with other coffee without broca, no?" The driver interrupts. "Ready. Talk soon." He boards the truck. I continue. "Well, this depends of Don Joaquín's decision, no? There are…" "…but look, that is not what he wants, he wants to get rid of all of it…" The motor of the truck awakes. Francisco continues. "…that's what he want. He wants to write it off entirely." –

*"Write it off?" – "Claro." – "What does this mean?" – "Well, not put it here."
He points to the Don Camilo plant.*

*The driver finally leaves. The truck gruntles twice and makes a noisy take off. We
watch him leave into the afternoon. "Do you have Joaquín's number? To call
him?" He shakes his head. "But I, I don't…no…no…for me to call him, I don't
have his number." He remains silent for a moment as he gazes into the clouds in
the distance. "He", Francisco turns to me and says with a feeble timbre in his
voice, "He always calls me."*

*Dominik, fieldwork tale "after the failure" (on events happening 23ʳᵈ November
2015)*

Trace 13: Coffee in motion: A cherry in a bag on a hook on a tower on a plantation

How are "practice scripts" translated into "practice acts"? In this chapter, I zoom in on the practice of coffee harvesting. I ethnographically trace how the Direct Trade project aspires to control quality by holding coffee handling constant, for example in practices such as "collecting the harvest" taking place at a 'control tower' overlooking the plantation every evening (trace 13). The "new" Direct Trade scripts are enacted in situated performances of coffee bushes, their multispecies environments, pairs of skilled human hands and enrolled supervisors, but they intersect with known ways of picking "old" commodity coffee. Marginal subjects like pickers and plants resist, modify or evade DT aspirations by actively navigating their cracks and weaknesses. In collective and relational performances of control work, colonial power is enacted in different ways to finally bring a hybrid product of neocolonial power struggles into being that is not CT coffee anymore, but not high-quality DT coffee either.

7 Who handles whom? Performing quality, control and agency in coffee harvesting

7.1 Introduction: Tracing neocolonial power within practice

The problem of neocolonial power struggles transpires in and through efforts of entrepreneurial world making. Following Direct Trade (DT) and Commodity Trade (CT) association work performed at, and between, processing places in Colombia, chapter 6 has shown how established and marginal ways of coffee-(in-the-)making associate worlds with varying agential potential for Southern producers. In the marginal DT case this study focuses on, the associated practices (per)form subject positions where the Colombian side of the business is no longer silenced behind the "commodity veil" and empowered to produce refined goods as well (vis-à-vis CT positions of the North as sole value adder and refiner and the South as raw material provider). At the same time, the position as "cultivated" and knowledgeable coffee consumers has stayed decidedly Northern: The general understanding in the studied DT contexts is that the bad coffee stays as the suitable product for the othered Southern consumers.

In tracing neocolonial power struggles *between* practices by focusing on association work, chapter 6 has built on the results of chapter 5. There, by means of tracing subject positioning performances in the concerted accomplishment of the marginal entrepreneur in motions *across* practice, entrepreneurial association and control work has been shown as subject to the daily struggles of moderating the multiple challenges of a migrant business. What is left to investigate before discussing the overall contributions of this study to the questions "how is colonial power still a thing?", "is resistance futile, or can there be hope?" and "how can marginal world making work?", is tracing neocolonial power struggles *within* practice. This chapter thus completes the operational trias of social practice theory (SPT, chapter 4.3) and asks the specific analytical research question: How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in controlling the translation of "practice scripts" into "practice acts"?

Orienting the analysis towards Langley's "temporal bracketing" (1999) to cope with circular co-creation processes (as is the relation of scripts and acts, see chapter 4.4), the empirical narrative goes further back the production process and finally arrives at the

Finca Manantial farm before the beans failed the quality tests at the hulling plant in Chinchiná (chapter 6.3.6). Seen in a practice lens, new orientations, such as in DT coffee, form and are performed by associations of altered practices. Alternative networks of producing and trading coffee emerge alongside the established commodity practices, held together by two sets of "scripts": "general understandings" of "how the network of relationships work, why and what is legitimate and acceptable within this particular regime of practice" (Nicolini 2017a: 106), and "practical understandings", the "how-to" protocols and embodied skills to enact these protocols. By zooming in on the practice of "coffee harvesting", I trace how DT scripts are enacted in situated performances of coffee bushes, their multispecies environments, pairs of skilled human hands and enrolled supervisors. In the words of Tsing, "[t]he farther we stray into the peripheries of capitalist production, the more coordination between polyphonic assemblages and industrial processes becomes central to making a profit" (2015: 24). How is entrepreneurial control work (not) accomplished to bring a high-quality coffee into being in a context of powerful established coffee practices? Here, the practice of harvesting coffee is of prime importance. Across all coffee segments and markets, practitioners agree that product quality cannot be further improved after the harvest, not even by the best handling practices "downstream". Based on virtually all talk and documents I have encountered, the rife cherry embodies a widely shared teleology: it is "*'perfect'* at harvest; processing cannot improve on that condition – processing can only reveal, damage, or destroy it" (Italics are mine. Peterson 2013: 16). Hoffmann describes this teleology as follows:

> "Careful harvesting of coffee cherries is fundamentally important to the quality of the resulting cup of coffee. Unsurprisingly, coffee beans harvested from fruit at peak ripeness generally taste the best. Many experts see the harvest as the point at which the quality of the coffee peaks, and every stage thereafter is about preserving quality rather than improving it." (Hoffmann 2014: 27)

Food science (Cossio 2011), handbooks (FNC-Cenicafé 2013), practitioner-driven empirical investigations of the correlations between sensory cup tests and ripeness (Pacas 2016) as well as experience-derived quality models that circulate on practitioner's blogs (O'Keefe 2009, see chapter 6.3.2) all indicate the prime relevance of harvesting ripe cherries for the overall product quality of coffee. The importance of harvesting means that a quality-oriented coffee production must control the handling on the farm as cautiously as possible.

After presenting how DT harvesting scripts are performed in everyday practice and how the performances are controlled in collective, relational accomplishments, I proceed to

trace more-than-human agency: Most notably, the peculiar planty rhythms of the coffee bush resist too standardized handlings and have a relevant say on how quality coffee emerges. Taken together, it is shown how marginal subjects like pickers and plants resist, modify or evade the DT aspirations, thereby enact colonial power in various ways, and finally bring a hybrid product between CT and DT coffee into being – a product whose hopes to become high-quality coffee, as we know already, will ultimately never materialize (chapter 6.3.6).

7.2   Setting the scene

Saturday, 18th April 2015. It's a windy afternoon, and I hurry to enter *la Tienda*. José looks up and smiles. We greet, and I order a Cappuccino. He immediately starts to talk about his project. He might have found someone to organize the financial stuff at the Colombian end, somebody apparently more skilled than his farm administrator Francisco. She is s a young accountant, very interested in his project and can "handle the men out there". She visited the farm a few days ago ("by motorcycle!"). He takes his phone and shows me some ten pictures from *Finca Manantial* she sent him from her visit, taken at different spots. They show a mountainous, hilly landscape with steep slopes. Some parts are covered by dark-green coffee bushes. The above parts are light-green grassland and have recently been cleared to extend the cultivation. Some of the pictures also show parts of the farmhouse. He explains every picture and smiles. "This is what I sent her only today", he says while scrolling down the chat. Many longer briefing and training messages appear.

Six months later. The view opens up, and I immediately recognize the scenery. I have reached my destination after a relaxed two hour drive from Manizales, the provincial capital of Caldas, Colombia. I'm at *Finca Manantial*, finally: The place where José gets his *Café Don Miguel* from. Many horizons in different shades of blue, green and grey surround me as rays of sunlight push through clouds towering above the land. The light floods the valleys, hills and plantations in a warm late-afternoon tone. I can still see the hills of Manizales. They seem surprisingly close, much closer than two car hours, but I already know that the line of sight is not so important to define closeness and distance in this environment.

Earlier today, José's cousin María Isabel and her husband Ángel picked me up at the airport. The steep topography of the area impressed me right away. *I don't know how anyone can make a living in this dramatic territory,* I would note down later. On the

way up and down through several V-shaped river valleys with creeks, small *guadua* forests (a bambus cousin), plantations, farms and the occasional restaurant or food post, María Isabel told me already many stories about the province of Caldas and the wider region of the Colombian *eje cafetero*. From top to bottom, coffee, then sugarcane and finally citrics like lemons, mango or avocado are grown. As we passed Neira, a charming little town with a Colonial center and quite some movement on the streets, animal smell hovered all around us. "Cows for sale", commented Ángel. "He knows", María Isabel explained. "He is cattle farmer and leads the cattle farmer association of our municipality. Cattle farming is increasingly important in the region, replacing other sources of income…" – "…such as coffee", he added, meaningfully hinting at my research topic. The two, both in their end-forties, made the air of a very routinized couple. They finished each other's sentences and were almost speaking with one voice – which, actually, was mainly her's. He wasn't big of a talker and liked to give short and pointy comments to whatever she or I would bring up.

As we make our way down the rocky driveway at *Finca Manantial,* I see the farmhouse, an adjacent shed with a small tower and a lush group of several dozen different trees and bushes. They stand on a sloppily plateau behind the coffee plantation and a small creek. The house is an L-shaped two-story building in the classical style of the *paisa* residences of the region: white walls, red and green wooden parts and handrails, a long veranda spanning the whole length of the house overlooking the patio, a brown brick roof. On its left, steep grassland goes up probably some eighty altitude meters to a small settlement called Buenavista. Behind the shed, I see more stocky, dark-green coffee bushes. Below it, tall light-green sugarcane stems cover the whole lower side of the claim. I open the truck window. The intense odor of the tropical vegetation fills the car. Further down, below another farm, a bigger stream goes all the way to to the Río Cauca, one of the main rivers of the country coming from Cali and going to the Caribbean.

Five years ago, José bought the mainly deserted farm from uncle Pablo and employed Francisco to admimistrate the relaunch. In the first half of the 20th century, Pablo's father had acquired the 3.5 acres of steep grassland and named the claim *Manantial*. One night, when we had a long conversation at the village square, uncle Pablo led me to the funder's stone of Santa Marta. His name was written on top, I realized slightly bewildered, but the inscription referred to his grand-grandfather who co-founded the village in the 19th century. Pablo inherited his name. His father was married twice and had 23 kids. All of them stayed in Santa Marta, "of course". I ask what they did for a living. "*Finca*", he said. The women, "*finca*". The men, "as well, and trading stuff". I asked for the opportunities to sustain oneself in the village. "Sugarcane, cattle, coffee". I wanted to

know whether this structure has changed over the years. "No…it progressed very little. Of course, the market, the butcher…there were no cafés. The street came in the 1953 which made it much easier…before, you needed much more time...the coffee, the products [transported] with mules". I asked whether life is easier today – "of course" – and whether it is easier to sustain oneself – "of course". Also the young ones stay, he told me. When his father died, Pablo's four sisters inherited *Manantial*, and they sold it to one of his brothers. Then, Pablo bought the farm which produced mainly sugarcane. He continued with it and added a bit of coffee. What about the way of producing coffee, did it change, I ask. "More technified. And more certified…the agronomists of the committee [FNC] give knowledge and training. To make the quality better and everything." Finally, he sold the farm to José who, as Pablo claimed, is doing essentially the same thing as he did back then. "I had it well set up, but then it fell" *("Yo la tuve bien montada…y me cayó.")*. He shrugged his shoulders. "Now, Joaquín. Sugarcane, cattle, coffee". He smiled a little. "And Francisco is following". He seemed to be content about that.

It's after five o'clock on a Thursday in Mid-November 2015. I get out of the jeep. The workers at *Manantial* are just wrapping up the coffee harvest of the day. They weigh the bags, drop the cherries into a container, greet me with tired handshakes but curious eyes and walk home. Most live in Santa Marta, the village at the mountain top. Some stay at the old, soon-to-be-renovated farmhouse for the night. It is a beautiful evening with silent flashes of a distant thunderstorm. I join them and receive dinner. As we exchange stories, empty locations get filled with human spirit and turn into inhabited places; picturesque landscapes become countrysides where people dwell and make their way, day by day. Word by word, we start to create an understanding of each other. "Tomorrow, you'll learn to harvest coffee", one of the guys tells me. Another one points at my light skin, raises his eyebrows and laughs. I have arrived at the start of my fieldwork in the *eje cafetero*: In the middle of things.

7.3 From DT scripts to acts: Performing the harvest

7.3.1 Zooming in: Harvesting as plant-handling

Day two in the field. I'm ready to learn to harvest. Amadeo, one of Francisco's 18-year old twin sons and named after the classical composer Mozart, hands me a folded striped cloth: The famous *poncho* of the *cafetero* region, a cloth that can be extended and put over the head, covering the shoulders and most of the back and torso on colder or rainy days. As it is sunny today, I clamp it under the hat to cover my neck. In addition, I get a

black plastic basket, called *coco*, to strap on with a belt. "That'll be ten kilos of cherry." Amadeo shows his catching teenage smile and challenges me. "Let's see how long it takes you to fill it." We walk up and begin right away. He explains me the coffee tree, what to look for and how to best grab the branch. Judging from how insistantly and decidedly he repeats it, the most important motto for me today certainly is:

"The red cherries only!" (Amadeo, harvester and son of farm administrator)

Apparently, the most promising approach to harvest is to put both hands below a branch and to gently pull down the rife cherries with both thumbs. "If you work in the field, you always have a red thumb", he says. The verb he uses for it is "*manotear*", literally "gesture", "handle" or "manipulate" the tree. He demonstrates it with a whole branch that he empties very quickly. I repeat, many times slower. He mocks: "Well, that's a good selection of red ones only. But if you continue that slow, you will definitely die from hunger." We laugh. Amadeo now tells me to handle each tree, rougly man-sized bushes with a thin trunk and numerous branches, from top to bottom and then go to the next one. Should I manage to fill up the *coco*, I'd have to drop the cherries into a big bag and continue. "It is important to avoid cherries to fall down", he insists. This attracts insects, they live there, eat, lay eggs and the coffee suffers. *La broca*, the coffee borer beetle, is an especially nasty one, he says. Beans bitten by it receive a low price only. "Whoever is not careful, puts the quality of the harvest" – and therefore, the income of the farm – "at risk", he explains.

When standing inside the coffee plantation, it is clearly visible that the trees are planted in rows. So, groups of two pickers go in. Each one chooses one of two rows next to each other. If you're done, you continue with the row after next (as your buddy works in the next one already), and so on. We start working, and I rapidly sweat. Some *palos* (sticks, referring to coffee trees) are very full of red cherries, others not. The ripe ones come off easy. Here or there, a yellow one wants to start its journey as well and joins the red ones in my basket. Sometimes, I meet a small spider or bug on my way from branch to branch. Once, I cross the pleasant shade of a palm tree as I make my way through my assigned row. My mind wanders. I enjoy the view and try to imagine how it is if you do this day in, day out for years. Of course, Amadeo is much quicker and way ahead. As you and your mate always pick in adjacent rows, and above and below more pairs are working their way through the plantation, you always know who is fast or slow compared to the others. So, individual paces are silently choreographed into, and oriented towards, a collective pace as the day unfolds. "Everything OK back there? You sleeping?", he shouts. We laugh. "I do what I can", I gasp. "You're lucky though", he let's me know.

"It's not too hot, it's not raining, and it's not a steep *cafetal* (coffee plantation). Easy work today."

7.3.2 Understanding harvesting: Quality or quantity?

In its long and complicated history, coffee may have always been sent across mountain ranges and oceans to be savoured in distant lands. But after all, every coffee bean starts its journey when a small tree is "handled" (Amadeo), a collective activity that is performed in dialogue between coffee bushes, their multispecies, topographic and climatic environments, and many pairs of human hands. To earn their living, coffee harvesters enact a set of embodied skills to master this dialogue. This set has to be acquired and trained in practice: Knowledge is always a performance and always embodied in more or less obvious ways (even thinking can be seen as a bodily motion, in the tradition of Wittgenstein. See Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 17). Although I am definitively not his best student in the field, it would have taken Amadeo much longer to explain me what to do out there just by talking to me in a classroom, and I would have never comprehended what skilled harvesting means without diving right into the corporeal activity. But this way, as I go along from tree to tree, I start to get faster quickly. I manage to smoothen the hand-thumb-cherry-branch-basket interaction and to understand better how much force and movement I have to apply to this or that cherry softness and this or that branch thickness. The coffee plant is peculiar. It resists a too standardized harvesting process. Each branch has buds, closed flowers, open flowers, tiny young cherries, green cherries, yellow cherries, red cherries and even a very few violet cherries (they should have been harvested by now). As I pick coffee with Amadeo, I understand why they have to repeat the same rows again one week later. The cherries are just not rife at the same time. Later that day, farm administrator Francisco tells me:

> "You see, how would you pick coffee if not by hand? You have to identify the exact moment to pick the right, red cherries. Harvesting has to be done by hand." (Francisco, farm administrator)

The cherries' ripeness may be only loosely synchronized, but the plant indeed has a main season to carry its fruits, depending on the local patterns of dry and rainy seasons. In the province of Caldas, the main coffee harvest takes place in weeks 33 to 50 from October into December, peaking in the weeks 39 to 42 when almost half of the total harvest is taken in (Duque and Dussán 2004: 252). In some places, there is also a shorter and less productive side season in May called *traviesa* or *mitaca*. But within these time windows, the bushes somehow stay in every possible blossom phase, and you have to

get back in to "handle" them again if you don't want to lose yield: a cherry that is yellow today will be red in one week. In other words, everytime you skip a yellow cherry you see next week's work in front of you already. *So long, cherry. We'll meet again.* Just like this, every instance of the picking process evokes the past work of nursing the trees for three to four years, of watering them to offset a lack of rain, or of cautiously observing how the cherries change colors when they mature over eight months from blossom to ripeness. What is more, it even evokes the future work of continuing the harvest in cooperation with the very same bushes – and then catering for them again for months until the next round of red cherries will have arrived.

As I have learned from Amadeo and from other pickers, and as I was able to observe on other coffee farms and cooperatives, the most important practical understandings for the pickers materialize in a skillful balance between *quality* and *quantity* of their harvest. Orienting practices towards "quality" is important for any DT coffee business. Harvesting is a particularly important site to bring "good coffee" into being, and there are few claims that are so widely accepted by coffee practitioners as "high-quality coffee needs to be hand-picked". The main reason brought forward for this is the peculiar blossom rhythm of the coffee plant. At any given moments the cherries are at a different stage of maturation. One of the most widespreak coffee books for practitioners on the market describes the consequences of the temporality of the bush in strong words:

> "Stripping tree branches of all their fruit at once, ripe and unripe berries together, or any practice other than a careful ripe-fruit-by-ripe-fruit removal has no place in the eyes of the compulsive artisan. Hand picking can only be done properly by workers prideful of their craft, who are being rewarded at a level commensurate with their dedication. This is *not* the place to cut costs. (Italics in original. Peterson 2013: 17)

In this excerpt, the coffee farmer argues in favour of a craftsmanship, or even "compulsive artisan", approach to harvesting. Everything else than a careful picking that cares for an individual treatment of each fruit and treats the bush as a dignified being is not considered as the real way of picking coffee. This conviction is already apparent on an etymological level: "Handling" literally involves a "hand", and "manage" originates from the latin word for hand, "mano". In addition, Peterson clearly signals that there is a correlation between workers that are "prideful of their craft" and receive an adequate remuneration for their "dedicated" work, the quality of their careful fruit-by-fruit labour, and the quality of the product. Therefore, he concludes that cutting costs at this stage – by badly paying pickers, but also by using machines to harvest – would *not* be adequate and rather put quality and business at risk.

So, picking by hand is, by any standards, perceived as crucial for the quality of the DT harvest. If we zoom out to consider the coffee world market, it becomes clear that picking practices split up along the boundaries of specialty and commodity coffee networks (Guevara 2017). There is a specialty mode of "selective harvesting" –ripe-cherry-by-ripe-cherry handpicking – and a commodity mode of "stripping harvesting" where all fruits are tore off the bush at once. Depending on the centrality of machines in the process, "stripping" is further differentiated. In manual stripping, harvesters grab the branch, pull outward, collect all the fruits of a bush in a canvas and put it in bags. Machine-assisted stripping is essentially the same, but the pickers use the help of something what looks like an electrified broom instead of their own hands to shake the cherries off. A third mode of stripping entirely replaces human-bush interaction by using mechanical harvesters. These machines have been introduced in the early 1970s and are mainly seen in Brazil, the biggest coffee producer in the world. Practitioners mention four factors which make mechanized stripping more cost effective than selective harvesting in Brazil (for instance, see Casa Brasil 2015 and coffeereseach.org 2006): First, unlike places like Colombia, the very flat topography tolerates heavy machinery; second, it is mentioned that the Brazilian coffee varieties mature more uniformly than others with typically 75% of the crop ripe at the same time; third, rural labor is said to be scarce (and expensive) in Brazil, making less labor-intensive modes of harvesting more attractive; and fourth, these large-size farms are oriented towards commodity markets and, therefore, don't cater to high-quality segments.

Thus, both CT and DT have their own approaches to aim at "constant handling" at harvesting, expressed in different general understandings guiding the practices along the respective networks. Commodity farms do it by minimizing human and nature interference by using an automatized approach via machine picking. In comparison, performing the general understanding of *quality* in DT in constant handling needs embodied skill. The expert picker will always be focused on "the red cherries only" (Amadeo). The all-red mature cherry is not only the literal fruit of the labour, but also the crystallization point towards which the practice of harvesting is oriented: The red cherry translates the abstract and ambiguous general understanding of "quality" to the specific setting of the plantation. Enacted as "ripeness" (O'Keefe 2009, Pacas 2016), quality becomes relevant for the skillful enactment of the practice in a very tangible way. A high share of red cherries in the basket is a necessary (albeit not sufficient) proxy for the coffee quality and the income the farm will achieve. From the plant science perspective, a cherry indeed "will tolerate a few days before or a few days after it peaks, but no more. Harvesting too early makes the cup grassy and raw; too late and fermentation has begun, resulting in an unstable wineyness" (Peterson 2013: 16-17).

For the practitioners, coffee *product* quality is essentially synonymous with how coffee is handled, or *process* quality; "Because great coffee doesn't just happen" (SCAA, see chapter 4.2.1). Among coffee pickers, this general understanding is shared as well. In the field, this means that a "good" harvesting process is a precondition for a "good" product, and that a basket full of "good" red cherries (product) is a well visible marker for the quality of the picker's work (process). A bad picker will likely lose her job by the end of the day or week and is unable to come back to the farm anytime soon, also because every cherry picked too early is next week's red cherry unneccesarily wasted. The colour "red" even turns into an embodied marker of quasi-professional pride and identity, as Amadeo shows when he proudly proclaims that "if you work in the field, you always have a red thumb". This color-coding claim is repeated by many coffee practitioners I have met, independently of what they do and where they come from. Some time after I had interviewed her, the Facebook post of a Swiss DT professional who imports coffee from Myanmar popped up on my phone. Accompanying pictures of red cherries and flowers, the caption said: "Welcome to Chin State – where captivating red is becoming an addiction. While rhododendron are in full blossom, coffee is being hand-picked around the corner […]."

Apart from caring for picking all-red mature cherries only, there is an additional layer of process quality visible in Amadeos affirmation that "it is important to avoid cherries to fall down" and that "whoever is not careful, puts the quality of the harvest at risk." Here, Amadeo actually refers to future harvests and future harvest quality. In other words, who is considered a good picker in the field acts responsibly. She thinks of the future of the farm and not only of her own short-term gains she may achieve by quickly stripping the bushes to catch a part of the cherries in her basket, leaving the rest left to rot. Such a careless handling would not only increase the risk for insect infestations, but also jeopardize the health of the branches and decrease the overall yield of the farm by unneccesarily wasting red cherries. Here, we see that process quality does not only translate into product quality in the present, but as well into product quality in future harvests.

In the case of stripping the branch (as an example for "bad" picking), a second dimension governing the practice of harvesting becomes tangible as well. Quality considerations are only one aspect of the practical understandings. The other side is *quantity*. The pickers overwhelmingly get paid per kilo they bring in individually. During high season, as much as 93% of the pickers in Caldas are employed in this *kileo* logic, with the remaining 7% contracted per day – usually locals and family members, as a study by Duque and Dussán (2004: 251) lays out (being paid per day gets more common in low-

yield times at the start and end of the season though). They therefore have a vital interest in maximizing their harvest per day. More than half of the pickers bring in between 60 and 105 kilos, with one out of five more than that. Some even reach as much as 200 kilos per day (Duque and Dussán 2004: 250). In order to maximize the harvest, pickers often work double shifts – not at *Manantial* though –, or they casually throw in some yellow and green cherries or little stones, or they go ahead with a faster, less careful handling of the bush. Thus, what Duque and Dussán call "productivity" of the picker likely goes against product and process quality: A classic goal conflict that is explicitly addressed by Amadeo when he mocks my slow pace ("If you continue that slow, you will definitely die from hunger.").

At Manantial, a kilo of cherries is "worth 420", as administrator Francisco explains me later. That's similar to what pickers earn at other farms around here. 420 Colombian pesos per kilo are 15 cents of a Dollar. What does this mean in terms of income per time? A skilled picker fills her *coco* of 10 kilos in one hour, as I learn on several farms. A look at Duque and Dussán's numbers (2004) confirms that this is representative: the harvest a picker in central Caldas brings in is 82.6 kg per 8-hour work day, or rougly 10 kilos an hour. So, an average picker earns an hourly 4,200 COP or 1.50 USD. Around here, that's roughly equivalent to a dozen eggs, or 1.5 liters of milk or water, or 1.5 kilos of rice or bread, or a small beer and a baggie of potato chips, or a mobile data bundle including 120MB and free Whatsapp, Facebook and Twitter use valid for two days. In other words, as average coffee picker, you will earn 240 USD per month. This is significantly below the poverty line as calculated by the Colombian Statistics Administration (COP 693,840 versus COP 894,552. DANE 2016) (see table 21).

Unit	Salary (in USD)
Kilo cherry	0.15
Hour (10 kilos)	1.50
Day (8 hours)	12
Week (5 days)	60
Month (4 weeks)	240
Poverty line (DANE 2016)	313

Table 21: Picker's average income for average harvesting productivity (numbers from direct communications and Duque and Dussán 2004)

7.3.3   The silenced performers of DT scripts: The harvesters

In between my encounters with pickers at *Manantial*, I had the chance for an extensive conversation with anthropologist Gloria Elsa Castaño Alzate at the University of Caldas in Manizales. She has worked extensively with and about the population of coffee pickers in Colombia and told me that even in coffee country Colombia, the coffee

workforce is largely silenced. Other than through the bags they bring in at the end of the day during the harvesting weeks, coffee workers themselves are invisible to most other participants in the coffee market for most of the time of the year. Altough they form an indispensable labour force, the human hands most crucially engaged in the practice of harvesting coffee are silenced, exploited and invisible members of every coffee network (Castaño Alzate 2010: 110). This othering is mirrored in a low scholarly attention to the precarious lives performing coffee harvesting. From the few studies there are (e.g. Ramírez 1983, Tobasura and Restrepo 1991, Tobasura 1994, Duque, Restrepo and Velásquez 2000, Castaño Alzate 2010), it gets clear that most of the picking hands recruit themselves out of a population of nomadic workers, usually individuals without property, family responsibilities, formal degree and reading/writing skills (Duque, Restrepo and Velásquez 2000: 34. See also Thurston 2013a and Peyser 2013). As it is common in Colombia, the pickers only work in coffee for eight to ten weeks a year under unstable and precarious work, health and nutrition conditions. They vanish after the season to engage in non-coffee handling work in construction, in informal sectors in the big cities, engage in (legal or illegal) mining and (legal or illegal) plantation work. While the motivations and biographies of pickers are far from uniform[40], what they have in common is that they see themselves as "free workers" who are able to sell their work for the time they want (Castaño Alzate 2010: 104). They feel that they literally "own" time in a double sense: They are able to define for how long they work at a given place, and they are able to define their work rhythm during the day, for the only thing that matters is how much kilos they bring in in the evening. The pickers in Castaño Alzate's study generally perceive this ownership of time as freedom, compensating them for the precarious labor conditions they work in (2010: 115). In that sense, they know that they are subjected to the control of their employers at the farm, but upon durations and rhythms of their own choosing.

In their everyday lives, harvesters paradoxically perceive the coffee plantation as the place of free activity, "while the space designated for resting is the one that oppresses and bores him, even up to incentivizing work abandonment in a daily fashion" (Translation is mine. Castaño Alzate 2010: 117). Thus, choosing not to continue working on a given farm the next week – one side of "owning time" – is less an issue of overly hard work, overly strict supervision or overly bad pay than one might think from

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[40] Castaño Alzate (2010: 107-108) identifies five types of harvest workers: "Professional" pickers with a quasi-occupational identity and often family ties to the farms they work on, "neophytes" (newbies who have just started), "circumstantials" (those who do it temporally until they go back to 'their' sector again), "strategics" (those who seek adventure and freedom, usually single young men) and the "camouflaged" (those who seek to disappear from the radar and hide from the government, guerilla, paramilitaries or criminal groups).

outside. It seems to be more dreadful for the pickers to face situations of absolute boredom in untolerably miserable accommodation conditions every night. This is a claim I can definitively confirm from my, of course much less extensive, experience in the field. While the plantation work may be physically hard, but is performed in a master- and sometimes joyful dialogue between hands, branches, red thumbs, weather, the sun, topography and the odd tiny bug, the rest of any picker's day is essentially waiting to fall asleep in an unpleasant atmosphere without privacy. At *Manantial*, my privilege as European academic has granted me my own room with a bed and a warm blanket where the cool Andean wind and the concert of the cicadas are things to be enjoyed. But in the next room, I hear three or four workers talking themselves to sleep, increasingly loudly and impatiently as they are regularly interrupted by the repeated coughs of one of them. He must either have bronchitis or suffer seriously from his constant smoking. They all sleep on the ground in their day clothes, using one or two layers of cardboard as mattress. This is representative for the conditions of the workers at coffee farms all around Colombia, if not in all coffee-production countries. They often have to sleep in a room where laundry is drying, or they stay in windy and cold sheds, exposed to mosquitos or fleas. If you have bad, wet or infested dorms, you don't only sleep bad and don't pick well the next day (Castaño Alzate 2010: 117), and you even ruin your health in the long run – and therefore, your possibility to work and have an income in the future, as some pickers put forward (Castaño Alzate 2010: 114).

If the pickers "own" time, what does this imply for the practice of employing pickers, and more generally for the entrepreneurial control work, especially over the practice of harvesting coffee? During the harvest season, farmers in Colombia seek their harvesting workforce for the next week on village squares on Sundays. Commonly, there are changes in the team every week. The situation is often described as a ideal-type, embodied "free labour market" (Castaño Alzate 2010: 109) of selling work to the "highest bidder" (Castaño Alzate 2010: 104). The farms are usually represented by the harvest supervisors, *patrones del corte,* in our case, Francisco. They negotiate with the pickers, agree directly on the spot with them and contract them. The contract is informal and enters into being quite simply: If you board the jeep of a *patrón*, you are in for the week. As Francisco and me were talking about controlling the pickers and how he compares their skill and attitude, I asked him whether the pickers also compare what they get and whether they can choose who to work for:"Claro. They compare […] some exploit the pickers. And there are those who prefer to let their coffee go to waste instead of hiring pickers if they ask for too much money." What this shows is that Francisco is well aware of the power the pickers bring into the employment negotiations. They are indeed able to compare the offers and select the most suitable one. Francisco

acknowledges that there are also employers who exploit their pickers or don't offer them conditions that have been promised. His boss Joaquín is not one of them though, he adds, as he holds his salary offers constant since the launch of *Manantial*.

In this context, it is interesting that he doesn't mention factors beyond the salary that also determine the relationship between farms and workforce. As we have seen, the accommodation conditions are usually more important than the salary in the decision whether to sign up for work on a specific farm or not. In addition, experienced pickers want to know the density of the trees, the number of branches per plant, the age of the plant and the slope of the plantation, because all of these are factors that determine their kilos per hour brought in and, therefore, their income per week (Duque and Dussán 2004: 252). In that sense, in the moments of employing pickers, diverse sets of practices connect together in retro- and prospective ways – even practices of plant husbandry play a role in employing the pickers. However, the fact that Francisco is only focused on the monetary conditions reflects a view shared by most organizations handling coffee: Namely, that the relationship between workers and employers is a mere economic one and the issue of treating the pickers with dignity and inclusiveness is a question of the right and fair salary. In this sense, the "monetary needs operate as the dispositive that predisposes the [picking] subjects to a subaltern social relationship" (Translation is mine. Castaño Alzate 2010: 122).

At the same time, Francisco's affirmation that the pickers sometimes "ask for too much money" coincides with what most practitioners I talked to were convinced of, namely that labor costs too much because it is scarce: "there is no workforce in the countryside" (personal communication). It's apparently less and less attractive to work as a coffee picker, and many of the young locals leave for the city as soon as they can (Peláez 2016c). Other than uncle Pablo claimed, many teenagers in the villages told me that they want to study or become famous or play football, basically "just do something in the city" (as one of them literally said). This translates into a power relation in the moment of contracting workers that is quite equal. This dynamics is described in detail by a picker who has worked in coffee for 26 years: "Go to a market square [and] you will see the *patrones* shouting like crazy […] They need us, that's why they come to search us and to offer us loads of things […] because the picking is the most needed part of cultivating. Look, you can have a lot of land and very good crop but if you don't have nobody who picks it you are doomed." (Translation is mine. Taken from Castaño Alzate 2010: 109-10).

In conclusion, as pickers go along ""handling" plants in intensive bodily labour, their work is oriented towards contradictory practical understandings, of which DT

orientations are only one dimension, that have to be moderated in practice. The harvesters remain silenced participants in DT associations. But when considering their everyday lives, their marginal subject positions allow for degrees of subversion by moving out of adverse situations. At the same time, their precarity does not provide them with much more options than still being subjected to the workings of the "grand capitalist machine". They are forced to sell their labour on capitalist markets; maybe not to *anyone*, but to *someone.* They have to engage in precarious work maybe not *anywhere*, but *somewhere*. It is presumable that their main orientation is thus to quantity and less to quality. This possibly affects the translations from DT scripts to acts. Thus, on the level of the attitudes and skills performed in the practices of harvesting, the challenge at *Manantial* might not be the relation between general understandings and practical understandings, or the translation from "practice scripts" to "practice acts", but rather the continued reproduction of quanitity orientations, as a remainder of the "old" commodity model. Table 22 sums up how DT understandings resonate in the field through in few key guidelines, usually formulated along the lines of "how to be a good picker". Therefore, the next chapter focuses on how the project tries to control product and process quality control in practice.

General understandings governing quality in Direct Trade coffee		Practical understandings governing the performance of "harvesting coffee"
"It has to be good": Orienting all networked practices towards quality is key	⟷	"Avoiding the cherries to fall down": Orienting all handlings to the well-being of the bushes and the farm (process quality, long term product quality)
"It is perfect at harvest": Harvesting is the most important site for quality creation	⟷	"The red ones only": Orienting all handlings to collect ripe cherries (product quality)
"It has to be done by hand": In order to create quality, coffee needs to be hand-picked	⟷	"It has to be done by hand": The cherries are just not ripe at the same time (process quality)
	⚡	*"Not die from hunger": Bringing in as much baskets as possible (quantity – friction with quality!)*

Table 22: General and practical quality understandings in the practice of harvesting

7.4   Supervising the harvest: Control work in practice

As the zoom-in on the practice and the practitioners of coffee harvesting suggests, there is a frictional relationship between, first, caring for "the red ones only", second, caring for the well-being of the bushes and the farm, as for example in "avoiding the cherries

to fall down", and third, caring not to "die from hunger" by bringing in as much *coco* baskets as possible by the end of the day. Any coffee business that aims at a constant high-quality handling of the coffee will have to make sure that these frictions are moderated in a way such that the practice of harvesting is oriented towards quality and not (only) quantity. This chapter looks at how the DT project in focus tries to achieve this as the everyday routines unfold on the farm: Because being aware of, or able to perform, general and practical understandings does not automatically mean that they are actually performed in practice. As a departure point, I begin by tracing more manifest ways how process and product quality are controlled and then build up an understanding of control that goes beyond a simplistic dualism of picking and supervising practices.

7.4.1 Zooming in: Harvesters and supervisors at collecting the harvest

There is one moment throughout the day that is explicitly designed to control the quality of beans: When the harvest is collected. This performance happens after five pm. Amadeo, my coffee picking tutor this afternoon at *Finca Manantial*, signals that we can call it a day. I managed to collect probably six kilos in three hours. I would have just earned 90 cent of a dollar. He assesses: "That's not bad for your first day in the field, but let me give you some of my harvest. You need a picture with a full *coco* to show off in front of everybody you will meet." He fills my basket up to the top, grabs my camera and takes a picture. "I am going to tell everybody I collected this in less than one hour, OK?" I suggest, joining the teasing game as I follow his bluff in masculine complicity. I have in mind that that's about the average for a skilled picker. He bursts out in laughter. "Nobody is going to believe you! Better say two hours. That's bad for ten kilos but more or less OK for a beginner", he adds. In other words, six kilos in three hours is really terrible. We walk down to the harvest recollection place, meet Francisco, the farm owner and Amadeo's father, and have some *aguapanela*, a thick and tasty sugarcane drink that traditionally serves as replacement for food and source of cheap energy for the workers. Francisco does not believe me at all with regard to the two hour claim, but he pretends to be impressed.

The current November 2015 coffee harvest is only the second one Francisco leads at this farm. A year ago, he was able to send the first *Café Don Miguel* ever produced at *Manantial* to Switzerland – three to four years after planting the first 5000 coffee seedlings. In the last weeks, 2500 additional infant trees were planted. At this very moment, Francisco is busy taking in the harvest. Amadeo and I finish our *aguapanela* drink and observe. The three of us now stand on the second level of a small tower with a size of approximately four by four meters and a *guadua* roof construction covered by

shingles. Half of the space is taken by a concrete container that is more than half full with coffee cherries. They are mainly red, some are also yellow or green. A shovel lies on top of them and a common garden hose brings water. The mass is slightly moving as the cherries flow out below the surface. A tube connects the tower to an adjacent shed containing an on-the-farm processing machine, the *beneficiadora*. Its noise indicates that it's running. A hook with a analogue scale hangs down from a beam above.

Francisco takes the shovel and equilibrates the coffee mass. Some of the workers have already left their harvest there, and some others are delivering as we stand there: An older man with a hunched back, a short woman with an indigenous touch and two guys. One wears a dirty t-shirt, the other shorts. His bare body is very tanned and very muscular. The atmosphere is concentrated, there is not much talk. Also, they don't seem to care that I am present. "I've got seven men and two women working here", Francisco tells me. One after the other, they bring up full and heavy white bags, sometimes more than one, hang them on the hook, and together with Francisco they cautiously check the weight of the harvest. Francisco notes their names, the day and the number of kilos in a small notebook with a pencil, and the workers unload the bags onto the other coffee cherries. Francisco is observing. He wants to make sure that the share of red - ripe - cherries is high and that the workers don't cheat their way to higher weights with yellow or green ones, or even branches or stones. A few branches or leaves usually come with the load, Francisco quickly throws away the ones he can easily reach. Overall, he seems satisfied. Today, the pickers bring in between 70 and 140 kilos each.

7.4.2 Control, collective: The joint performance of DT scripts

The moment of taking in the harvest is a key instance of any coffee journey (trace 14 below). It doesn't matter whether it is a farm dedicated to specialty or commodity coffee. The supervisor and the pickers enact a routinized choreography of controlling how successfully the bush was handled during that day, involving bags, a hook, a scale and a small notebook where the individual performance is noted. A first take on who-controls-whom quite trivially results in the conclusion that a powerful supervisor controls subjected workers, assisted by tools that translate eight hours of intensive work into a number on a sheet of paper (which will be translated into money by the end of the week). The moment of translating time into money by materializing and objectifying a day's work serves as a paradigmatic instance where power and control are (per)formed. I ask Francisco the next day how he makes sure that the pickers comply with the quality requirements they need to produce *Café Don Miguel*:

"Of course they have to be controlled", he says. One way is to check the harvest when they leave it at the processing plant at night, but especially you also have to supervise them when they collect. "You have to have control". If someone works bad, he has to leave by the end of the week. I want to know whether this happens frequently. He confirms emphatically. "Yeees, this happens a lot, of course, thousands of times…there are very harmful people, too harmful". I ask whether these [harmful] people are from the village, the same community. He replies yes, that happens, but if you get to know your personnel you know who is a good picker and who is a pig at harvesting ("cual es buen recolector, cual es cochino pa'cojer"). "There are some who leave the [coffee] tree turned shit", he says. "There are many who want evil." ("Hay unos que dejan el palo vuelto nada. Hay muchos que quieren mal.")

Dominik, jottings from a conversation with Francisco

On the most general level, this vignette shows that the control activities he performs on the farm follows the pattern of the coffee handling activities he oversees. Its place-based intensive work that needs bodily presence to bring the practical orientations towards coffee quality and quantity into being. However, there is a clear hierarchization of his attention as *patrón de corte*: First, process quality; second, product quality; third;

Trace 14: On the farm.

From top left to bottom right: a coffee farm in the Colombian eje cafetero; harvesting in practice; cherries about to flow into the beneficiadora; taking in the harvest on top of a small tower, overlooking the plantation

quantity (see also table 22 above). The latter is not even mentioned by Francisco, although it emerged as a potential source for frictions, affecting the performance of the quality understandings in DT. It probably doesn't seem so important to him because the pickers have an own direct interest in it: While quantity has direct impact on the income of both the pickers and the farm, variations of quality only influence the income of the farm directly – the pickers are, as laid out above, generally not paid for the percentage of all-red cherries, only for the kilos. In terms of quality, the double process/product quality orientation of the pickers as described above indeed resonates in the practices to control them. Yet, it gets clear that process control is far more important to Francisco than product control. He explicitly states that "checking the harvest" is not enough control for him. It is "especially" important to oversee the process of harvesting to make sure the bushes be treated well and not "turned shit", the cherries don't fall down, and no rife ones be left on the bush. As he doesn't trust the good intentions of the pickers, they have to feel his embodied presence also out in the field at least once a day, or in his own words again: "You have to have control."

For Francisco, "having control" over a practice is equal to "being present" in the moment when the practice is performed. Direct supervision, therefore, appears as a stronger form of control than product control, especially because anyone knows that there is the clear threat of being fired by the end of the week if you are "a pig at harvesting", something that "happens thousands of times". Now, in iterations of trial-and-error employments, there is indeed a process towards establishing closer relationships with good pickers, either because they are from the "community" or you have gotten to know "your personnel". And still, Francisco feels the urge to be present in the field. "Some" may work bad and some not, but "many" want evil, so even if you know that someone works well today doesn't mean that she will do so tomorrow as well. Such a mistrust not only of pickers, but generally of all people is a common perception amongst farmers, pickers, traders and, actually, the wider population I have talked to in Colombia.

Francisco's clear preference for supervising the work in the field, as opposed to product control, puts an observation I made during the harvest intake in perspective. Initially, I was surprised that Francisco's product control in the tower seemed a bit improvised. As narrated above, it was mainly oriented to branches and stones, not to unripe cherries. Indeed, this physical control mainly served the purpose to avoid problems with the depulping machine in the shed and was only loosely oriented towards the all-red mature cherry (chapter 7.5.1). This is an observation that holds for some commodity-oriented farms I have seen, but is not generally valid for specialty farms. Actually, on the latter, it is not uncommon at all to see another instance of all-red cherry selection on a conveyor

belt or big panels, an activity I could observe at the DT farm *Altos de Palo* close to Manizales. In that sense, my observations at *Manantial* indicate that the way "collecting the harvest" controls "harvesting" are closer to the "old" ways of commodity coffee than to the so-called "best practices" in specialty coffee.

It seems that for the material quality of the coffee, it is not the actual control of the ripeness of the cherries that matters most at harvest collection. But then, "collecting the harvest" does have a governing effect that is less obvious and has to do with how "harvesting" and "collecting the harvest" are related in time and space: "Harvesting" receives a temporal and spatial frame through the practice of "collecting the harvest". Temporally, the collection marks the end of every working day and enables workers and supervisors to slice the continuing harvesting season into packages of days and, calculating down from there, hours. It makes the process manageable. In addition, it connects the ongoing temporal flow of picking with the main orientation point of every picker, getting paid. This is accomplished by weighing and taking notes; Francisco's notebook will take center stage again by the end of the week in the practice of paying the pickers. In other words, different moments, durations and temporal orientations are enacted and given sense in this very instance. Past, present and future of the harvest *and* the harvesters come together in the practice of collecting the harvest. In other words, different temporalities are put under control as they are assembled into one joint frame of reference. Spatially, the co-production of collecting the harvest is quite literally performed on a stage. The designated collection place is a small tower overlooking the plantation. This is the case on most farms I have visited. The practical reason for this particular type of construction is to enroll physics to help float the cherries down to the processing machine, but the elevated place with steep stairs as aim of the harvest procession has also symbolic qualities: *This is where a powerful rite of passage happens*.

Indeed, it is the place where the pickers are oriented to when walking down steep slopes with heavy bags, and it is the place they look across in short moments of breathe during the day. If we trace the ways of the pickers around the moment of taking in the harvest, it gets apparent that more-than-one-directional control is enacted here. They get up at five in the morning, strap on the *coco* basket, pick row by row in silence, aim at a mix of red and yellow cherries (and some branches) that pushes up their daily harvest – and therefore their income – while bringing in a mix that still passes the quick visual quality test done by the *patrón de corte*. The point is that they know him, so they know how far they can go. The relation of the pickers and the supervisor often has an air of non-verbal complicity: The pickers generally perceive their *patrones* as being from the same class, because they are mostly ex-pickers themselves who are seen as just implementing what

the superior boss is saying (Castaño Alzate 2010: 103). This complicity is also performed in the employment negotiations. The *patrón del corte* is seen as "the greatest beneficiary" (Castaño Alzate 2010: 103) if good pickers are found. With a good team at the *finca*, *patrones* don't have to do long shifts on Sunday to enroll pickers, and they can be quite sure that they will be able to deliver a harvest to their boss. At the same time, it is generally hard to find good personnel who work well, and it is especially difficult to know which type of people they are ("*la clase de personas que son*"; Castaño Alzate 2010 : 103). Here, what Francisco said before about the need to control the pickers out in the field because "there are many who want evil" clearly resonates – a good picker is not only a skilled one, but especially one who can be trusted. As *Manantial's* Francisco tells me, although he has the power to let go bad pickers who are "a pig at harvesting", sometimes he has no choice than to work with those available. He says that pickers sometimes switch to another farm even during the week for more pesos per kilo, because a good friend works there or the hill is less steep to have a more comfortable work day (a key factor especially if the forecast predicts rain: I heard some stories of slipping injuries).

This substantiates my claim that the practice of collecting the harvest controls the practice of harvesting less through a rigid cherry-by-cherry control and more through reiterating the distribution of power into "we-the-pickers" and "them-on-the-other-side". "Them", that is an invisible farm owner or boss or buyer, acting typically through an enrolled ex-picker who now supervises "us-the-pickers". It also means that, despite of working in a framework out of their reach and being supervised in the moment of taking in the harvest, as well as out in the field, the pickers are not totally subjected to an all-encompassing system embodied by the *patrón de corte*, his attitude and tools. They actively navigate cracks and weaknesses of the strategic dispositive with tactical savvy. They become knowledgeable practitioners in co-creating control.

At the same time, a say in the translation of quality scripts into situated performances does not mean that pickers can partake in writing them. Like they are not "seen" or "heard", pickers don't "see" the coffee market, and they have no "say" in it, whether it is organized in commodity or DT logics. And yet, surprisingly, compared to the savvy of navigating the "other side" – the harvest supervisor – in performing control, a general knowledge of the coffee market seems less important for the pickers to perform an empowered position at harvesting. Based on my experience, depending on their personal and work biographies, knowledge and awareness of the general understandings varies drastically. Some, especially the older ones, are well informed. Other workers are not aware of the trajectory of their harvest after they have put the bag onto the hook, not

even that it doesn't go to the cooperative, but bypasses these places for direct travels. For example, Diego and his pregnant girlfriend Diana, the two teenage farmhands who live on the *Finca,* show no particular reaction when I, asked where I come from, say Switzerland, the place where the coffee from the farm goes to. Diego looks surprised: "The coffee goes to Switzerland? But is there no coffee [growing] in Switzerland?" For some of the pickers, to know where the coffee goes to, where the plant may grow and where not, and more general knowledge about distant places around the world just doesn't seem a skill relevant enough to navigate their lives with a sense of owning their world. Interestingly, in our DT case, the agency of the marginal tends to result in keeping alive the "old" ways of harvesting coffee. For the pickers I worked with, the "new" DT framework to be enacted at *Finca Manantial* at the time of my visit hasn't changed the way they work compared to the traditional ways of handling commodity coffee, and neither it has the ways they respond to supervision.

Such a view on "control" expands and differentiates the take on the "powerful supervisor controlling subjected workers". By acknowledgeing a disciplining quality of the powerful place and the moment of the "rite of passage", I argue that there is more to this scene than the one-directional enactment of power within the practice of collecting the harvest. It indicates that control is "control work"; not something somebody "has", but a collective enactment of agency that (per)forms activities into concerted accomplishments. Seen like this, control work – and entrepreneurial practice in general – appear as collective accomplishments and performed not as a result, but as a property of a performed practice. Another example sheds light on this claim. One morning at the *finca*, as I get up, I find Amadeo and farmhand Diego in front of the *beneficiadora* shed. They are already busy loading the washed coffee beans into bags. Suddenly, a black jeep appears chugging down the hill, slowly coming closer. It's uncle Pablo. He comes to bring the wet coffee bags to the drying place up at Doña Julialba's (we have met her in chapter 6). Francisco joins us. Everybody is silent and ready. Pablo stops the jeep and after a moment of anxious waiting, he gets off. This stocky, grumpy old man certainly is an authority around here. In how Francisco and the others talk to him and look at him, I feel that they treat him with a lot of respect. Amadeo and Diego quickly begin loading the wet coffee bags onto the covered load area of the jeep right away. Sometimes, they make casual comments without much conversation around them such as "six [bags], hm." – "mhm." (uncle Pablo and Francisco looking at the too few bags when loading the jeep) or "foam?" – "foam." (uncle Pablo and Francisco referring to too much bad, floating cherries in the *beneficiadora*). Such comments and performed – felt – assessments serve as markers to control the status of the harvest. They indicate that control can be performed within the practices themselves and does not need explicit

control practices to be effectuated. Their normativity is immediately understood by the practitioners, and the observing Swiss researcher, as they evoke discourses on quality or productivity with a few or sometimes no words. Such performed instances of orientation smoothly coordinate the harvest and its intake as well. An example is the small moment of silent tension when the balance measures the weight of the coffee bag on the hook, then equilibrates and finally stops, pointing at a number of kilos, and then is followed by unloading the cherries onto the pile, a quick visual check of the color of the cherries to determine the quality-quantity relation and, finally, an almost unnoticeable exchange of looks between the picker and the supervisor. Another is the collective pace of the dyads of pickers which quickly emerges as they go along working row by row in the plantation.

Here, control work in the sense of aligning practices towards a common entrepreneurial orientation sinks in into the very coffee handling practices where uncle Pablo as well as Francisco are handlers and co-controllers at the same time. As they engage in very routinized logistical practices such as driving around or lifting bags, the practitioners gain a tangible sense of the production process under way. With their experience and the skillful enactments, they are able to assess how normally or extraordinarily every harvest unfolds. Often times, the performance and its assessment happen together. Control work, then, is accomplished in a quite embodied and often non-verbal style, expressed in ways how the bags are carried, in looks or in sighs. It seems that discourse, and here specifically the discourse on quality coffee, "lives" in the practiced performances, the bodily movements and sonic utterances as much as in verbalized sentences.

7.4.3   Control, relational: The nested relationality of performing quality

So far, the discussion has shown how entrepreneurial control work over the practice of picking is performed in an oscillation between moments of embodied supervision in the field and the disciplining ritual of taking in the harvest on top of the collection tower at the end of the day. While the latter binds the practice of harvesting in space and time as it serves as a place and moment of orientation, the former is performed in temporal and spatial coincidence with the controlled practice of harvesting. The same situated, embodied and collective performance of entrepreneurial control work happens when the pickers get paid at the end of the week, but this scene also shows another dimension: The trans-situated relationality of control. Paying the pickers is performed at the *parque* or village square on Saturdays. It's two days after my uncanny arrival in Santa Marta. I have seen the farm, learned to harvest and spent some time with the pickers. Today, they

get paid by administrator Francisco and Uncle Pablo in one of the open-front cafés overlooking the square. The two men start to prepare a table for the payments. Uncle Pablo has the money. Francisco shows him numbers and calculations in his small notebook. I recognize it. It is the one he uses every day of the week when the pickers bring their harvest up to the collection tower in the evening. It shows the picker's names, the kilos they harvested per day, the weekly total and the salary each one of them earns tonight. Pablo seems to coach, support and supervise Francisco in this task. As they have gone through the numbers, Pablo passes him a bundle of bills.

Then, the workers arrive one after the other, they wait outside, invisibly, somewhere on the square and appear as soon as it's their turn. They arrive, greet without shaking hands, sit down, get explained how much they collected and how much that is in pesos, all of them nod and agree, they get a bundle of bills, take it quickly and leave the café. In the cafés surrounding it, many more payment procedures happen in a collective performance that, as I have been told by many people, characterizes the weekend atmosphere of all town squares in the coffee grower regions in Colombia. The atmosphere is lively, loud and captivating. That day, I described the scenery as follows:

> *"I am quite fascinated by this way of payment in the middle of so much movement, music, and people. I suddenly connect the more exuberant mood on the square, in the cafés and in the billiards not only with the fact that it is weekend, but also with the fact that there is a lot of cash out there tonight. And as everywhere, financial liquidity can turn into actual liquids quite fast on Saturdays."* Dominik, notes from the field

The central artefact all attention is directed to during the procedure is Francisco's small notebook. It's the one he uses every evening at the small tower above the *beneficiadora* to jot down the kilos of picked cherries each worker brings in. Just like in the daily performance of the practice "collecting the harvest", the numbers are double-checked by the workers and the administrator together. Thus, at least theoretically, it is possible to object the calculations, but I haven't seen a single one at any of the tables ever recounting the bills she or he receives. Some of the pickers likely have trouble reading and calculating, therefore, they have to trust the other side, that is, those who pay them.

For the pickers and the administrator, the practice of "paying the pickers" serves as a last instance of co-creating control over the harvest: The Saturday payment round is the main motivation and orientation for the pickers during the week. They will feel every wasted hour during a harvest day as a bill not received in the weekend. For the *patrón de corte*, the bundle of bills serves as a prime means of control in the everyday

supervision of his subordinates, translated back in time through the notebook, the pen, the hook and the balance performed each weekday on the tower. It is in between two payments Francisco affirms yet again: "There are many who want evil…you have to have control." Finally, for both the pickers and the supervisor, the payment wraps up a weekly cycle that started on Sunday before with the employment negotiations in the very same cafés; a cycle that led them – and me, and you as reader of the present story – through five days of harvesting with all its more and less visible dynamics of tactics and strategies, ultimately controlled and framed by the practices of employing and paying the pickers. Tomorrow Sunday, the cycle will start again. Both sides will meet again right here in the *parque* for yet another round of employing – after just a few hours of sleep, some with a massive hangover and certainly with the smell of egg and bacon hovering over the square.

Apart from the relation between the supervisor and the pickers, the payment procedure makes that "direct" embodied control is accompanied, and intersects with, other modes of control work to be coordinated and held in place over distance by multiple intersecting practices. Francisco is supervised by uncle Pablo, the former owner of the coffee farm. He lets Francisco go through the numbers and calculations as they revise his notebook together. He nods and asks a short question here or there, is sitting besides Francisco as he talks to the pickers and, probably most importantly, hands the money out only after checking Francisco's notes of the week. So, uncle Pablo performes embodies control work of the DT business, enrolled by José over distance to oversee critical business practices. Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee (2015) present this mode as *embodied presence*. More-than-situated and more-than-local processes have appeared already as abstract, nonlocal others which can be collective (markets, the FNC) or individual (the distant boss). For example, for the pickers at the farm, the supervisor embodies the abstract power of an owner who is always invisible. In the moment of getting paid, they get a more tangible feel of the power relations which, at the same time, become more complex and ambiguous. They start to feel the distant boss much closer through uncle Pablo who embodies him, scrutinizes them and – in tendency even more intimidating – inspects the man who supervises them during the week in the field and on the collection tower. And yet, as a concrete human in flesh and blood, he remains hidden. This is obviously not the view of uncle Pablo and supervisor Francisco. They know the man owning the farm and buying the harvest in person, although he only visits once a year, typically in between harvests in the Summer months of the northern hemisphere. In the end, he is family, so he is connected to them in very intimate and embodied ways. However, for the biggest part of the year and for literally every harvest, they are connected necessarily in mediated ways, mainly by calls and Whatsapp messages.

Following Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee (2015), such channels enact relations of *response presence* – not all actors share the same material environment to enact a practice in bodily co-presence, but they share a temporal space of more-or-less-synchronicity. Formulated in practice theoretical terms less relying on cartesian space and linear time, calling and texting (per)form practiced sites which are translocal because they are made by actors who don't find themselves in bodily co-presence.

In instances when Francisco is called by José and has to leave the plantation for a bit (chapter 6.3.4), he becomes remote controlled by the owner of the farm, he is not able to control the pickers in these moments. What is more, an interesting dynamics concerning the perceived locus of power happens: Francisco loses some of his standing as the pickers note that he's also a "small guy" taking orders. Thus, he loses some of his status. On the other hand, the response presence of an invisible, yet very powerful owner also enhances Francisco's power because in every order he gives it becomes clear that he is José's agent and that all of them – the pickers, the supervisor, even uncle Pablo – are ultimately responding to the latter. In other words, the practice of calling may serve other purposes than controlling the harvest directly, but in the way that the call and the harvest supervision compete for the practitioner's – in this case, Francisco's – attention, they intersect, and precisely this intersection has an effect on the power dynamics related to the practice of coffee picking. Control grows bigger than the supervisor, it becomes disembodied, and, maybe most importantly, it becomes present all the time. The constant co-presence of different places (and moments) is performing a third form, *relational presence*. For Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee (2015), the three presences intersect and interact, making control and ownership over the translation of scripts to acts a nested relational business.

7.5 More-than-human agency: Who handles whom?

Researching the practice of "harvesting" at the *Finca Manantial,* the control work over the translation of "abstract scripts" into "concrete acts" has emerged as a nested-relational performance of skillful pickers, *patrones de corte*, tools such as a notebook or a hook, particular topographies and socio-economic dynamics such as demand and supply of labour force on the countryside – and plants. At harvesting, I started to smoothen the hand-thumb-cherry-branch-basket interaction and to deal with different degrees of cherry ripeness and branch thickness. Following Brice's argument for the case of wine, a good picker "learns to be affected" by planty rhythms (2014: 942). In that humans "actively strive through multiple sensory practices to become attuned to plants' activities", he continues, "the 'social agency' of plants becomes perceptible

(ibid.). In this sense, if a practice "succeeds" in the sense of the general and practical orientations governing it – here: if "good" coffee is picked – depends on the attunement of various actors in their joint performance of the practice.

As has been shown, the DT business in question aspires to control coffee picking, but the way how control is enacted in the field is oriented towards commodity coffee practices, namely how the pickers and the supervisors interact and how the pickers as most important human hands are silenced in both DT and CT. As practices and their understandings "live" in situated integrations of diverse components, control work in the coffee business has always included sets of practices directed to colonize components such as human workforce, but also "nature". As we have seen, the most important reason why harvesting demands so much human labour is the peculiar rhythm of the coffee plant. The cherries are just not rife at the same time. In order to receive high-quality beans, plants aspiring to produce specialty coffee rather than commodity coffee demand human sensibility and attention. While producing high quality coffee has to deal with the synchronicity of ripe and unripe cherries on every branch until today, interrelated sets of sociotechnical control work try to alter the influence the plants exert on the practice of harvesting coffee, kicked off by the on-the-farm processing, the *beneficio* (literally "profit").

7.5.1 Zooming in: Enrolling metal, water and physics at the beneficio

After collecting the harvest at the "tower" in an embodied, collective and relational performance of control work, the unimpressive shed below gains center stage. It is the place of a powerful rite of ontological passage. After translating single fruits into a commodifiable mass, the collectivized cherries flow relentlessly towards a drastic transformation: The depulping, separating the cherry flesh from the cherry stones, the soon-to-be coffee beans. It is done by the *beneficiadora*, the on-the-farm processing machine. It is a big, loud and rusty ensemble of turning iron wheels, belts and cherries being carried through the different parts by streams of water. I enter, immediately think that "this is a lot of water, a lot of water" (Dominik, jottings) and note down that many tiny flies are attracted by the organic material here. Francisco is just cleaning the strainer with a small branch, looks at the machine movements for a moment and tells me to get closer.

The whole de-pulping seems violent and rough. On the very top sits a hopper on a a metal box of sorts, threshing the red cherries floating in from the tower to separate pulp and stones. A level further down, a rotating strainer filters the expelled stones and brings them to an open concrete tank, while the ruptured red pulp is sent to another tank (trace
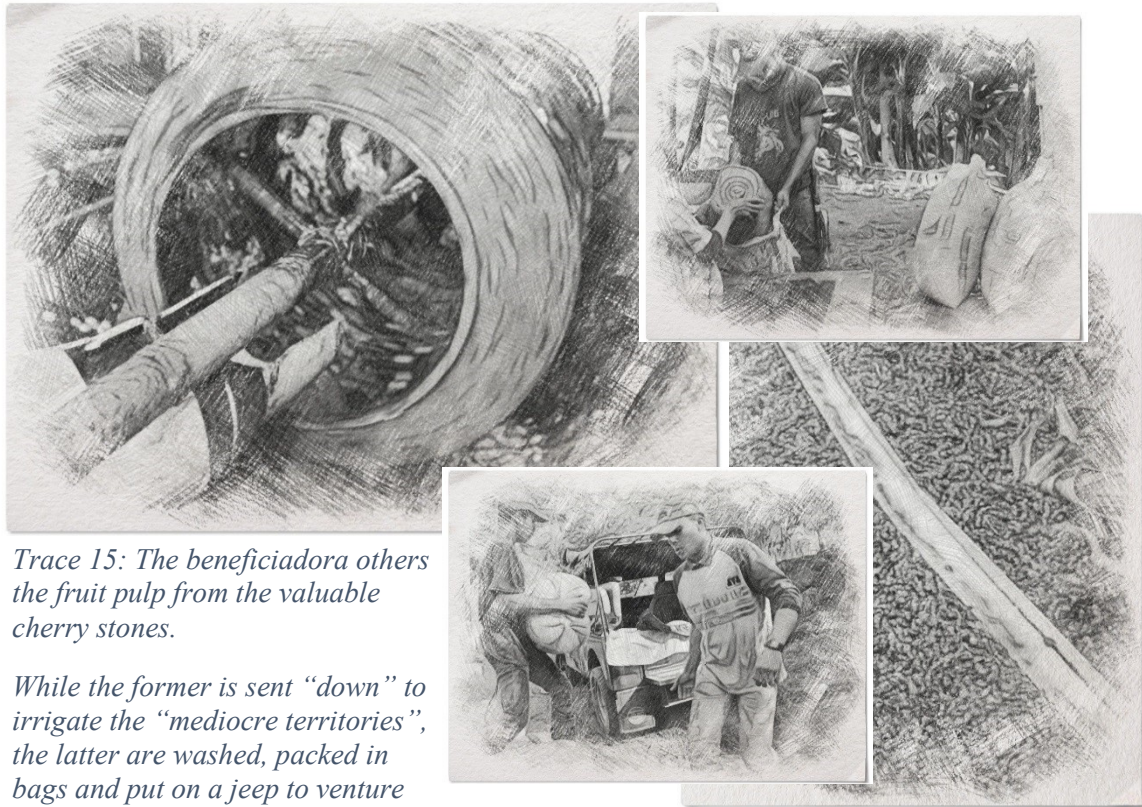
Trace 15: The beneficiadora others the fruit pulp from the valuable cherry stones.

While the former is sent "down" to irrigate the "mediocre territories", the latter are washed, packed in bags and put on a jeep to venture out into the world as – for now – "wet parchment coffee".

15). The whole machine sits on top of an ensemble of old walls which form these tanks. The yellow cherry stones aspiring to become coffee beans stay in their container over night for fermentation and washing before they are brought to dry at Doña Julialba's the next morning. In the pulp container, there is some current under the surface sucking the fruit flesh out. Outside the shed, a small and quick stream of water in a plastic half tube brings the pulp away from the beneficiadora and disappears between the palm trees. To the left and right of the tube, a lot of cherry pulp lies around (trace 15). I asked where the pulp goes. "Down", Francisco said. "Is it used for something?" – "Yes, we collect it to irrigate the mediocre territories with it, the edges and so on." Before Francisco explains me how the beneficio machine works, he shows me an item that seems to be very important: A black cone made of plastic and with a permeable basket structure, coming with a lid to close it. "This", he says, "is what the federation gives to determine the fermentation time…" He reaches into the concrete container with the beans, fills the cone and closes it carefully. He turns the cone, grabs it gently hits it to compress the beans a little. "This is how it is filled. So, ...", he holds up the cone, "the next day, when the coffee is washed, it sinks down to this line". He points at a line at two thirds of the cone and fixes me to see whether I got it. I nod. "This is el punto de lavado, the point of the wash." He repeats it three times, I confirm three times. He shows me the cone for

another few seconds, asks "you got it?", I confirm again. Finally, he sticks it on top of the coffee beans. The item really seems to be important to him.

7.5.2 Colonizing nature: Handling planty rhythms…

In Colombia, the on-the-farm processing of *beneficio* is overwhelmingly done as washed or wet processing as opposed to the dry processing method (Hoffmann 2014:188). It's seen as more demanding, but also more quality-oriented. It's one of the main reasons why "Colombian milds" get a fixed price premium compared to all other coffee categories on the commodity markets. The *beneficiadora* at *Manantial* is probably the oldest one I have seen in the field, certainly compared to bigger DT farms and Doña Julialba's machine which is lined with ceramic panels. That is, her coffee touches ceramics instead of concrete when floating down from the harvest recollection tower to the large washing tanks. What these unimpressive *beneficio* sheds have in common is that every cherry is definitively disentangled from the polyphony of rhythms and scales (per)formed at the plantation as assemblage of latitude, altitude, multispecies interaction and human agricultural skill. As a central helper in this process, the *beneficio* machine takes center stage as a practice component that performs agential potential in its own right, whereby this potential is not as an essential feature of the artefact, but an outcome of the relationships that put it at work within practice:

> "While tools are 'handled', or otherwise controlled directly and thereby 'participate' in the activities that comprise social practices, machines denote a degree of autonomy from direct bodily power/energy and intervention." (Morley 2017: 86)

The first step, the depulping, is "not rocket science and the only requirement is that this equipment not scrape or damage the bean" (Peterson 2013: 17) – something that might not have been guaranteed with *Manantial's* ancient machine. The cherries are translated into "valuable" cherry stones on the privileged side and (almost) "valueless" cherry flesh on the othered side. It now joins weeds, insects, leaves and branches in the club of othered organic material along the way. After the beneficio, of every 100 kilos of harvested cherries, roughly half of the weight will result in de-pulped cherries, and about 12 to 20 kilos of export ready green coffee will be produced (coffeeresearch.org 2006). The year I visited Manantial, the conversion factor was much lower. Due to the "terrible summer" (Francisco), every morning a lot of *"espuma"* beans floated on top of the water in the yellow bean container: too rife, too green or sick coffee beans which are lighter than the good ones. They are skimmed out, separated, dried and sold to local buyers for a very low price. "The foam is always *pasilla*", Francisco explained. "It's our coffee.

Nos toca esto." (see chapter 6.4). For Francisco, as we have seen, machine well-being is the stronger argument than quality to control the harvest (chapter 7.4.1): If stones or branches that float in with the cherries break the machine tonight, he is in trouble immediately, but the feedback of quality problems is much more distant, and the causal link between a handling and the specific problem seems to be more fuzzy.

In general, practicioners agree that "it would be a mistake to believe that coffee producers have flavour in mind when they choose their processing methods. A very small percentage do, but for most producers the goal is to ensure the processing causes the least possible incidence of 'defect' and causes no drop in the quality, and thus the monetary value, of the coffee" (Hoffmann 2014: 31). What is of value or not depends on the particular logics of commodification processes. In the case of coffee, beans win against flesh, and good beans win against bad beans. Regarding to what coffee *is* or can aspire to be, economic, social and cultural patterns of valuation and commodification start to dominate biological, meteorological and geographical patterns in this very moment, with the latter progressively silenced along the way. Whereas plants maintain the ability to affect the temporality of practices and to displace human bodies until the moment the cherry is unplucked from the bush, this planty agency is greatly reduced after the instance of picking. The phase of the journey when human control over timing and rhythm begins starts with red thumbs and baskets in the moment of harvesting. And yet, the fruit still actively participates in its ontological transformation basically via two properties it is left with to bring onto the table: Biology and chemistry.

Along the processing practices planty agency has a say on the cup quality mainly by what temperatures at drying, roasting and preparing it supports, how much moisture it should carry when stored and shipped (11-12%, Hoffmann 2014: 31) and what this means for storage/transport conditions and packaging materials (Poltronieri and Rossi 2016). For example, dry parchment should be stored for 4-6 weeks before the hulling.[41] Overwhelmingly, the processing practices are just governed in the sense of "not making mistakes" such as storing it with pesticides (taste contamination), with the final taste profile (per)formed in harvesting, roasting and preparing practices. Here, handlings at *Manantial* clearly follow a quality protocol which is common in Colombia for high-quality commodity grades (such as Julialba's AAA Nespresso) and for most DT

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[41] The biochemical reasons for why that is seem not to be fully clear, but the practical understanding is generalized: "The traditional practice of holding the coffee in reposo has not been fully researched, although anecdotical evidence suggests that if this step is missed then the coffee can taste green and unpleasant until it has aged further" (Italics in original. Hoffmann 2013: 37).

coffee.[42] As I have been able to observe and many people have confirmed, in Colombia, even the *pasilla* handling is generally more cautious than the low-grade staple commodity handling in other countries, where adequate infrastructures often lack (Peterson 2013: 17). In the focal case, the importance of infrastructure for quality appears in various contexts, most prominently in the difficult transport situation ("access", in the words of José). Examples are the steep topography, bad roads and the need for (costly) private and public jeeps for at least two daily trips – wet coffee from farm to drying machine, dry coffee from drying machine to living room storage – and two weekly trips – dry coffee from living room to storage facility in Colorado. In addition, as the *Manantial* case shows, the availability of a drying machine is far from being a given, which means that many farms have to dry their coffee for a couple of days outside in a work-intensive and failure-prone process. Finally, the (old) on-the-farm depulping machine needs fuel and (a lot of) water with the corresponding pipes and reservoirs.

While bean chemistry is an key actor further down the road and finally co-creates the taste profile (and caffeine intake levels) in roasting, brewing and drinking practices, biological processes such as plant metabolism and micro-organisms pushes coffee handlers who strive for good quality to act quickly right after the picking, as practitioners and plant scientists both put forward. "It is essential that once plucked from the umbilical connection to the tree, the fruit be depulped, cleaned, and dried rapidly but at low temperature" (Peterson 2013: 17), because "the time that elapses between harvest and the beginning of processing can have a dramatic impact on the final results for the coffee", say Poltronieri and Rossi (2016: 14). "Any decoupling between harvest and processing", adds Peterson, "is probably where most coffee in the world is destroyed" (2013: 17).

In other words, the urgency of quick processing right after the harvest is still plant-imposed, which makes that planty rhythms are a major influence in the social patterning of practices along time and space. Above, the analysis of the embeddedness of "harvesting coffee" in wider social fabrics concluded with a hint on the temporalities of the whole sector: The coffee labor markets, and adjacent labor markets in agriculture, mining, construction or informal services in the whole country, follow the planty rhythms of the coffee bush. This goes together with the claims of Hanson and Bell

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[42] Some specialty coffee businesses have started to experiment with drying-storing-packaging variables in order to yield specific qualities to the cup. I have seen this on the high-end Direct Trade farm Altos de Palo where they use a smartphone app to meticulously govern dozens of variables to maximize their control of finegrained cup profiles, holding all the other factors constant. This is uncommon (Hoffmann 2014: 31).

(2007) who, as they follow fruit and vegetable workers in Australia, "make the connection explicit in showing how seasonal patterns of fruit and vegetable harvest create particular migration patterns, or harvest trails" (Head and Atchison 2008: 240). Temporality matters for the organization of practice associations as much as general and practical understandings, as Nicolini claims with reference to Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee's study (2015) of the insurance market: The inscribed temporalities e.g. in practicing periodical contract renewals punctuates "the process which provide specific time horizons for the different activities and constitute an object towards which the gamut of activities converge and precipitate" (Nicolini 2017a: 106). In this case, "ripeness", the concept embodied in the "good red cherry", is a temporal marker and the point where planty and economic time intersect. Beyond organizing the farming practices, it provides the specific "time horizon" (ibid.) and, not the least, material resource for every other downstream practice by triggering the sequence of handlings from farm to cup.

From the perspective of many coffee practitioners I have talked to, in order to harvest "good coffee", you need the adequate plants. On the road from the airport to the *Finca Manantial*, María Isabel and Ángel explained that "you can't grow everything in Colombia", and that some of the coffee species are "not good material, some are prone to sicknesses and bugs, so the federation [FNC] has an eye on what grows here." Colombia has a strict *arabica*-only policy, and the FNC prohibits the lower-quality *robusta* species all across the country, overseeing nurseries, farms and harvests for illegal crops that don't comply with quality standards (FNC-Cenicafé 2013). A main reason is the implementation of Colombia's traditional marketing strategy of selling *Café de Colombia* as a high-quality origin brand. More specifically, the FNC also controls which genetic varieties within the *arabica* species are good to grow. Interestingly, following the power shifts from governmental institutions to multinational companies in world coffee markets, the FNC enrolls the buyer power of Nespresso to enforce its grip on the growing process. In every coffee cooperative – the place the commodity-oriented *cafeteros* sell their harvests at the end of every week – a big Nespresso-branded poster addresses the coffee farmers in a passive-aggressive tone (trace 16 below). A stylized coffee farmer with a strict look and a Nespresso-branded poncho points at the reader. In a red circle, it says "NO CATIMOR". The text addresses the reader as "Amigo Caficultor AAA" ("Friend AAA coffee grower"), adverting: "Remember that the Catimor (Costa Rica 95) is not a variety approved by Nespresso. Your farm can be removed from the program if you plant Catimor." The universal presence of the poster has a strong symbolic impact even on the non-AAA farmers. As the "Friend coffee grower" oversees every transaction made in the cooperatives, it
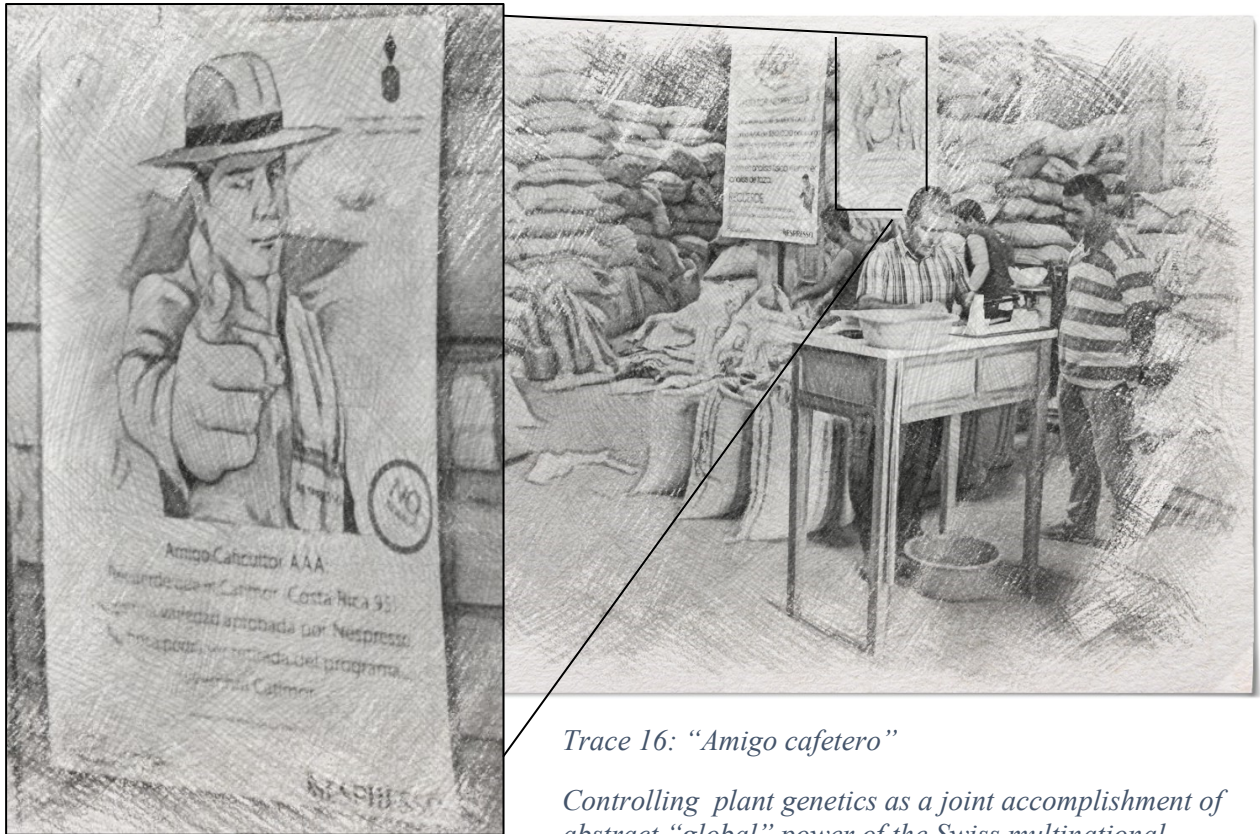
Trace 16: "Amigo cafetero"

Controlling plant genetics as a joint accomplishment of abstract "global" power of the Swiss multinational Nespresso and the universal reach of the FNC onto all Colombian commodity coffee transactions

embodies the abstract universal of the "coffee market" – and the invisible foreign buyers – in a very powerful way.

As Hoffmann lays out, the FNC/Nespresso control work is increasingly cricitized by Colombian high-quality specialty farmers (2014: 189). Apart from other reasons, a main point is that they are not allowed too much genetic experimentation through crossings to achieve new and innovative flavours for high-end segments in the market. *Manantial*, though, has never tried to venture into these activities for the lack of capital, expertise and possibly interest: the standard varieties have repeatedly been considered as "good" enough. Thus, upstream FNC plant governance sets the conditions of possibility for the practice of harvesting to bring "good coffee" into being here.

7.5.3   Being handled by a multispecies planet: Nonhuman resistance

For specialty farmers, new plant varieties to differentiate the product profile would be particularly important as there is extremely little genetic variation of coffee plants in Latin America. Nearly all the coffee trees in the Western Hemisphere descend from a few beans (Peterson 2013: 16). This is because of the peculiar way the coffee plant travelled from its originary lands around the Red Sea around the globe through the practices of colonial conquest (see chapter 1). The narrow genetic base of the coffee

plant in Colombia is consequential for the handling of coffee, and particularly for a mode of harvesting coffee oriented towards high quality, in two ways. As Peterson writes, "since New World coffee has been more or less the same for the past 200 years, the only factors affecting quality have been cultural and climatic – not much else was possible" (Peterson 2013: 16). While "cultural" factors affecting coffee quality can be seen the variety of handling practices, "climatic" factors are related to the territory.

Without doubt, choosing the right location to grow coffee is a key decision for every aspiring coffee farmer. Some practitioners issue the belief that a good farm is the product of the farmer, not the land (personal communication). "To a degree", asserts specialty coffee farmer Price Peterson, "that remains true" (2013: 15). In that sense, coffee places have always been (per)forming social, cultural and political practices, as well as agroecological systems, into complex "landscape mosaics" (Rice 1999).[43] But while the farmer may maximize the potential of a given site through exceptional agricultural craft, the sites differ in their potential for excellent coffee. As Peterson writes in a wrap-up of different territorial variables influencing coffee quality, especially one variable stands out:

> "The perfect coffee farm would lie within 12 degrees of the equator, so that it would have fairly even sun- and day-length; it would be gently sloped to facilitate drainage and harvesting; it would receive about 2 meters of rain with a marked, but short, dry season; and the wind would blow at no more than 7 kilometers per hour year round. For great coffee it would have daytime temperatures in the low 20s Centrigrade with nighttime temperatures around 12 degrees. Finally, it would be nice if it had no insect or fungal enemies. To my way of thinking, *the only thing on the wish list absolutely necessary to grow specialty coffee, as opposed to commodity, is the nighttime temperature*. Frequently, that cold (but never freezing) night is described in producing countries as altitude, leading to a general belief that quality coffee requires the highest altitude." (Italics are mine. Peterson 2013: 15)

If we look at our focus case, *Manantial* complies with all of these factors. So, within that narrow tropical band around the Equator where growing coffee is possible, the only absolutely necessary climatic factor which differenciates a site which is able to produce specialty coffee is the nighttime temperature. The proxy for it is often altitude, as also FNC marketing campaigns suggest ("Colombian coffee is mountain coffee", coffee trader, direct communication). While territory is an adequate proxy for *regular* meteorological patterns (climate), these patterns get more *irregular* as local climatic conditions change due to global warming which, in turn, favors unwanted species to

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[43] This diversity is what the Spanish word for land, tierra, implies, just as its French cousin terroir which is massively important in practices of taste-making in wine (Brice 2014) and, increasingly, coffee (Baker 2013).

appear. Let us zoom out to the planetary atmosphere and zoom in to plant and bacteria DNA in quick succession to gain a sensation of the temporal and spatial scales that play a role in the practice of "harvesting coffee".

Climate change is a major threat for coffee worldwide. It could diminish the land suitable for coffee production on the planet by as much as 50% until mid-century, as Watts sums up current research on the topic (2016). Particularly high-quality coffee production faces growing risks, as it relies on constant taste profiles at a given place and almost exclusively stems from the more fragile *Arabica* species. In Colombia, predictions see 60% of the agricultural land damaged by climate change until 2050 (Watts 2016). Already now, extraordinarily marked *El Niño* or *La Niña* seasons (dry or wet periods) have resulted in massive fluctuations in the annual countrywide coffee output between 7.7 and 14.3 million bags of 60 kg in the last years (Clavíjo 2017). An exceptionally marked drop happened in the years 2010-2012 due to well above average rainfalls linked to strong *La Niña* phenomena.

When it's too wet, the coffee rust or *roya*, a fungus, threatens the plants. In 2011 alone, 44% of the Colombian bushes were affected by it, the highest share ever recorded (FNC 2012). Thus, more extreme climatic instances translate into the productivity of a plantation directly through favourable or adverse conditions for the plant growth, and indirectly through favourable or adverse conditions for neighboring species. Both direct and indirect climate effects can be mediated by adequate handlings which make the plantation more resilient; handlings which need financial resources and resourceful hands to put them into practice. As for the *roya*, the most important counter measure is genetics. Thus, apart from quality considerations, pest control is another major reason why the FNC controls plant varieties. After 2008 and especially the 2010-2012 period, the FNC has implemented a massive cultivation renovation program in Colombia, incentivized by 40%-subsidized credits for the coffee farmers to invest in new plants (FNC 2014, Valencia 2011). A modified rust-resistant Arabica variety called *Castillo*, developed by the FNC research center Cenicafé (which I visited during fieldwork), was massively rolled out to replace older crop varieties. The share of rust-resistant cultivations has more than doubled countrywide from 30% in 2008 to 66% in 2014 and the average age of the coffee bushes has dropped from 12.4 years in 2008 to 7.2 years in 2014 (FNC 2014: 22). As a result of the "better preparedness" of this "climate smart agriculture" (FNC 2012, see also Valencia 2011, Clavíjo 2017) the annual outputs have stabilized in the last years again. It is uncertain to which point specialty farmers would plant genetically modified coffee without asking questions about the interspecies reverberations, and whether consumers would accept to buy and drink it, but the

intersection of climate change with more powerful genetics is likely to foster more research than less on the topic (for a quick overview see Thurston 2013b).

So, when it's too wet, the *roya* thrives. But when it is too dry, a even more nasty challenge appears in masses: the coffee borer beetle or *broca*, originating in the Congo basin but now present on all continents (Jaramillo 2013). The yield of an plantation infested by the *broca* decreases by up to 80% (Ceja-Navarro et al. 2015: 1), causing a worldwide damage of more than 500 million USD per year to coffee producers (Jaramillo et al. 2011). The *broca* is a fascinating creature. It is the only animal that has learned to live off coffee beans entirely. It is even born inside a coffee bean. Other animals may consume their odd share of coffee, including many insects, goats (remember the legend of goat herder Kaldi, chapter 1) and humans. But while the stimulating caffeine is the reason which attracted humans to cultivate and commodify coffee, it is also the prime defense mechanism of the bush to poison and paralyze enemies – all enemies but the *broca*. This is for two reasons which have to do with microbial agency: First, as a study by Ceja-Navarro et al. claims (2015), the insect has bacteria in its guts that detoxify caffeine. Second, the alliance of detoxing bacteria and *broca* is even more intimate. In 2012, a research team at FNC's research center Cenicafé led by Acuña (2012) found out that the *broca* DNA has enmeshed with detox-bacteria DNA at one point in history. "That gene now lives permanently in their genome and allows them to digest the signature carbohydrates found in coffee beans", concludes Yong (2015). In other words, the *broca* is an interspecies hybrid of bacteria and insect, a genetic mesh exceptionally adapted to the world it lives in: the world of a coffee bean.

The *broca* can be tackled with a massive use of pesticides or even antibiotics – the latter is literally the thing that killed the *broca's* detox bacteria in Ceja-Navarros study (2015). But it is safe to say that these are very risky practices for the environment (and costly), and they are especially not an option for a high-quality specialty farm like *Manantial*. With no easy plant genetic answer around the corner either, such as FNC's *Castillo* variety which helped Colombian farmers to cope with the *roya*, the most effective counter measure against the beetle still remains literally in human hands: The way how pickers treat the plantations is probably the most important factor against the *broca*, as illustrated by my experiences at harvesting (see also Hoffmann 2014: 28): It is absolutely crucial to avoid cherries to fall down and rot. In 2015, the year of my visit, a strong El Niño had led to a prolonged dry season ("too much summer", farm administrator Francisco repeatetly said). So, the *broca* emerged to be a particularly nasty problem for the production of high-quality coffee also at *Manantial*, which proved to be a relevant reason for the failure in the quality tests later (chapter 6.3.6)

While producing high quality coffee has to deal with the synchronicity of ripe and unripe cherries on every branch until today, at least three interrelated sets of control practices have indeed altered the influence the plants exert on the practice of harvesting coffee: Governing coffee plant genetics, governing coffee growing places and governing multispecies entanglements. In that sense, the history of coffee can be read as one of humans domesticating a plant, trying to subjugate 'natural' rhythms, durations and intensities under socio-economic rationalities and to create a friction-free, easily commodifiable product. Yet, hundreds of years of human biogeoengineering have not been able to streamline planty rhythms fully. The temporality of the "good red cherry" quality coffee pickers like Amadeo are oriented to is an outcome of the collective interplay of meteorological and climatic dynamics, geographical locations and expositions, the chemical composition of the soil, the genetic composition and the biological rhythms of the coffee bush and interspecies meshworks of microbes, animals and plants it (I haven't even mentioned the neighoring relationships of coffee bushes with palm trees or bird species, both the center of sustainability certification systems such as "rainforest alliance" or "bird friendly coffee"). In that sense, a fundamental legitimate question here is who handles whom: The human the plant (as in Amadeo's "manotear"), or the plant the human? As I have argued in this chapter, it is a two-way relationship. The properties of the plant (such that it only grows in tropical regions) assembled humans interested in exploiting the coffee bush into networks of particular form. These emerging networks brought colonial, then mercantile capitalist and finally corporation-led capitalist economic logics into being. In that sense, it can be argued that the way coffee has come to be produced and consumed is not (only) an outcome of social formations – such as colonialism – but (also) vice versa: The myriad of practices handling and organizing coffee, as a case for human-plant interactions, brought these social formations into being over time.

7.5.4 The cone: An attempt to attune social norms and planty rhythms

As Amadeo tells me another day in the field, the water intensive part of the beneficio is actually two processes: Fermentation and washing. Here, an attunement of the production process to planty rhythms is crucial as well. The depulped bean comes with a thick mucus-like long-chain sugar covering, separated from the bean by the parchment hull (or actually two, an outer layer and a silver skin layer). The mucilage has little effect on the cup quality, but it makes the downstream practice of drying a hazardous experience. This is why the beans traditionally sit in water for up to 36 hours until the slime is broken down by fermentation (Peterson 2013: 17, Hoffmann 2014: 32). Amadeo explains me that "you can easily feel" whether coffee beans are fermented fully "if you

know how". Reaching deep into the wet bean pile the next day, I can confirm this: Fermented beans feel more like gravel and are not so sticky anymore. It's important to then wash the beans well to get rid of the mucilage. "The coffee won't be good if you don't do this well", he adverts me. The result of the beneficio procedure, and that's what they send to dry to Julialba's farm, is so-called "wet parchment coffee". Despite of the easy way to time the fermentation process literally "by hand", the FNC has developed an item it markets in every coffee cooperative on big posters: The FERMAESTRO (trace 17 below). It's the ominous plastic cone Francisco explained me so meticulously when standing in the *beneficio* shed (chapter 7.5.1). To use the cone is not complicated, but as I have observed on several farms, the black cone is a key artifact for the skilled farmer – mainly not because of what it does, but because using it means that you are a skilled farmer, or better: that using it means that you enact what the FNC considers to be, and codifies, as an important skill.

But there is something else happening as well. In the cone, we have a prime example how the FNC reaches out to control the production process via items embodying skills ("know the exact moment when the coffee is fermented", FERMAESTRO advertisement) and meanings (à la "the Colombian washed method differentiates us and makes our coffee the best coffee in the world"). Similarly to how the FNC uses plant governance to control farming and harvesting practices, as we have seen before (FNC-Cenicafé 2013, chapter 7.5.1), the FNC strategically uses the necessary attunement to planty rhythms to get a grip on how the on-the-farm processing activities unfold. In that sense, a quite simple artifact opens up a very tangible road for strategic scripts to be translated into performances, and to inscribe general and practical understandings into social relations in the field (if you see a cone, you know that the farmer knows). As the FERMAESTRO disconnects the handling of fermentation time from embodied, sensorial skill – as easy at it may be – and materializes it by inscribing it in a plastic cone, controlling planty time becomes, quite literally, "more objective". In terms of coffee quality, this does something to the governance of the whole practice association. As Francisco knows better to control the time of fermentation with an unambiguous tool, it gets clear that any quality problem can't come from this process. So, picking can't "blame" processing if the harvest fails.

Thus, I claim that the more one practice is internally controlled, homogenized or standardized, the more it becomes feasible to control other practices in the network (meaning, oriented towards the same goal in a series of mutually necessary steps). In other words, as "scripts" get a tighter grip on "acts" through their internalization in the materiality of a situation where the "acts" unfold (objects, infrastructures, bodies),

Trace 17: The cone.

Above, Francisco shows me the "Fermaestro" ("Fermaster") cone, a key artifact for the skilled farmer – not because it would be particularly difficult to determine the fermentation time of the coffee beans, but because using it means that you are a skilled farmer. It was made and marketed by the FNC and is enrolled by José to foster a skill-orientation on the farm. In the back, the depulping machine can be seen. The trace at the left hand side shows a "Fermaestro" advertisement poster which can be found at every cooperation in the region. It says "FERMAESTRO. Play it safe: Wash your coffee in the exact moment. Get your Fermaestro in the coffee store".

avenues open up for the strategic aspirations embedded in the "scripts" to "spill over" the grip on adjacent practices. Why? Because the elements of the *beneficio* practices and neighboring practices such as harvesting and transporting overlap – most notably, because it's the same practitioners performing them. So, the FERMAESTRO serves, so to speak, as an entry point for the FNC to enhance the grip on the overall performances on the farm by inscribing favored meanings and skills into bodies and materials.

In the case of Manantial, there is yet another layer. As it is a foreign-owned Direct Trade farm, instead of a dyad farmer-FNC, a triad farmer-owner-FNC plays out in the dynamics between scripts and acts. In that sense, not only the FNC is able to leverage

its control on the farming practices by enrolling the cone, but also farm owner and coffee buyer José. I claim that by using the cone to perform the idea of the "skilled Colombian coffee farmer" into practice, the general understandings of *all* practices at the farm are shaped, most notably of the harvesting. As a DT buyer who is abroad for most of the year, he can only reject an unfit harvest at the end of the season and therefore has a weak grip on the daily practices on the farm. This means that entrepreneurial control work needs "allies" to implement the strategic scripts. It has to rely on enrolled practices as well as on technologies of control which are more or less explicit and more or less direct. In the particular case of *Manantial*, José's Direct Trade network borrows the FERMAESTRO cone, an item which is intimately connected with traditional ways of performing commodity coffee, but stands for a certain professional attitude and pride it needs to put the high-quality aspirations into practice. For sure, to enroll one object and its embodied understandings is far from being enough to achieve the strategic aims. As we have seen in chapter 7.4, the translations from "scripts" to "acts" are non-trivial, relational accomplishments. But it is an element that has the potential to foster the "acceptable" performance of DT-oriented quality at the farm.

The big problem for *Manantial*, and presumably any DT business aspiring to perform "old" FNC items in the control work of "new" DT practice associations, is a Colombian peculiarity: As we have seen already, the notion of quality is overwhelmingly associated with bringing "old" forms of commodity coffee into being instead of "new" Direct Trade-able specialty coffee. Perfoming quality is very much primed by general understandings of *Café de Colombia* as produced *per se* in practice associations oriented towards high-quality:

> *It's something about the origin, the handling. It's more…it's very artisanal. In Brazil, you put a machine on the cultivation, it smashes everything, also the cherries, and collects it. Dragging with it the wood and everything. […] Here, in turn, the tradition is still conserved that the family picks bean by bean. They ferment it, they wash it, they select it, they bring it to the finca, the whole family gets together, they take out the small pulp [guayabita], the impurity, the small stick…they really coddle, pamper this part. And this is what makes coffee in Colombia enrichening. And in other parts of the world not."José David, coffee intermediary, on origin and handling*

Whether such an romanticized family-led model really "makes coffee in Colombia enrichening" is at least questionable considering the widespread poverty of producer families (Rincón Garcia 2005, Castaño Alzate 2010, see also chapter 7.3.3). The important point here is that José David, just as many Colombians I have talked to,

portrays "the origin" and "the handling" as intimately interlinked.[44] As Castaño Alzate writes, the technologies associated with harvesting may have been changing over the years, but the practices of the "coffee harvest has not undergone important modifications" in Colombian coffee regions (2010: 101). The symbolic importance of "the hand" in the coffee production process is a matter of national pride, as expressed by José David vis-à-vis the profit-only oriented commodity production in Brazil[45], and a matter of regional pride (Ocampo Villegas 2015). Since 2011 a UNESCO world heritage site, the farming landscapes on the western and central ranges of the Andes mountain chains reflect the "centennial tradition of coffee growing in small plots in the high forest and the way farmers have adapted cultivation to difficult mountain conditions" (UNESCO 2011). In the logo of the "Paisaje Cultural Cafetero Colombiano" (trace 18), the picker's hand appears as an integral part of a multispecies landscape, connecting humans with a colorful and harmonious cultural-natural world.

Aligning the ideas of quality with the geographical origin, be it on a country level or be it on a regional level, has successfully created a general understanding in the markets that Colombian coffee is per se a high-quality coffee. This is true in the context of the commodity markets compared with other big producers such as Brazil or Vietnam which mainly do machine stripping and grow the Robusta crop, and it justifies a price premium on the world markets for "Colombian milds" (Hoffmann 2014: 188).

Trace 18: Logo of the Paisaje Cultural Cafetero Colombiano
PCC, the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia
(source: http://paisajeculturalcafetero.org.co)

For intermediary José David, Colombian coffee is always "a coffee with excellent quality, and well processed". But in order to produce a Direct Trade coffee, traceability and constant handling are indispensable general understandings

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[44] David, the huller, comments in a similar vein: "He who has a small patch of land with his family […] maintains it in very good conditions. He who is businessman wants to have a bigger quantity of trees per square meter. He who has a small patch respects the spaces, the shades, he plants trees for the coffee to have shades, the vegetative layer is maintained in better conditions, the [coffee] tree gets better nutrients. The cup of this coffee is very different. […] Because the trees get stressed as well. And the people continue to conserve their lands because, *as bad as it may be, the little they may have, the terrain they have allows them to live, and to live well*."

[45] All along my fieldwork in Colombia, Brazil has been brought up by coffee professionals as well as laypersons as an ideal-type contrast case to the Colombian way of producing coffee (see also chapter 7.3.2).

towards which the network of practices has to be oriented to – something which is not performed by most Colombian coffee producers (Peláez 2016a). Yet, if Colombian coffee is already "good" by the fact of just being produced in the country, and harvesting coffee in the traditional family setting is "coddling" (José David) enough to bring about an "excellent" coffee, it is hard for an entrepreneurial change project to trigger effective changes towards high-quality as understood across the DT markets. "Great coffee", says the trademark of the Specialty Coffee Association of America SCAA; "doesn't just happen". In that sense, picking by hand is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition to bring good coffee into being.

7.6   Discussion: Performing quality, control and agency in coffee harvesting

How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in controlling the translation of "practice scripts" into "practice acts"? After tracing neocolonial power struggles *across* and *between* practice, this chapter has offered an ethnography of power struggles *within* practice. The empirical narrative has focused on the first production steps on and around the coffee farm, particularly on the practice of "harvesting". Here, to orient the "polyphonic assemblage" (Tsing 2015: 24) of practice components towards a common orientation of producing a high-quality coffee has emerged as a collective, relational accomplishment of control work. In a context where the project and farm owner, buyer and mentor José is bodily absent and mostly response (calls) and relationally (project idea) present, the negotiations between harvesters, planty rhythms, multispecies environments and traditional understandings of "quality" translate the DT project into hybrid, frictional and bricolaged practice. While the aspirations of the marginal project interestingly have changed form and have re-appeared as the powerful demands of privileged entrepreneurial world making, marginal actors such as the coffee harvesters, but also the peculiar agency of the plants themselves, have a say in how the translation of these demands unfolds. Investigating the case of "harvesting" at the *Finca Manantial*, the results indicate that the introduction of "new" Direct Trade scripts has not resulted in a general alignment of the practices towards them. The "stickiness" of marginal agency rather leads to a hybrid form of harvesting coffee in practice, set in-between the "old" ways of producing commodity coffee and the "new" DT ways.

I conclude that three processes emerged at *Finca Manantial* where "old" commodity modes of coffee-making intersect in frictional ways with the "new" aspirations of entrepreneurial world making: First, in modes of performing control work at the farm, in particular while collecting the harvest; second, in attempts to make use of ambiguous

general understandings, notably on quality, within the context of the farm; and third, in human aspirations to control (and facing the resistance of) nonhuman agency.

First, control over the practice of picking has materialized in joint performances of humans, plants, topography, meteorology and socio-economic dynamics such as labor demand and supply. On *Manantial*, these instances resembled more the "old" ways how commodity coffee is governed than the practices that have emerged at many specialty farms. Instead of selecting all-red cherries on conveyor belts, the control was mainly oriented to branches and stones to avoid problems with the *beneficiadora* machine in the shed. For example, "collecting the harvest" at the powerful collection tower controls "harvesting" through constructing a temporal and spatial frame which assembles different temporalities and spatialities into one joint frame of reference. By acknowledgeing a disciplining quality of the powerful place and the moment of the "rite of passage", I argued that control is not something somebody "has", but a collective enactment of agency characeterized by nested relationality (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee 2015). Polyphonic assemblages of practice components, associated in embodied, response and relational presence, (per)form DT quality scripts – and power relations – into being.

A view of control as co-created in concerted accomplishments where no single actor "is in control" has also important implications for conceiving neocolonial power struggles. Despite of leading almost paradigmatic lives of colonized, othered, silenced subjects, the pickers are able to actively navigate cracks and weaknesses in colonizing scripts – be they CT or DT oriented – with subversive savvy. They are able to work, and work with, supervision and control in ways that give them a trace of ownership over the situation. To be positioned as a subject in practice does not mean to co-write abstract scripts from the "below" of concrete everyday lives; it means to partake in their translation into practice or, in other words, "to own the act" in "tactical" ways (de Certeau 1984). As it has been shown, this doesn't mean that their lives become less precarious, but that they are able to pull the supervisors into co-dependency in their joint enactment of an ultra-precarious labor market from which they both depend. For the pickers I worked with, the "new" Direct Trade framework to be enacted at *Finca Manantial* hasn't changed the way they work compared to the traditional ways of handling commodity coffee, and neither it has the ways they respond to supervision. Whether it is DT or CT coffee they help to bring into being is not central to the enactment of their practice. Often, that they don't even know where the coffee goes beyond the place of collecting the harvest. In that sense, while general orientations may change along the project, and new associations may emerge as situated performances are woven

together, the performances themselves can remain without drastic changes. Quite ironically, thus, the tactical agency of harvesters, who lead their lives unheard by the translocal networks they enact, performs and reproduces the colonial power of "old" commodity modes.

Here, the marginal agency of the pickers largely results in keeping alive the "old" ways of harvesting coffee, a "border doing from below" that appears as a notable challenge for marginal entrepreneurial world making efforts. To externalize the humans who pick coffee out of the coffee system for most of the time of the year is actually an advantage for the commodity coffee farmer. Considering the seasonality of the crop, she can flexibly mobilize workers when needed (given that she finds them considering the scarcity of workforce on the countryside) and let them go quickly again. Indeed, many farmers won't let pickers work on farms for more than five weeks to avoid a more formal contracting (Castaño Alzate 2010: 103). As part-time only members of the coffee world, they tend to orient themselves more towards their own seasonal movements along the year than to considerations of coffee networks. For the arguably most important hands in bringing coffee into being, coffee appears as a decentered consideration. In this sense, also considering Francisco's belief that "you have to have control" over the pickers because "many want evil", it gets apparent that the way how the common mode of picking is performed does not favor a high identification of the pickers with their work. Consequently, general understandings such as "it has to be good", "harvesting as prime site for quality" and "quality coffee has to be hand-picked" do not develop a generalized pull to bring about a high-quality outcome along the harvesting weeks. Compared to DT coffee, where this is a clear quality risk, the CT model with its lower quality aspirations has always worked with this form or organizing the harvest workforce.

Second, this interacts with another aspect for the quality prospects in the coffee network. In Colombia, performing quality is overwhelmingly primed by general understandings of Colombian coffee *per se* as high-quality coffee, and Colombian coffee practices as *per se* producing excellent products. The example of the cone (7.5.4), as an attempt to attune social norms and planty rhythms, has shown that the DT network enrolled the FNC-framed item for the control work on the farm. This sheds light on Watson's claim that "governing technologies must articulate with the practices of governing which rely upon them as means of influence and as means of shaping the conditions of possibility and thus the actions of others" (2017: 177). Yet, the inscribed meanings and skills in the cone stand for a professional attitude associated with bringing CT coffee into being – which resulted problematic for *Manantial* with its DT orientation. Quality, thus, was already being performed in specific ways and could not be reinterpreted. In that sense,

the general understanding of "producing good coffee" is the performed telos stitching together activities that bring the practice association into being, but such a telos needs to enroll contextualized "local" understandings to specify what the telos means in practice (Watson 2017, Welch and Warde 2017). Only through a clever enrolment of a practice component such as the cone and its inscribed values and norms, general understandings can be streamlined beyond a single practice across the practice association. This weaves together the practices more tightly, because the connections between practices can be seen as "performed general understandings" which form relationships over distance (Nicolini 2017b: 30, Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017: 18). On *Manantial*, the hybrid quality performances lock in with a generalized mistrust not only of pickers, but generally of all Colombians, that is very tangible in harvesting and adjacent practices. These instances show a prevalent Orientalist self-othering (border doing), characterizing Colombians as people who cannot be trusted, or are not able to build up the advanced skills needed to alter traditional ways of coffee-making in the region, or are largely subjected to anonymous forces "en el exterior" ("out there") jeopardizing the build-up of trustworthy and skill-oriented relations needed in DT.

Third, my analysis of nonhuman agency in the practice of harvesting suggests that in a quality-oriented coffee network, practices have to be aligned to the temporalities of the plant and to become "attuned to plant's activities" (Brice 2014: 942). Along with wider Colombian labor markets, coffee labor markets are patterned along the agency of the bushes. But as much as such a dwelling at the borderlands of different rhythms has to consider agencies of multiple descent, it does not mean that is is friction-free, quite the opposite. To act together and to affect others in *nepantla* places of multiplicity does not mean to exist in smooth concordance, but rather being mobilized by frictional encounters of rhythms, velocities and scales. It is in this sense I propose to read the ongoing performance of handling each other: Humans handle plants, plants handle humans. Until today, humans can "coddle" (José David) and assist planty arrangements, but haven't been able to colonize its rhythms: attempts to bring the "stubborn" plants under the control of human-made socio-economic rhythms have not been widely successful.

What institutions such as the FNC or companies such as Nespresso have achieved, though, is a control of the practices of planting and growing (not the plants!) – and therefore, indirectly, also of the practice of harvesting through controlling "upstream" materials later enacted at instances of picking. The politicized and literally powerful claim that "Colombian coffee is the best coffee in the world" uses the planty imposition that "quality coffee needs to be hand-picked" to perform practices of controlling

subjects. A strict plant governance rather has an effect on the producers than on the agency of the plants, as it has become mandatory for all coffee growers in Colombia due to pests such as *la broca* and *la roya*. Even for the most independent DT farms the FNC regulations and policies concerning which plant varieties are allowed to grow, and how they have to be handled, are crucial. In that sense, the FNC, as well as more established DT farms than *Manantial* I have been able to visit, have put considerable efforts into changing values, orientations and skills in harvesting so that the general understandings on the farm could be reframed (see also the extensive *cafetero* manual distributed by FNC-Cenicafé 2013). In DT, however, such efforts to shape the landscape of available practice components to be performed in practice generally demanded a dissociation from traditional FNC trainings and quality assessments:

> "In Colombia, during many years, collecting coffee wouldn't need special skills or concerns. However, with the arrival of plagues like the broca in the country, it got necessary to introduce a strictness in the harvest of mature grains, because this brought a need for a specific technique and preparation for this activity. In addition, the introduction of specialty coffee production and direct trade with cup tests have specialized the occupation much more." (translation is mine. Castaño Alzate 2010: 102)

In that sense, social actors can enroll planty agency to colonize practices and practice associations by imposing specific "time horizons" towards which all coffee markets converge in nested relational ways (Nicolini 2017a). Whether such strategies succeed, depends on the savvy navigation of the polyphony and polyrhythm of practice associations – in particular, on how the socio-economic and commercial practices are attuned to each other, to the locally available general and practical understandings, and to more-than-human agency.

Table 23 sums up these three points. Based on this chapter, it presents the marginal agency potentials and its implications for the neocolonial power struggles in the performance of practice scripts. In addition, in order to conclude the empirical storyline, it pulls together the key measures that have been taken to reorganize the practice association of the marginal business in question after the 2015 harvest has failed the quality checks before roasting and exportation (chapter 6.3.6). In the *Finca Manantial* case, polyphonic assemblages of practice components have brought a blended coffee of "new" and "old" quality understandings into being whose aspirations to become high-quality *Don Miguel* have ultimately not materialized. In that sense, the traced DT practices have, quite tragically for some of the involved actors, brought into being yet another othered commodity coffee. These measures included letting go of Francisco, regrouping facilitators and consultants in Colombia and, for the project owner José,

Agential potential of marginal subjects in performed practice ("acts")	Implication for entrepreneurial control work	Implication for implementing general DT orientations ("scripts")	Measures taken after the failure (chapter 6.4) to reorganize the practice association
Co-controlling translations from practice scripts to practice acts ("owning the act") *Chapter 7.3-7.4*	The picker's savvy navigation of "external" control instances and staff at the farm (in-field supervision, harvest collection) makes entre-preneurial control of scripts harder	Performing "old" orientations to quantity between rather cursory enforcements of high-quality orientations, leads to hybrid blend of coffee Lack of internalization of high-quality orientations (seen as "abstract others" in the void), lack of identification with place-based practices	*Change mode of payment of harvesters*: Not per kilo, but per day. Succeeded as of 2016, needed disconnect from traditional ways of paying (chapter 7.4.3) *Change mode of employment*: Fix staff at farm. Succeeded as of 2016, needed disconnect from traditional ways of employing (chapter 7.3.3)
Co-controlling the rhythms of "acts" *Chapter 7.5*	Plants and other more-than-human actors (atmos-phere, DNA, bugs) demand entrepreneurial practices to be "attuned" to their agency	The asynchroneous ripening of the coffee bush triggers need to enforce constant orientation of practices towards high-quality: Picking by hand, caring for plantation, "making place" The seasonality of the coffee bush shapes labor markets and creates a population of nomatic precarious workers who live in mobile, fluid space	*Change production profile of farm*: Disconnect from seasonal coffee rhythms by diversifying farm according to the "grand mothers" model with coffee, sugarcane, cattle. Succeeded as of 2016, also needed association of new (gender) with traditional (family) orientations (chapter 7.5.4)
Co-controlling the contextualized understandings of "acts" *Chapter 7.3-7.5*	Entrepreneurial control needs to associate with contextualized (and potentially competing) general understandings to specify what their 'scripts' can(not) mean in practice	Performing quality is primed by general understandings of Colombian coffee practices per se as producing excellent products Self-othering ("Colombians can't be trusted") locks in with CT modes of quality-price-sales synchronicity, jeopardizes building up trustworthy and skill-oriented relations needed in DT	*Changing mode of buying coffee*: Supreme quality or out redistributes risk and responsibility to the farmer side *Expanding training:* Not only skills, but also "culture" and trust building. Model farm means more than coffee, is a nucleus for social change through altered relations within and beyond farm

Table 23: Tactical agency, implications for implementation of "new" scripts

eventually pulling out of the farm financially. In addition, due to the losses in capital and aspirations, the events of 2015 also contributed to the decision of closing the coffee shop in Switzerland in October 2017 to focus on web and business-to-business sales channels only. The new administrators, they now live on the farm, consist of a young family. The woman is in charge of management and communication with the business partners and the man operates the practicalities ("they can't read, but she is brilliant", José). They still receive almost-daily training and mentoring and sell their coffee to José according to the new formula "supreme quality or out" ("Excelso o fuera", chapter 5.3.1). That is, the financial responsibility of the coffee production lies with the farmers now, a risk thought to be compensated by diversified production: *Manantial* has continued to develop into a diversified farm according to the "grand mother model" (José, chapter 5.2) that produces coffee, sugar cane and cattle. It copes with the multiple marginalities of the project much better than the coffee-focused production before. Finally, the farm now employs a fixed staff all over the year and in coffee harvest season, any additional workforce is paid not per kilo anymore, but per day. Both the changed mode of payment and employment aimed at a more dedicated orientation to high-quality coffee, an identification with place-based farming practices, and generally more lasting social textures between the farm and the village. *Manantial* has succeeded to produce high-quality Café Don Miguel in 2017 again.

Trace 19: (Un)making the multiple: Awaiting the verdict on what coffee the harvest will become

That other noon in Chinchiná, Colombia, the multiple marginalities of Café Don Miguel were reduced to one answer: Unfit. The picture shows the situation moments before the verdict when the bags still contained multiple things – the fruits of a harvest, future income, aspiring specialty coffee, the promise of a successful entrepreneurial project. Farm administrator Francisco sits outside, called by the owner in Switzerland to discuss eventualities, while beans enter the hulling factory in the hope to stay on the inside as a good with a name, an origin, a subject position. How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in situated entrepreneurial practice, in association work over temporal and spatial distance, and in control work as practice scripts get translated into acts? In one affective-evocative and three analytical rounds of discussion, this chapter kneads the first order interpretations offered in the empirical chapters together in light of the research questions and formulates empirical, conceptual and methodological implications. It does to by performing different genres, by practicing translations to different layers of affectiveness and abstraction, and by offering a series of textual, visual and silent forms of discussion.

8 Discussing the results

"Soy un amasamiento, I am an act of kneading."

Gloria Anzaldúa (1987: 103)

8.1 From three first order discussions to one second order discussion

How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in situated entrepreneurial practice, in association work over temporal and spatial distance, and in control work as practice scripts get translated into acts? To find answers to these questions, the empirical chapters have ethnographically traced practices of a marginal Direct Trade coffee business in Colombia and Switzerland. They have each offered already a section of first order analysis of the findings. In one affective-evocative and three analytical rounds of discussion, this chapter now proceeds to knead the three tales together into a *amasamiento* of empirical, theoretical and methodological implications.

"The study of silenced voices, and of omitted practices, is always scattered and fragmented", suggest Frenkel and Shenhav in their postcolonial reading of Management and Organization Studies (MOS) (2006: 859). The practical task of this chapter is thus to knead fragmented voices and multiple silences together while, at the same time, addressing the rightful expectations of the reader for an answer to the "so what?" question. What can (not) be said about what Direct Trade entrepreneurship does to the reproduction, resistance, subversion or transcendence of colonial power? I advert that this chapter necessarily contains sunlight, twilight and moonlight zones that are inherent to the decolonial, more-than-representational research strategy of "Hopeful Noir" writing. However, I argue that it is precisely in allowing for multiplicities and incommensurabilities where such a research strategy is empowered to talk back to the dominant "conceptual politics" (Shih and Lionnet 2011: 23) in MOS. Apart from doing more or better positivist research to "enlightening the North", as Albert Mills writes

ironically (2018), doing other research matters as well. To answer what else can be said, heard or done, I claim, needs doing *other* things with other tools as much as doing the same things *otherwise*.

The project of decolonizing MOS does need empirical results, convincing stories of marginal subjects and their entrepreneurial practices, and conceptual offers to trace associations of practices as a "living connection of performances and what keeps them together" (Nicolini 2017a: 102). This has not been done too often yet, as has been shown in chapter 2. In particular, as I have argued in chapter 3, neither a decolonial social practice analysis nor a praxeological decolonial analysis has been made (for example Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016). In order to disclose unheard, or silenced, entrepreneurial practices, I therefore chose to analyze a case of *marginal* entrepreneurial world making, understood as a precarious (Millar 2014) commercial practice operating around, and performing, the borderlands of connected difference. In the end, if the study of othered voices and practices is *scattered* in the vein of Frenkel and Shenhav above, what we need now is to weave two forms of knowledge together – perceptual knowledge for emergence and change and conceptual knowledge for the "vision of the far and the *scattered*" (James 1909 in Tsoukas/Chia 2002: 572, emphasis is mine).

Table 24 evokes the overview table in the introduction (chapter 1), connects the three empirical chapters with the research questions as well as the potential contributions, and details the discussion parts ahead. Building upon the three first order discussions in the respective empirical parts, chapter 8.2 approaches the task through an associative bricolage of instances met along the study. It rearranges and recombines little vignettes. In so doing, it allows for an evocative re-tracing of connections and silences that have gone un- or undernoticed along the way. Chapter 8.3 analyzes the results with regard to subject positioning processes in Direct Trade (DT) entrepreneurship. Oriented towards the analytical research questions, it revisits the reading of neocolonial power struggles as processes of border doing, crossing and dwelling with different implications for the performance of colonial power. The base for this proposal is to combine the key insights from the first order discussions in the empirical chapters: How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in situated entrepreneurial practice (chapter 5), in association work over temporal and spatial distance (chapter 6), in controlling work as practice scripts get translated into acts (chapter 7)? Then, chapter 8.4 synthesizes the discussion into a conceptual model that visualizes the co-creation of practices, subject positioning processes and colonial power as a "double circularity". Its aim is to support a reading of neocolonial power struggles as a double process of (per)forming borders and (per)forming colonial power. It also offers an example of what the double circularity

can do in entrepreneurial practice. Finally, chapter 8.5 focuses on the overarching question of re- and uncovering the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) in a context of ongoing coloniality. By combining the empirical outcomes as discussed in chapter 8.3 and the conceptual advances of the double circularity model in chapter 8.4, it offers a last turn of the analytical kaleidoscope and offers a series of speculative theoretical developments that culminate in a methodological tool and a visualization of "three dimensions of marginal world making".

Taken together, these parts of the discussion each relate the three empirical chapters of the study in own ways. By performing different genres, by practicing translations to different layers of affectiveness and abstraction, and by offering a series of textual, visual and silent forms of discussion, I hope not to colonize the richness and flux of the empirical data with a too tight handling.

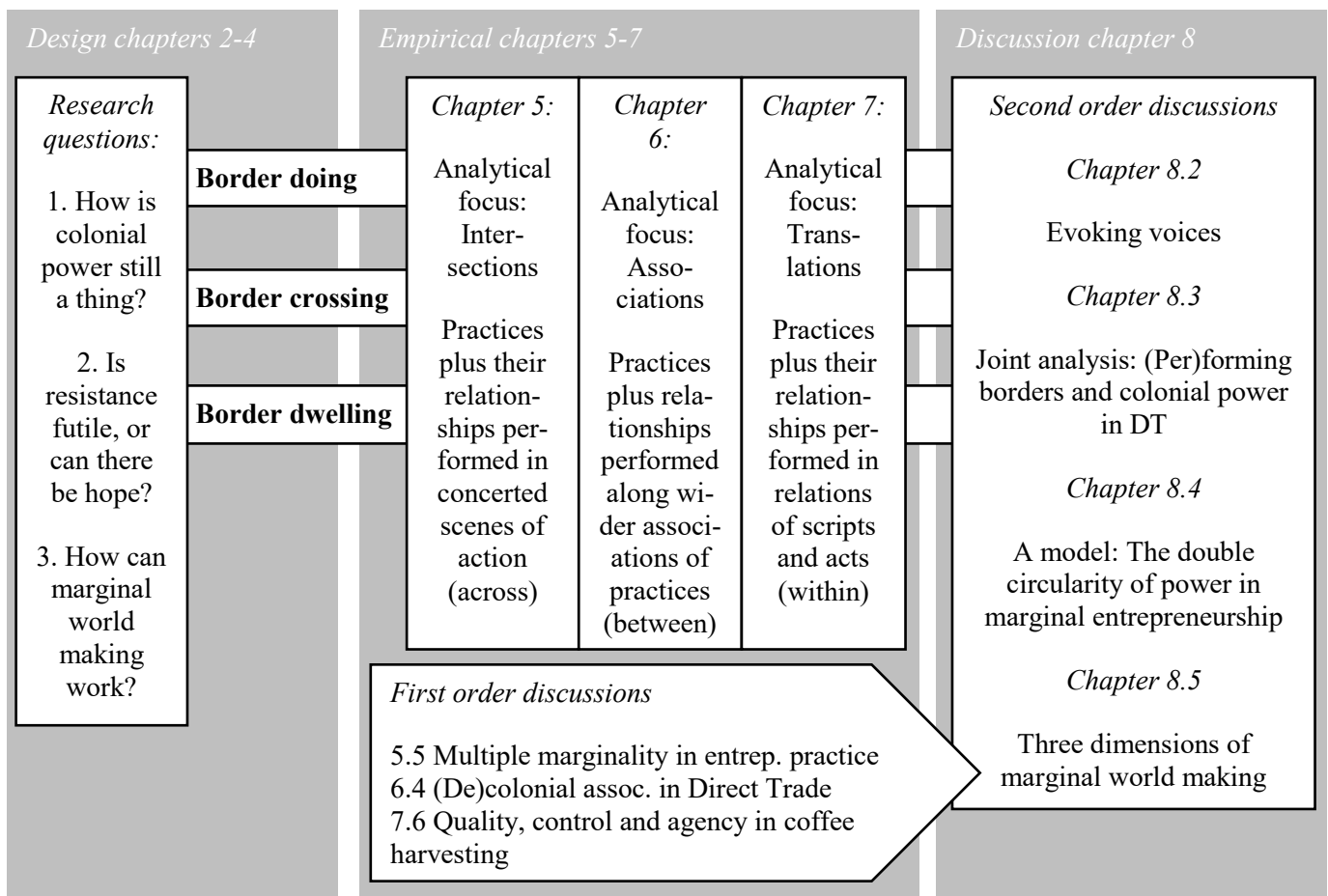| Design chapters 2-4	Empirical chapters 5-7			Discussion chapter 8
Research questions: 1. How is colonial power still a thing? 2. Is resistance futile, or can there be hope? 3. How can marginal world making work? **Border doing** **Border crossing** **Border dwelling**	*Chapter 5:* Analytical focus: Inter-sections Practices plus their relation-ships per-formed in concerted scenes of action (across)	*Chapter 6:* Analytical focus: Asso-ciations Practices plus rela-tionships performed along wi-der associ-ations of practices (between)	*Chapter 7:* Analytical focus: Trans-lations Practices plus their relation-ships per-formed in relations of scripts and acts (within)	*Second order discussions* *Chapter 8.2* Evoking voices *Chapter 8.3* Joint analysis: (Per)forming borders and colonial power in DT *Chapter 8.4* A model: The double circularity of power in marginal entrepreneurship *Chapter 8.5* Three dimensions of marginal world making
	First order discussions 5.5 Multiple marginality in entrep. practice 6.4 (De)colonial assoc. in Direct Trade 7.6 Quality, control and agency in coffee harvesting			

Table 24: From empirical data to first and second order discussions. Overview

8.2 Evoking voices: When silences become heard

[

It is not a project anymore. It's reality now

It is not about individual profit, it is about cooperation and webs of solidarity. It can be done

el café
en esta forma
conocen

Joaquín's project is special. You know where the coffee goes to. He explains us many things and tells us how things should be for the consumer. Coffee is an aliment. It has to be good

How is colonial power still a thing? Is resistance futile, or can there be hope? How can marginal world making work?

a site is where things exist and events happen

the entrepreneurial self striving for discovery, creation and exploitation subjects others under the own entrepreneurial trajectory of progress

Empowerment, scope for agency and voice are effects of practice and how they are associated

Rather than emphasizing academic sageness or retrospective insight, the text resolutely focuses on the present. The result is a behind-the-scenes documentary of the event of thought – the situations that give rise to thinking

Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverse logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts it, disfigures and destroys it

Who, me confused? Ambivalent? Not so. Only your labels split me

I fired Francisco

well, that's a good selection of red ones only. But if you continue that slow, you will definitely die from hunger

el café
ayuda a
quien
duerme
poco y
sueña
mucho

there is always a close connection between social reality, the theoretical frameworks one uses to interpret it, and the sense of politics and hope that emerges from such an under-standing

fieldwork thus emerges as a process rather than event, a spiralling cumulative progression

if
you work
in the field,
you always
have a red
thumb

The village is a difficult story. And the people over there, they just don't know that producing coffee is that much work

[silences, when heard, become the negotiating spaces for the decolonizing subject]

as bad as it may be, the little they may have, the terrain they have allows them to live, and to live well

because I am in all cultures at the same time

our lives are not our own

the only thing on the wish list absolutely necessary to grow specialty coffee, as opposed to commodity, is the nighttime temperature

Coffee is a timing and spacing device, a drink that performs the border between night and day, sleep and being woke, dream and "facts"

there have been a lot of ups and downs in the life of coffee

A rhizomatic sensitivity sees associations of practices as a living connection of performances and what keeps them together; it offers an image of how practices grow, expand and conquer new territory

The farther we stray into the peripheries of capitalist production, the more coordination between polyphonic assemblages and industrial processes becomes central to making a profit

I will not fire Francisco. He can only fire himself. One chooses to go to hell or heaven

Of course they have to be controlled. You have to have control. There are many who want evil

David looks up from the data, turns to José David and makes a dramatic pause. "Don José David." "With this coffee", he says, "we are not able to produce 12/60. No." Pause. José David stares at his notes and starts to nod slowly.

sí señor...aaah bueno...claro...así es...sí. Sí señor, tal cual. Aquí, sí. Sí, señor

what really exists are not things made but things in the making

"foam?" – "foam."

my project there is over

In this interpenetration of affecting, being affected and self-affecting lies the paradox of self-constitution. Paradoxes cannot be resolved, which is why they persist in the form of problems. In other words, logical impossibilities perpetuate themselves as practical tasks

Joaquín's answer is nineteen seconds long and inaudible. Francisco sighs. "Uy no."

The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change

The red cherries only!

it is not easy to under-stand

Pasilla es nuestro café. Nos toca esto

Why would he want to fire you. Right? Why. What for. If you have to sell coffee, you can sell coffee anywhere. Right? If it is common and ordinary coffee you go and sell it in whatever coffee cooperative

One may realize that places are never fully capitalist, but are inhabited by economic difference, with the potential for becoming something other, an other economy

How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling done in situated practice, in association work, in control work?

Artists turn objects into subjects; it is old-time alchemy, part magic and part science

Queremos ser nosotros los que diseñemos y controlemos nuestros proyectos de vida

The 'defect' ones receive a strong, parts-of-a-second blow of air and are diverted to another route. Pft – pft – pft – pft goes the song of the applications rejected

I had it well set up, but then it fell

The poststructuralist celebration of the death of the subject did not work well for those clamoring for new subjectivities

I never carry my residence permit

Because we, as Colombians, have a malice for everything. We are…god has, like, given us an exceptional ability to aim for what we may need. And sometimes, we don't utilize it for the good things, but to try to take out the biggest benefit of everything we find

Before, a poor farmer arrived at a storehouse and, nothing! [he claps his hands], 'that's worth so much', and they fooled him with the calculator, they fooled him with the weight. Today, no. Today the farmer knows more than…even me

la abuela sabía como. Tenía claridad

They don't see me. They think that I do everything like a director in a big office building

I can't multiply myself

in a way, as modern subjects, we breath coloniality all the time and everyday

Colombia es café o no es

The others? Well, they have no punch and persistence. They don't insist, they don't have ambition, everything is static and how it is it's OK

it's something about the origin, the handling

one must recognize their intellectual production as thinking – not only as culture or ideology

Since every practice provides different social positions, which come with varying amount(s) of power and influence, the responsibility for the 'product' of a shared practice is distributed and attributed differently

recover the agency of the marginal and uncover the consequences of the political and intellectual project of colonialism

You see, how would you pick coffee if not by hand?

Multiple marginalities emerge in two circles of co-creation: First, practices and subject positions co-constitute each other, and second, subject positions and marginal agency co-constitute each other

supreme quality or out

He remains silent for a moment as he gazes into the clouds in the distance. "He", Francisco turns to me and says with a feeble timbre in his voice, "He always calls me."

8.3   From (per)forming borders to (per)forming colonial power

8.3.1   Direct Trade coffee: Making multiple worlds

DT coffee has been investigated as an entrepreneurial aspiration to change how coffee is handled along the coffee value chain. DT aims at making producer-buyer relations transparent and at maintaining the information about each bean's geographical origin and particular taste profile. DT aspirations have been presented as assuming a two-step logic: First, knowing particular others and knowing how to bring quality repeatedly into being alters power relations; and second, altered power relations lead to a different value distribution over time – in short: Knowledge is power, and power makes worlds. Yet, as has been analyzed with the theory method package of social practice theory (SPT), the assumptions behind the DT framework assume a too direct path from changed information to altered value distributions (and, therefore, livelihoods) along the value chain and leave important steps in between black-boxed. From a practice lens, whether these aspirations actually lead to altered (decolonized?) social realities is not a matter of DT discourse or abstracted impact numbers, but a matter of performed everyday practice, for both goals require specific handlings and alterations of handlings along the way. New orientations form, and are performed by, associations of altered practices. In that sense, whether alternative associations of producing and trading coffee have emerged alongside the established commodity practices is an empirical question. In other words, what form of coffee is brought into being as a result of practices varies across associations which are governed by different general understandings of what is "acceptable" (Nicolini 2017a: 106) within them – and which practices and their results must be "othered" out of the association in powerful ways.

The three empirical chapters have explored practices that bring the DT coffee *Don Miguel* into being along a marginal business and have looked for traces of neocolonial power struggles in positioning performances at places in Switzerland and Colombia. In the SPT-variant of conflict sensitive, connected situationalism (2017a: 101), they focused on different aspects of practices and their relationships because "empowerment, scope for agency and voice are effects of practice and how they are associated" (Nicolini 2017b: 31). In looking at the movements of a human practitioner as embodied intersection of practice (chapter 5), at the associations between practice (chapter 6) and the translations from practice scripts to acts (chapter 6), they each explored the interplay of coloniality and entrepreneurial aspirations to make other worlds (for example Sarasvathy 2015).

In chapter 5, I argued that subject positions are (per)formed *across* practice, namely, in how practices cooperate or compete for the practitioners to perform them in concerted everyday accomplishments (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 19). Three marginal subject positions were identified which emerged in the mundane struggles of marginal entrepreneurial practice – and, at the same time, helped to moderate and hold them in precarious balance (chapter 5.4). First, a marginal subject position as "migrant entrepreneur" was brought into being by performing operational practices of serving coffee to Swiss customers and of doing non-coffee work, mainly the remittance service for fellow migrants. Second, struggles between operational and entrepreneurial practices enacted the marginal subject position of a "clever outsider", oscillating between being Swiss and being Colombian, often doing colonial borders by othering Colombian work ethics, attitudes and intelligence. Third, the marginal position as "value-driven entrepreneur" was enacted in a context of powerful market forces and players. In tracing the practices and positions together, it has become apparent that the everyday work of a marginal entrepreneur unfolds in parallel, and often competing, enactments of different practice modes (operational work versus entrepreneurial work) and different practice sites (farming, refining and serving coffee). Operational practices generally take precedence over entrepreneurial practices. In so doing, they push entrepreneurial control and association work to temporal and spatial margins (chapter 5.3). In these scenes, it gets apparent that the "powerful" messages that reach for example farm administrator Francisco out in the coffee plantation are written in a hurry between serving clients and, often, in parallel to doing project paperwork in the tiny office compartment behind the counter. Reformulated in practice-based terms and decentering human agency in it, we can determine that entrepreneurial practice is not necessarily strategic, planned or powerful in nature. Entrepreneurial association and control work is performed in peripheral and almost precarious sets of activities sequeezed in-between mundane operational activities such as of coffee serving, walking to the post office or chatting to fellow migrants. Acting from these margins of world making, entrepreneurial practice uses what is at hand to deal with the needs and challenges evolving within the business and in its environment.

Yet, as the "Colombian" chapters 6 and 7 have shown, entrepreneurial control and association work is not an accomplishment of an individual such as marginal entrepreneur José alone, neither it is exclusively done at the "center of the calculation" (Latour 1987) from where the project is governed (Watson 2017: 178). I argued that control and association work is a collective enactment of agency characterized by nested relationality (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee 2015). "Polyphonic assemblages" (Tsing 2015: 24) of practice components, associated in embodied, response and

relational presence, (per)form DT quality scripts – and power relations – into being (chapter 7.3). *Direct* trade, as it seems, leads to more *indirect* forms of cooperation and control. When tracing farming and refining activities along locations in Colombia, José always appeared – or was performed into practice – as the powerful owner, buyer and mentor performing a subject position of the "clever emigrant". Thus, on the Colombian side of the business, the bodily absence of José ironically helped to invisibilize the marginality of his entrepreneurial control and association work (chapters 5.4, 6.3 and 7.4). In a paradoxical way, the distance made the weak grip of the marginal entrepreneur stronger and weaker at the same time. This allowed for 'local' ownerships to translate the DT scripts into acts, and to flexibly associate "old" components with "new" DT orientations – which stabilized the project for some time (until the 2015 harvest failed and the association had to be reorganized and restabilized, see chapter 7.6).

In chapter 7, very much in the vein of a posthuman practice analysis (Gherardi 2017), a focus on the first steps of making DT coffee on and around *Finca Manantial* has shown that producing a high-quality coffee is a a collective, relational accomplishment of control work. The focal practice of "harvesting" emerged as a performance of harvesters, planty rhythms, multispecies environments, enrolled supervisors and hybrid understandings of "quality". In close tracing of the joint translation work from scripts to acts *within* practice, subjects which are usually silenced by the coffee business, like pickers and plants, played a relevant role especially for the rhythm and timing of harvesting, resonating with de Certeau's "tactical" agency (1984: 34). The results indicated that the introduction of "new" DT scripts at *Finca Manantial* was moderated by three processes where "old" commodity modes of coffee-making intersected in frictional ways with the "new" aspirations of entrepreneurial world making: First, in modes of control work at the farm, in particular while collecting the harvest, which enforced DT "high quality" understandings in a rather cursory fashion; second, in attempts to make use of locally available general understandings, notably on quality, within the context of the farm; and third, in human aspirations to control (and facing the resistance of) nonhuman agency (chapter 7.6).

As for the latter, I suggested that the agency of "stubborn" coffee bushes hasn't been fully colonized by centuries of human control aspirations, but that these aspirations have been able to enroll planty agency to colonize other human beings (chapter 7.5). By imposing specific time horizons as general understandings (Nicolini 2017a) towards which all coffee markets – also DT markets – converge, institutions like the FNC have achieved a tight grip on the practices of planting and growing (regulations and campaigns such as "amigo cafetero"), processing (the FERMAESTRO cone) and

harvesting (trainings, leaflets). In that vein, the literally powerful claim that "Colombian coffee is the best coffee in the world" uses the planty imposition that "quality coffee needs to be hand-picked" (because of the asynchoneous ripening of the cherries) for social control. I have argued that the success of control work depends on how practices are "attuned to plant's activities" (Brice 2014: 942). As humans handle plants and plants handle humans in frictional encounters of nested rhythms, velocities and scales, the savvy navigation of the polyphony and polyrhythm of these encounters becomes crucial especially for producing high-quality coffee.

With regard to the colonization of social practice by use of nested temporalities and scales, chapter 6 has shown how DT and CT coffee associations differently aspire to, and enact, such coloniality. It traced the association work needed to enroll processing practices such as drying, hulling and quality testing to bring high-quality coffee into being. On the one hand, CT transforms particular coffee beans into a commodified raw product, and the farmer into a voiceless producer of raw materials, in the moment when the weekly harvest is sold at the cooperative. Coffee is translated from a agricultural product produced *somewhere* into a universal quality class produced *anywhere*. That moment thus serves as an "eye of a needle" which associates the concrete world of the farm with the abstract coffee markets, for everything behind this point is covered by the "commodity veil" for the farmers (Van der Ploeg 2009).

On the other hand, the DT aspiration is to maintain the voice of product and producer audible through traceablity and constant handling, and these aspirations have proved to make a difference in practice, but not always in expected ways. Association work in DT is performed in nested multimodal ways, combining bodily co-presence with response presence (calls) and relational presence ("*he* wants", "that's not what *he* wants", "*he* is a unique patron with punch and persistence"). This leads to a routinized flow of association activities throughout the harvest season, and even throughout the year, compared to the uniquely powerful quality/price setting on Saturdays in CT coffee. Such activities are performed by more, not less intermediaries compared to CT, which is unexpected in the light of the idea that DT means bypassing intermediaries (chapter 6.3.5).

Building on these findings, I draw three general conclusions which all underline that DT coffee performs multiplicity – a key claim to drive the discussion forward in the next chapters. *First*, DT coffee enacts multiple and intersecting marginalities, while CT coffee enacts serial marginality. CT coffee is first this and then that, whereas DT coffee is this and that at the same time: DT association work performs DT coffee as a multiple thing. In the words of Law and Singleton (2005), coffee is not a boundary object that

performs epistemological difference (only) and not a liquid object with ever-becoming processual shape (only), it is also a "fire object": DT coffee is not just different depending from where you watch (as in epistemology), it *is* multiple (as in ontology) because it *does* different things depending on the mesh of situated practice components it co-enacts. As fire object, DT coffee jumps and pops up here and there in relational associations, it moves through absent presences and present absences, it shows, like quanta physics, that travelling does not necessarily need Cartesian space, its generative otherness and sameness creates energy to be harnessed by world making efforts, but also bears the risk of burning down components in close encounter. DT coffee producers, and all marginal entrepreneurs that perform the borders between worlds, therefore *play with fire*. In our case, before a DT harvest actually becomes a high-quality export good in quality tests, it is already performed *as if* it was what it is yet to become – with the risk of burning down the whole project in the case of failure.

Second, enacting the borders between worlds matter. They are places where power is (per)formed, for they connect differences and connections across difference at the same time. For the involved practitioners touching the fire object of multiple DT coffee, the question is not anymore what *is* beyond the commodity veil. The question is what can begin its staging in front of the veil, and what remains hidden. This has been shown in chapter 5 in the discussion around the entrepreneurial use of (in)visibility to ostensively perform privileged Swissness, and in chapter 6 and 7 around the calls reaching Francisco in the field. Interestingly, Francisco was quite clear in underlining that José would always call him and that he was the powerless subordinate, always expecting orders and mentoring. At the same time, when I asked José after the visit in Colombia about it, he angrily replied that of course everyone had his number and that Francisco even had a paid smartphone with data bundle (I never saw it), but that they would not use it with weak excuses (or had even sold it). He suspected that it was because he asked for daily pictures from the production and said: "Francisco thinks I don't see what happens. But I see everything, at last in the moment when we check the quality of the harvest before exportation." This shows that DT transparency is not a trivial issue, and it can always be enacted as enhanced control over the worlds of production. The unequally distributed power to hide and show in practices of (in)visibility becomes thus essential for the power relations in DT coffee practice, and likely in translocally enacted value chains more in general. I claim that the key work this does is to moderate ontological struggles between worlds, because DT coffee relates worlds not in a serial way in single powerful instances of association work, but in a constant co-presence of different intensities and rhythms. I claim that at any studied place, the DT business performs three colonial master

differences, in the vein of Césaire-inspired market positionings (1950, see Saldívar 2010b) that hold its multiple marginalities in fragile tension:

- The difference between Northern consumers and Southern producers (especially chapter 5),
- The difference between Northern refining producers and Southern raw material producers (especially chapter 6),
- The difference between Culture and Nature (especially chapter 7).

Third, while DT coffee is a multiple product and marginal DT entrepreneuring performs multiple marginalities, the sites and lives enrolled to perform the DT business become multiple themselves. In relentless performances of border doing, crossing and dwelling, they perform lines of silence, spaces of ambiguity and places of multiplicity in concerted, but polyphonic and polyrhythmic accomplishments. I would like to underline a specific struggle that is (per)formed and moderated here, namely the one between *abstract* universals and *concrete* performances. As the findings at the coffee cooperative and on the number of intermediaries in DT suggest, the higher the relevance of abstract norms and general(ized) understandings, the bigger gets the demand for embodied presence to translate these abstract universals into practice. I argue that abstract universals such as market prices and quality norms acquire their agential power as practice components only in and through being performed in concrete bodily co-presence. In what resonates with Morton's Noirish "Dark Ecology" (2016), abstract universals such as "the coffee market", "Colombia", "the stock market" or "the foreign buyers" are "non-locals", again an overlap with Law and Singleton's "fire object" (2005) and also with Escobar's "global designs" (Escobar 2010: 37). As such, they always need, and seek, to enroll bodies to be present, to be represented, and to be performed in practice. In several places, I noted the combination of subjects positioned as "being subjected to embodied supervision" while "being subjected to a largely invisible, abstract system" (for example chapters 6.3.3 or 7.4). Another example is chapter 5.4.3, where José talks about abstract commodity coffee pricing, how "it *is* not coffee", but nevertheless connected and relevant in the concrete world of coffee. It was just like different languages can interact in parallel, as parallel modes of reality, without always having to be reduced to another. Both situated concreteness and trans-situated abstractness hang together. In my view, ironically and importantly, the multiplicity of this hanging-together contains the seed for the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) and world making from the margins. Because ultimately, for decolonial and SPT scholars the like, it is the performative nature of reality that prevents "abstract universals", the core business of Eurocentric modernity/coloniality (Escobar 2010), to

be eternally and invariably consequential. As Nigerian poet Ben Okri formulates, "[t]here can be no absolutes: no absolute good or evil; no absolute way of living. No absolute truth. All truths are mediated and tempered by the fact of living. Being alive qualifies all things" (Okri 1997: 54).[46]

Taken together, to bring a high-quality coffee for the privileged into being, in a context of ongoing ontological subalternity, unfolds in processes of border doing, crossing and dwelling. In so doing, multiple marginalities are created. The next part proceeds with an discussion of three ways how these three processes were performed and related in marginal entrepreneurial practice – also, and always, as a way to moderate the neocolonial power struggles they (per)form.

8.3.2 Neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurial world making

	Chapter five	**Chapter six**	**Chapter seven**
General research questions	Which processes in marginal DT entrepreneurship perpetuate colonial power, make the transformation of colonial power possible, perform world making beyond colonial power?		
Analytical question	How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in situated entrepreneurial practice?	How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in association work over temporal and spatial distance?	How is colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling (per)formed in controlling the translation of "practice scipts" into "practice acts"?
Focal type of connection	*Intersection*	*Association*	*Translation*
Account for subject positioning processes…	…in how practices cooperate or compete (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 19)	…in how practices associate (Nicolini 2012: 179, Watson 2017: 178)	…in how universal aspirations and situated knowledges translate (De Certeau 1984: 34)
Whether power struggles reproduce, resist, subvert or transcend colonial power is an outcome of…	**…the willingness and ability of practitioners to repeatedly integrate components across concerted everyday accomplishments**	**…how practices relate, namely by influencing the range and trajectories of components in circulation by means of association work**	**…how "practice scripts", namely general and practical understandings, enforce "acceptable" performances by means of control work**

Table 25: Empirical chapters and implications for performance of colonial power

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[46] Ben Okri's words resonate in a striking manner with intra-european critiques on modernity, such as presented by UK Anthropologist Tim Ingold in his volumes "Being Alive" (2011) and "Life of Lines" (2015), or by UK Geographer Nigel Thrift with his influential proposal of a "Non-Representational Theory" (2007).

Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship perpetuate colonial power? Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship make the transformation of colonial power possible? Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship perform world making beyond colonial power? The three empirical chapters each have tackled these analytical research questions from different vantage points, tracing colonial border doing, crossing and dwelling in situated entrepreneurial practice (chapter 5), in association work over temporal and spatial distance (chapter 6) and in control work as practice scripts get translated into acts (chapter 7). As table 25 sums up, the three focal types of connection imply different dynamics of how power struggles reproduce, resist, subvert or transcend colonial power.

The discussion now turns the analytical kaleidoscope once again and continues in a joint analysis of border doing, crossing and dwelling with respect to the potential to reproduce, resist, subvert or transcend colonial power. It thereby specifies the theoretical expectations formulated in chapter 3.4. With respect to the scope for marginal agency, I argued that border doing with its either/or subject positions leave few more options for marginal subjects but to reproduce coloniality via self-othering at "inside" positions (e.g., mimicry) or then radically resist from an uncertain "outside" of the system. Second, the neither-nor subject positions of border dwelling were expected to open up subversive potentials for marginal subjects in the space between reproduction and resistance: The "outside" and the "inside" meet and mingle in the middle. Third, I concluded that the as-well-as subject positions (in between and among) of border dwelling potentially allow marginal subjects to transcend colonial power: The borderlands are an "outside" and "inside" position at the same time.

The next part pulls together together the most important points of the first order discussions in the individual chapters that address the analytical questions. In particular, I will discuss the marginal tactics of self-othering as a case of border doing, mobile marginality as a case of border crossing and multiple marginality as a case of border dwelling. I thereby show the respective ways how colonial power can be performed. In short, I argue that border doing has the potential to reproduce and resist colonial power, border crossing the potential to reproduce, resist and subvert colonial power and border dwelling the potential to reproduce, resist, subvert and transcend colonial power. Table 26 offers an overview of these claims.

Chapter	Positioning process	Case of marginal tactics	Reproduce coloniality	Resist coloniality	Subvert coloniality	Transcend coloniality
8.3.2.1	Border doing (line of silence)	Self-othering	X	X		
8.3.2.2	Border crossing (space of ambiguity)	Mobile marginality	X	X	X	
8.3.2.3	Border dwelling (place of multiplicity)	Multiple marginality	X	X	X	X

Table 26: Positioning processes, marginal tactics and effect on performance of colonial power

8.3.2.1 Border doing: reproducing and resisting

As the results suggest, a first typical way to moderate neocolonial power struggles is doing borders by self-othering, reminiscent of Orientalist practices in the vein of Edward Said's analyses (chapter 3.3.1). As DT practices perform colonized subject positions such as the producer (vis-à-vis the consumer), the raw material producer (vis-à-vis the refining producer) and nature (vis-à-vis culture), border doing oscillates between reproduction and resistance of colonial power.

The border doing of DT is already inherent in the core business model whereby exotic otherness is commodified as unique selling proposition (chapter 5.4.1). Along the network, border doing through colonial stereotyping has been performed in many instances, most notably through the Swiss-Colombian entrepreneur in the performance of the subject position as "clever outsider", and through self-othering performances by the Colombian practitioners at many sites ("we have a malice for everything", "they don't brace up for this", "people in Colombia can't be trusted / have bad work ethics / don't understand / are nasty like children"). Self-othering has appeared time and again in the field with relation to the question why Colombians or the South can only produce raw materials and not refined products, and to the question why Colombians or the South are not entitled to think of themselves as coffee consumers. This mirrors Fanon's discussion of the mimicking tactics performed by the colonized in "Black Skin, White Masks (1967). The disturbing phenomenon is a common effect of the "divide and conquer" strategy whereby the powerful divide members of subordinated communities by offering some privileges to a subgroup of the subordinated, commonly leading to

self-othering practices through the voluntary performance of one's own subordinate subject position.

This way of border doing has undermined the DT business considerably. Given that the core dimension of DT quality is co-produced by activities dispersed in space and time, rather than stitched together by singular powerful instances of association and control work as in CT, the general understandings towards quality need to be put into practice cautiously and constantly, and everything that jeopardizes trust hurts business. At the same time, I claim that such self-othering is a tactical deployment to deal with neocolonial power struggles producing high-quality coffee for the privileged in a context of ongoing epistemological and ontological subalternity – more particularly, struggles between the subject positions offered by the general understandings. While the statements that coffee "has to be good" because "it is an aliment" made on the farm underlines common humanity of producers and consumers, as a result of colonial othering, the coffee producers are not yet and not quite included in the group of human consumers. Instead, as the telling instance of "nos toca" ("it's our position") has illustrated (chapter 6.4), the power struggle is performed, and moderated at the same time, by the enactment of colonial self-othering.

On *Manantial*, across processing sites and in the coffee shop, performing DT coffee intersected with a mistrust of Colombians in general that made acceptable to produce a refined product that ultimately is for enlightened others and not for "our own". This self-othering serves as an important 'local' context for the translation of 'global' DT aspirations into practice. In my view, this helps to explain why embodied control work is widely preferred by supervisors and pickers at production sites. Self-othering performances also "cooperate" (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 19) with the pricing, selling and quality testing practices in CT: Their temporal synchronicity perform a shorter-term risk/responsibility distribution than in DT networks which rely much more on trust and the internalization of general understandings within practice. Citations such as "many want evil" (direct communication, Francisco), or "there is no workforce on the countryside, so the pickers are greedy" (direct communication, many cases) are variations of the refrain "you can't count on the Colombians to internalize quality orientations, especially if they are long-term." These instances show a prevalent orientalist self-othering (border doing), characterizing Colombians as people who cannot be trusted, or are not able to build up the advanced skills needed to alter traditional ways of coffee-making in the region, or are largely subjected to anonymous forces "en el exterior" ("out there") jeopardizing the build-up of trustworthy and skill-oriented relations needed in DT. In terms of bringing "good" coffee into being through

"good" handling – and especially making sure that the handling is constant – this is consequential, because training and mentoring of the involved workforce can't stop at the skills then. It has to extend to attitudes and values and even building up confidence towards the generalized other. So, the change from CT to DT coffee practices likely implies changes of general understandings that are associated with large constellations of practices commonly described as "culture" (on the difference of general understandings and culture, see Schatzki 2017).

Interestingly, apart from more melancholical performances of self-othering, there has been a great deal of self-indulgence involved as well. A common strategy to cope with hardships and maintain self respect under adverse conditions not of one's own choosing is to focus on the positive, or even empowering, moments. In my view, to perform the general understanding that "Colombian coffee is the best coffee in the world" that "is enrichening, and in other parts of the world not" (chapter 7.5.4) is a good example for such a positive reframing of self-othering in practice. It departs from an acceptance of the colonial subject position as a country which produces raw material (not refining producer, not consumer) and redefines it positively while, at the same time, others countries such as Brazil as low quality producers. This was consequential for the performance of DT coffee and its eventual failure, as has been described in chapter 7.6. If Colombia *per se* produces excellent coffee, then the notion of quality is already being performed in specific (not quite high-quality) ways and could not be reinterpreted. In that sense, the general understanding of "producing good coffee" was the telos stitching together activities that should have brought the DT practice association into being. But such a telos needs to enroll contextualized "local" understandings to specify what the telos means in practice, something that did not work well enough here (Watson 2017, Welch and Warde 2017).

In short, the biggest problem of self-othering for bringing about a high quality DT coffee are: Colonial understandings of Colombians as untrustworthy subalterns, who can only produce raw materials, while at the same time are very good at it. This disfavored a long-term cooperation between partners at eye's level, favored embodied control work that is jointly performed in concerted accomplishments of control (rather than the relational control in DT), and disfavored practices of economic difference that need autonomous self-efficacy (Escobar 2018). But are self-indulging processes of self-othering necessarily reproducing colonial power by performing lines of silences? My careful conclusion is that usually yes, but not generally. By performing a marginal subject position as the "value-oriented outsider project", the DT case in question has been able to make a strength out of a weakness by accepting its colonial subalternity as a migrant

business at the margins of established markets, by reframing the position as "better small and pure than growing and corrupted", and be making use of the reframe to enroll similarly marginalized allies on the Colombian side (chapter 5.5).

8.3.2.2 Border crossing: reproducing, resisting and subverting

A second group of decolonial scholars, loosely organized around the ideas of Homi Bhabha, theorize borders as hybrid spaces of ambiguity and flow (chapter 3.3.2). After the empirical chapters, I propose that this concept is helpful to grasp a second tactics of the marginal that (per)forms neocolonial power struggles: That of the subject in motion. I claim that by performing marginality as uprootedness, the subject position of the mobile engages in border crossing and oscillates between reproduction, resistance and subversion. It confirms one of Bhabha's core ideas, namely, that orientalist self-othering is so ambivalent and transgressive that even minuscule displacements become significant for transformation processes. Even in extreme totalitarian subjectivations and colonial erasures, marginal agency "leaves a resistant trace, a stain of the subject, a sign of resistance" (2004: 71) in the process of performing hybridity.

For me, the precarious avantgarde performing these mobile tactics of subversion are the harvesters. They encounter the neocolonial power of global capitalism, invisibly navigate its cracks and frictions and symbolize the search for the decolonial "agency of the marginal" in open, fluid space. Looking at the relation between ownership of time and space performed by the precarious works and lives of the pickers, we can infer with De Certeau that they enact "tactical power" in an almost ideal-type way (1984). As they put their bodies, skill and work orientations in close dialogue with the coffee bushes and the sociomaterial environment, including the farm locations, a largely invisible coffee market and a supervisor bodily present, they perform an ownership of temporal conditions such as duration and rhythm of their work. At the same time, they dispose over space – a typical affordance of De Certeau's "strategic power" – only negatively through leaving and moving away. As they are not able to create a place from where to act strategically, their option in space is movement to tactically dodge "strategic power". Through the tactical ability to move in space (and the capability to "be" in between), coffee pickers access a power source which has been described as crucial in a series of contexts in the power literature – mobility:

> As Zygmunt Bauman (1998: 8) has observed, *mobility* becomes the most powerful factor of stratification. There are those who are mobile, because they control convertible resources allowing them to exit, and there are those who remain locked-in, because they lack these resources" (Italics in original. Kriesi/Lachat 2004: 2)

Thus, despite of leading almost paradigmatic lives of colonized, othered, silenced subjects, the pickers are able to actively navigate cracks and weaknesses in colonizing scripts – be they CT or DT oriented – with subversive savvy. They are able to work, and work with, supervision and control in ways that give them a trace of ownership over the situation. To be positioned as a subject in practice does not mean to co-write abstract scripts from the "below" of concrete everyday lives; it means to partake in their translation into practice or, in other words, "to own the act" in "tactical" ways. What this claim does is to shed light on the particular dynamics of subversion for example in the practice of employing the pickers, where pickers as well as supervisors both start to embody tactical as well as strategic power as well. Together, the patrón de corte and the potential harvesters (per)form the abstract traits of an ultra-precarious labor market from which they *both* depend. In addition, the threat to be fired at the end of the day or week if the quality of the beans harvested (or the way how one treats the bushes) don't suffice loses strength. This implies that the risk of losing one's job is not a strong argument for the pickers to enact high quality in the field.

At the same time, as core vehicles of the materialization of abstract universals, the harvester's bodies become the fragile loci where the invisible side of capitalist accumulation, and colonial exploitation, is inscribed. Although many are not aware of which particular coffee they help to bring into being in coordination with which *specific* others, they know about the wealth of *generalized* others in the coffee system they co-produce. This entanglement of *abstract others* with their *own concrete* work is well perceived by the pickers: "The self-recognition coming from the practice of harvesting locates [the pickers] in an ambivalent, sometimes liminal situation. They move between feeling indispensable and feeling despised" (Translation is mine. Castaño Alzate 2010: 110). In other words, the coffee harvester's lives oscillate between subject positions, actualities and virtualities; an oscillation which becomes a void of border crossing. Through moving between, and being engaged to, many different work practices dispersed in time and space, the pickers do not identify with what they do in a given place and time, but rather with their in between space of ambiguity. Nomadism indeed emerges as the main stabilizing element in their life trajectories. Their identification with a given place in space is low, their knowledge of the DT value they help bring into being is low. Sometimes, they don't even have a name where they work, but are called by a number as a function of their lot or starting date. When asked where they are from they claim that they "belong nowhere", are "not from here nor there", are "from everywhere", "from where the harvest is" or even "one is from coffee" ("*uno es del café*") (citations from own conversations with pickers and from Castaño Alzate 2010):

"It is common for the pickers to transgress frontiers, they do it constantly with the physical and geographic ones. Even if it does not always seem comfortable to them, for them, it is normal to enter new nutritious worlds, to new forms to see the world, and to different ways of thinking. They oscillate between the mature and the green grain in the same mode as between cultural gains and losses, so that these fluctuations permeate their identity as well." (Translation is mine. Castaño Alzate 2010: 112)

As has been shown in chapter 7, mobile marginality as perfomed in border crossing not only subverts, but can also reproduce colonial power. In parallel to what has been discussed in the last part, the tendency to sweeten self-othering with self-indulgence is shown in the pickers' self-attributed everyday liberty. If you are pushed into a precarious unstable state, you might well underline the mobility this fragility brings with it. Many of my or Castaño Alzates conversation partners mention that they are "blessed to have something to earn a few pesos" in widespread conditions of poverty and unemployment. In so doing, they tend to enact a colonial-capitalist narrative that causally attributes one's own situation to one's own decisions only, freeing social and political contexts of accountability. This is an understanding that pushes the responsibility of the poor for being poor towards themselves ("*el pobre quiere ser pobre*", "the poor wants to be poor", several instances of personal communication). This can easily turn into a locked-in situation because of the lack of convertible resources allowing them to exit day laborer jobs. As I wrote above, the pickers are forced to sell their labour maybe not to *anyone*, but to *someone*, and they have to enroll for badly paid jobs maybe not *anywhere*, but *somewhere*. It is thus by continuing to portray their mobile, transient and precarious inclusion into the coffee nexus as a lifestyle of freedom – even of their own choice –, the marginalized workers help reinforcing and reifying the coloniality in the coffee business. At the same time, this makes it difficult to organize and struggle for better work conditions, especially because the pickers don't see their activity as a job in the strict sense. Quite paradoxically, this view of picking as a somehow "chosen lifestyle of freedom" goes together with the perception that their precarity is not a condition that could be altered as their family just "is", and has always been, poor (Castaño Alzate 2010: 123).

Following the typical DT discourses which operate with mentalist understanding of knowledge, the pickers' ownership of their worlds should likely be related to how much they know about the coffee market they are embedded in, especially when one thinks about the topic of transparency claims (chapter 4.1). In that sense, many coffee practitioners perceive the lack of information and inclusion of the pickers as one of the main social challenges of any mode of coffee production and the answer to "what to do"

is a simple as it is prevalent in development discourse: Enhance transparency and educate, and that's it. Yet, the dynamics presented here don't suggest that empowering knowledge necessarily means having a mental model of the world and one's position in it, in a rationalist sense of having an understanding of preferences, leeways for action et cetera. Knowledge much more appears as intelligibility and practical skill that is embedded in the practice, not in the practitioners (Schatzki 2001, Reckwitz 2002). To have a sense of "owning" the performance of (strategic) scripts, as exemplified by the general understandings governing quality in Direct Trade coffee, does not necessarily mean to co-write these abstract scripts from the "below" of concrete everyday lives; it can also mean to partake in their translation into practice or, in other words, "to own the act" or "to co-control the act". In a similar vein, related to the migrant dynamics in the coffee shop in Switzerland, what migration is depends on what it does, and the migrants themselves play out migratory processes in spaces of irony and complicity that are unheard or silenced by official accounts (see chapter 5.4.1). An easily accessible example is the connected difference of performances that of José, the Colombian migrant, and of Joaquín, the clever emigrant, in overlapping and quick successions of coffee making and entrepreneurial world making practice. The intersections of multiple marginalities move the marginal entrepreneur towards a resemblance with the coffee harvesters. As the findings show, constant negotiations happen between social identities (we/them), bodily presences (here/there) as well as places and non-places (abstract/concrete) make that borders as places of ambiguity becomes inscribed in, and performed by, socio-temporal, relational and intercorporeal frictions (Daskalaki, Butler and Petrovic 2016). In that sense, marginal entrepreneuring emerges as a set of practices which often does not have a proper place – be it a dedicated material environment where practitiones could interact in embodied co-presence or be it a place in the agendas of the practitioners, a "tactical" (De Certeau 1984) dynamics which can be seen as representative for work environments of entrepreneurial projects in the making.

8.3.2.3 *Border dwelling: reproducing, resisting, subverting and transcending*

As the empirical results suggest, a third tactics of the marginal that (per)forms neocolonial power struggles is border dwelling. It performs marginality as multiplicity, or multiple marginality. In the vein of Gloria Anzaldúa, this process enacts borderlands as lived places of embodied, situated practice rather than "empty" spaces of irony and hybridity or binary lines of silencing between categories. I claim that by performing multiple marginality, the subject position of the *neplantera* oscillates between reproducing, resisting, subverting and transcending colonial power (chapter 3.3.3).

In each of the three empirical chapters, the same process of marginal place making has appeared in different forms and on different analytical levels. In chapter 7, on the broadest level, becoming attuned to more-than-human agency has been analyzed as enacting places of multiplicity. As a particularly important component in place making, plants have emerged as being involved in the social through their "capacities to affect and displace human bodies and activities", or, in other words, their "planty agencies" (Brice 2014: 944). Plants actively shape rhythms, durations and material enviroments and become active actors in the concerted accomplishment of social practices. In order for plants to become such active inhabitants of the social world and to "affect and displace human bodies and activities", as Brice puts it, human capacity to be affected is crucial as well:

> "One way of registering humans' becoming affected by plants is perhaps suggested by Ingold's (2000: 415) contention that responsive and accomplished action relies upon the ability of 'The skilled practitioner . . . continually to attune his movements to perturbations in the perceived environment'. This perspective proposes that capacities to affect others—to act— arise when practitioners carefully coordinate their movements with changes and motions among the human and nonhuman bodies amid which their own activities take place (Despret 2004; Lorimer 2008; Whatmore and Hinchliffe 2010). It thus presents dextrous synchronisation as generative of agency. […] It therefore seems probable that attending to practices through which people keep their own actions in time with changes in plants might render perceptible the relations through which plants' capacities to become affected and to affect—their agencies—come to move humans." (Brice 2014: 947)

Through a hint to Ingold's (2000) "skilled practitioner", Brice offers an avenue to investigate planty agency as part of a mesh of more-than-human social life through skillful and embodied practices which attune different beings and knowings. The other way round, planty agency is a productive addition to, or at least illustration of, the SPT conceptualization of agency. As has been argued, for social practice theorists, agency is necessarily relational and collective (Gherardi 2017, Reckwitz 2002). In planty agency is it always already obvious that agency "lives" relationally in the enganglements of actors with each other and their respective environments. For Head, Atchison and Gates, planty agency is even more powerful than co-creating the conduct of more-than-human social life as they become part of a mesh. For them, plants not only act with humans, but also through and in humans: "Whatever humanness is, it requires plantiness. We are made by plants in the sense that they have provided the atmosphere that we breathe and provide much of the sustenance that we eat. They have had agency in the ways our

bodies evolved, and continue to be fundamental to our daily bodily relations" (Head, Atchison and Gates 2012: 29).[47]

The contrast of nepanla borderlands to the othering of colonial stereotyping and the hybridization of neither-old-nor-new-coffee production becomes clear on the reorganized *Finca Manantial* farm. After the failure to deliver high-quality coffee in 2015 (chapter 6.3.6), the measures taken embedded the enterprise to more than coffee-only rhythms by diversifying the production. This lowered the dependency on coffee world markets and seasonal patterns of the coffee bush. At the same time, this further marginalized the farm in the setting of the village by disconnecting it from traditional ways of paying harvesters from "per kilo" to "per diem", disconnecting it from traditional ways of employing by hiring fixed staff and by associating new gender with traditional family orientations ("grandmother's model", chapter 5.2). Taken together, attempts to subvert the polyphony of the particular farm under a singular managerialist discourse of quality and efficiency, as attempted by José in the beginning, failed. Again, the resistance to a colonization of the ways "in which people have to manage their [socio-economic] lives and experience organization" (Imas and Weston 2012: 207, see also Ibarra-Colado 2010) was not performed by a single actor or practice, but by the joint agency of concerted accomplishments. Together, as the farm shifted from a singular marginality with respect to practicing the coffee market to a multiple marginality with respect to various practice associations, the place emerged as a re-attuned place where different voices are held in fragile tension. Finally, such multiple marginality has also been performed in chapter 6 as the crucial "glue" for the "webs of solidarity" (Joaquín) to become on the Colombian side of the business. Jointly enacted *border dwelling* held associated marginal subject positions together (while at the same time performing self-othering as well, chapter 6.3.5).

This finding can infuse the MOS discussion on liminality as place, position and process by shedding light on situations where the "liminality" is more power-laden, and darker, than it is usually discussed in the context of a welcomed out-of-the-box setting for the privileged on this planet (Anzaldúa 1987: 22). I claim that theorizing liminality as "intentional temporariness" is unlikely to describe how forced border dwelling is often imposed, reflected by the lived reality of organizing, managing and entrepreneuring for

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[47] Indeed, coffee is consumed by billions of human bodies every day, it stimulates and energizes them. It grants "metabolizable energy", as coffee shop owner José once said. Many human accomplishments in the last centuries, be they assigned to individuals or collectives, have been made under the influence of caffeine. In that sense, the coffee plant affects – acts – not only in the direct interaction with pickers's hands, farmer's care and buyer's seasonal planning of their business, but also as a dissolved and invisibilized essence, with chemical traces left in the blood of humans.

the vast majority of human beings on the planet (for example Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016). Chapters 6 and 7 have argued that a savvy navigation of multiplicities is crucial for any entrepreneurial project at the margins. In my view, together with my theorizing of border dwelling processes (chapter 3.3.3), this contributes to the debate on "liminality" and especially "perpetual liminality" in MOS (Söderlund and Borg 2017).

Marginal world making can make productive use of multiple marginalities by becoming attuned to the polyphonies and polyrhythms of more-than-human agency *within* a practice, and by savvy association work *between* practices to enroll marginalities to jointly hold each other in marginal position. The same dynamics has appeared in chapter 5 at the analytical level of intersections *across* practice, embodied by an individual human being. As has been shown, the three marginal subject positions shift and overlap in practice to make sometimes discursive, sometimes affective-performative sense of the entrepreneurial trajectory – and they do so as they are performed in practice struggles: As the practices performed at the coffee house switch in quick succession and sometimes overlap, the three marginal subject positions do so as well. In terms of the agential potential, I argued that the three positions individually entail limited agency for world making. The migrant entrepreneur struggles for access to the Swiss consumer market, the small idealist struggles with much larger players and forces that embody "bad" values, and the clever outsider struggles with the lack of comprehension in producer contexts in Colombia. Yet, they hold each other in place, and in their interplay they offer situative shifts "out" of one marginality and "into" another.

By moving across practice, additional scopes for marginal world making are opened which add an interesting dimension to marginal entrepreneuring as introduced in chapter 2. There, I have defined marginal entrepreneuring as the subversive process of the discovery, creation and exploitation of cracks in dominant worlds to carve out a place from where to act towards creating future goods and services. Seen from a nepantla view, this carving-out of an agential place emerges as an ongoing process of entrepreneurial becoming in and through multiple marginalities. This does not automatically mean that places of multiplicity transcend colonial power. Results suggest that border dwelling can also move between transcending and reproducing, resisting and transcending colonial power. An example is how the entrepreneurial project performs, and is stabilized, by a subject position of the "good Colombians who live outside in a modest country". While association and control work in daily entrepreneurial practice performs this position as an *as-well-as* (not *neither-nor* as in hybridity!) place from where to act upon the Swiss customer markets and the Colombian producer, the base for it is border doing. It therefore reproduces colonial power (chapter 5.4.2). Another

example is the making of the coffee shop as a lived place where a manifold of rhythms and voices intersect. Together with the colonizing DT business model which commodifies person-based and place-based exoticitism and the multiple insides and outsides it performs (chapter 5.4), it uses some of the master's tools (commodification, USP generation) to subvert dominant market logics while reproducing colonial stereotypes – most notably, the bifurcation of Northern consumers and domesticated Southern "house producers".

But while lines of silencing (border doing) and spaces of ambiguity (border dwelling) essentially shape marginal entrepreneurial practice in that they reproduce, resist and subvert colonial power, dwelling at the border as a place of multiplicity open up the possibility for other worlds to become. It is important to underline that nepantla places are not automatically emancipated and certainly not privileged places to live. But they are lived places. For me, to listen to the multispecies entanglements of all practices, not only the ones so obviously engaged with planty agency such as coffee harvesting, is an opportunity for silences to be heard, and for the decolonial subject to begin its presencing by transcending colonial power (Pérez 1999: 5). As Escobar argues, the decolonial project is a project of becoming in place:

> "Place-based (although, again, not place-bound) practices of identity, nature, and economy allows us to go beyond a view of subaltern places as just subsumed in a global logic or as a site in a global network, unable to ground any significant resistance, let alone an alternative construction. At the level of the economy, one may realize that places are never fully capitalist, but are inhabited by economic difference, with the potential for becoming something other, an other economy." (Escobar 2010: 53-54)

To conclude, let me sum up the differences particularly between border dwelling and border crossing in table 27. One difference is telling, the one between translanguaging and translating. Explicitly addressed in chapter 5, the practice of translanguaging stands for using diverse sets of languages in parallel without translating them (Pennycook 2017, Blackledge and Creese 2017). This (per)forms different ontological spheres that are connected and interact as multiple realities, without the need to reduce one to the other and acknowledging that different onto-epistemological modes of accessing reality and world making can exist at the same time. In other words, translanguaging is a paradigmatic mode of border dwelling.

Border dwelling	Border crossing
As well as	Neither nor
Ambidextrous	Ambiguous
Multiple	Diverse
Fire object	Boundary object
Ontology	Epistemology
Translanguaging	Translating

Table 27: Differences between border dwelling and border crossing

8.4 The double circularity of power in marginal entrepreneuring

The joint analysis of border doing, crossing and dwelling with respect to the performance of colonial power has implications for how to conceptualize the relation of practice, subject positions and marginal agency more in general. I discuss these implications now. In my analysis of neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurial practice, I have first claimed that the enactment of borders in practice (perf)orms marginal subject positions. Second, the way colonial power is (per)formed connects these subject positions to agential potentials for marginal world making. As the dialogue of the conceptual SPT framework with the empirical case has shown, the relation between practice, positioning and world making is one of a circular co-constitution – and, as I argue now, in a double circle. I claim that in this double constitution of marginal subjectivity, ontological struggles between the multiple worlds of DT coffee are moderated, and the multiple marginalities of the three colonial master differences are held in fragile tension (difference between Northern consumers and Southern producers, difference between Northern refining producers and Southern raw material producers, the difference between Culture and Nature).

Figure 4 below illustrates these claims. The bold italics indicate modes of (per)forming borders and colonial power, respectively. As opposed to the analytical entities of "practices plus their relationships" (Nicolini 2017a: 102, "marginal subject positions" and "marginal agency", I format them in bold to visualize the ontological preference for process as opposed to only analytically existing entities. Practices, subject positions and agency are living tissue (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 94), they are not things made but things in the making (Nayak and Chia 2011: 282). In the double circularity of power in marginal entrepreneurial practice, subjectivation and agential potential appear as a function of the position in the network of relations "through which that actor can shape the actions and calculations of others" (Watson 2017: 178, see also Foucault 1977). This is central for my purposes here, because it indicates a circularity of power that mirrors
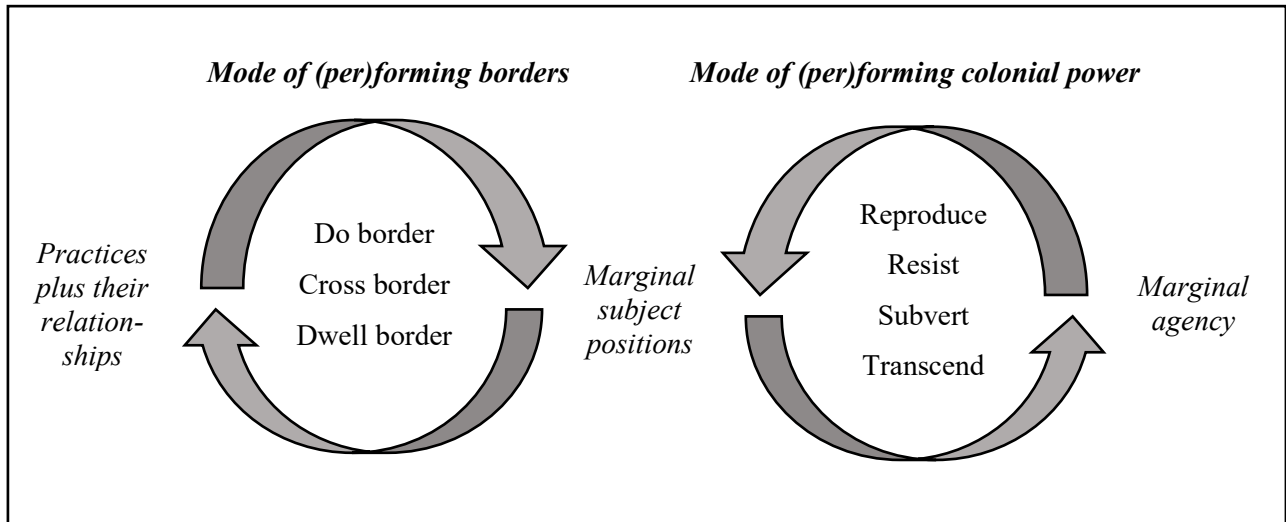
Figure 4: The double circularity of subject positioning: Neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurial world making

the claims of positioning theory: Positioning is as result, and a source, of power – it is formed by, and performs, power relations (Davies and Harré 1990, see also Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017, van Langenhove and Harré 1999).

The double circle with the three modes of (per)forming borders and four modes of (per)forming colonial power combines a precise analytical language, as offered by positioning and social practice approaches, with the empirical results of this study. I claim that the double circularity contributes to a better understanding of how (marginal) entrepreneurial projects unfold, talking back to takes on entrepreneurship as a force toward making other worlds (for example Dey and Steyaert 2018, Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009). While neocolonial power struggles form and perform multiple marginal subject positions, the everyday work related to associate practice components, to translate scripts into acts and to navigate intersections across competing practices moderate these struggles at the same time. What this claim does is to shed light on the place of (marginal) entrepreneuring at the border of worlds. In addition, the circularity points out the relationality, embeddedness and inherent uncertainty that is characteristic for entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurship is a practice whose risk-making and risk-taking distinguishes it from other ways of working in and with the world. Sarasvathy sums up this point:

> "If worldmaking can be made accessible to all, what is preventing it from being already ubiquitous? The most important barrier to worldmaking is the overarching belief that predictability is essential to achieving control – whether it is control over our actions, emotions, or outcomes." (Sarasvathy 2015: 8)

Double circularity, thus, can be considered as what happens when nonpredictive control, "the central construct in worldmaking" (ibid.), is performed in entrepreneurial practice. In the concerted accomplishments of everyday entrepreneuring, I claim that the double circularity of power acts as a crucial driving force for every entrepreneurial project, particularly by opening up reflective spaces where legitimate frustrations and fabulations can be affectively evoked. The studied entrepreneurial practice associations has evolved around neocolonial power struggles and their moderation, whereby the three sub-projects of the DT business (producing coffee, importing coffee, selling coffee) have been assembled into a network of practices where at any point contextualized knowledges enter.

To substantiate the circularity claim and what it does in entrepreneurial practice, let us briefly consider how the three marginal subject positions performed at *La Tienda de José* emerged in practice struggles and, at the same time, helped to moderate them (chapter 5). The example I mobilize, renting out the coffee shop to a Swiss hot dog start up for a couple of months, shows how entangled subject positions and agential potentials perform each other in practice. In so doing, they push moderating activities and the demand for further association and control work at the same time. The instance redistributed struggles between different marginal subject positions which had the effect to hold the multiple marginality in fragile tension. As made visible in the empirical chapters, entrepreneurial control work is a quite sidelined activity in everyday entrepreneurial practice, and the nested relationality of presences along the DT network has led to a strategic use of invisibilities on all sides of the project, making the build-up of confidence and trust a hard endeavor. In DT businesses, it is common that buyers – let alone farm owners – frequently visit their farms.[48] Yet, in the case of the *Finca Manantial*, José as owner and buyer at the same time can only visit Colombia once a year, because of his duties in the coffee shop. More than once, he literally said that he "can't multiply himself", meaning that he can't physically be in Colombia overseeing the farm and enrolling refining agents while selling the coffee in Switzerland. But once in a while, the embodied presence of the project owner is needed to viscerally bond with allies and for his subordinates to know that he cares for what they do every day,

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[48] For example, agronomist and farm administrator Tomás from the immense Altos de Palo farm explained me how they connect to their clients mainly from Asia, and that they receive farm visits from buyers almost every week. I visited the farm once for half a day and received an in-depth tour through the plantations and facilities by Tomás, and had the chance to meet him for a focused interview two weeks later in the city. He told me that it is important for the project owners and buyers to optimize their understanding of (and grip on) the production process, but also to establish closer bonds and a more streamlined general understanding of why the coffee handling practices have to be as the "project" demands it, e.g. related to a constant high-quality oriented coffee or a traceability of all activities.

especially because everything in this project is so intimately tied to himself as a person, as chapter 6 has shown as well. This creates a problem for his coffee shop. He can't be there to sell coffee, he does not have the cash to employ someone to take over the sales, and he cannot close it for the time he is absent because the rent is too expensive. In the summer of 2015, the only avenue he perceives as valid is to rent out his shop to generate some income to cover the rent. Without having searched in a overly planned manner, he agrees with two young guys who have just started a food start-up that they rent the café for the summer months. This association with non-coffee activities allows him to moderate the struggles between operating the coffee shop and governing the sites in Colombia. And yet, this association comes with the price of new struggles, as this vignette from autumn 2015 shows:

> *He starts to talk about the guys from a local hot dog start-up that were using his locale in the few summer months he was not around. It is apparent that he feels a bit frustrated as they reached a three times higher turnover per day than him, and this with a "so simple thing" like a hot dog ("algo tan sencillo"). And although he offered them the place for a very low rent, they did not collaborate beyond this amount and even broke his stuff ("me dañaron mis cosas"), for example the button of the stove or some items in the cellar. Dominik, notes from the field*

While renting out his shop to the hot dog guys allows entrepreneurial association and control work to be enacted in bodily co-presence in Colombia, the hot dog guys episode causes frustration over their commercial success with such a "simple thing" vis-à-vis his highly complex product. The second part of the vignette indicates that the guys don't care about anything else than their business, as they only paid him the very low rent without contributing more to the shop, actually even breaking stuff without compensating it. Thus, while the marginalities as clever emigrant and migrant shop owner are temporally reconciled, frictions rise between the coffee project and other businesses. Actually, thus, it is possible to conceive the move as "friction redistribution", shifting frictions from within the project to its relationships with adjacent networks.

In more abstract terms, it can hypothesized that the internal differentiation of a business causes a bigger demand for coordination and governing efforts, as more diverse activities enacted at more sites raise the demand for association and control work; that these work efforts can cause frictions with operational tasks, especially if the project is marginal so that entrepreneurial and handling practices cannot easily be differentiated; and that decisions to smoothen these internal struggles by associations with adjacent networks can lead to struggles with the network environment. In short, internal differentiation of a business can rise conflicts with the outside of that business.

In the case of the hot dog guys, the friction redistribution goes "inside-out", that is, a struggle within the very same project is externalized towards the borderlands between the project and its environment. What does such a redistribution "do", what are its consequences? By making sense of the self-interested but highly profitable Swiss start up guys, José expresses his frustration, implicitly contrasting the case to himself as a non-profitable entrepreneur who has values beyond profitability (versus the hot dog guys) and as the migrant in a host society which does not really acknowledge his work and vision (in the context of Swiss clients who would be more attraced by such a "simple thing" like a hot dog vis-à-vis his "complex" coffee). In other words, in trying to moderate the struggle on one dimension – travelling to Colombia temporally reduces his marginality in the production context – other marginalites are performed into being in a circular fashion, triggering further moderations along the road. It is important to note that the redistributing struggles may place the main friction in-between the coffee network and adjacent networks, but that the one "paying" for the friction now is the entrepreneur himself while his project benefits: José "takes it in" and has to work out his marginality with respect to the different demands and possibilities "who" he and "what" his project can become.

In that sense, "taking" it in does in a certain way "multiply" José and his project, but in a different way that he refers to by "I can't multiply myself" when talking about the demands to be simultaneously at the Swiss and Colombian sites, respectively. On the one hand, an entrepreneurial practice like renting out the shop to the hot dog guys for a few months makes the project relate and resonate with a whole different field of business, pushing José to make sense of the frustrations caused by the instance by reflecting on what the project is and what else it could be (imagining alternative identities). On the other hand, as identities get multiplied, alternative paths of associating and dissociating with partners or markets become imagineable, creating virtual spheres of engagement for the entrepreneurial project ot evolve into (imagining alternative trajectories). Both alternative identities and trajectories complicate the work to stabilize the project, for example, by telling which variants of the project story to the customers or his employees. Thus, the circularity of struggles cause frictions which have the potential to burn down some things or to create productive energy for other things: For example, in tackling a more substantiated approach to relate to the Swiss market, to question (and possibly strengthen) the project's orientation and sharpen its communication, or searching for novel ways to bypass the months of an "empty" coffee shop in a more constructive manner. In fact, all of the above options have been triggered by the hot dog episode, eventually leading to probing innovations such as a new website designed by nephew Tommy (ultimately cancelled again) or taking more decisive steps

to go beyond coffee-only production at the farm after the failure of the coffee harvest to become high-quality *Don Miguel* in November 2015. In short, marginal entrepreneurial agency co-evolves with subject positions and the performed practices. After focusing on the relation of practice and subject position (first circularity) and subject position and marginal agency (second circularity), the next part shifts the attention to the direct connection of practice and marginal agency.

8.5   Marginal agency: Three dimensions of marginal world making

This chapter pulls together the empirical results discussed in chapter 8.3 and the double circularity model in chapter 8.4 in a final analytical round, especially oriented to the question how can marginal world making work. It combines a last turn of the interpretative caleidoscope with a theory-building visualization that invites further research on the struggles between decolonial and colonial aspirations in entrepreneurial and organizational practice. In so doing, it fleshes out the relation between "practices and their relationships" with "marginal agency", which has not been directly addressed in the double circularity model (figure 5). My hope here is to connect the discussion of the results with a way towards further research. By understanding such processes better, I claim that efforts towards the making of a decolonial world can be fostered – efforts that engage in inclusive participation and change without and becoming colonizing universal aspirations themselves.

As a point of departure, I argue that the double circularity model serves as a base for analyzing how far "the master's tools" reproduce "the master's house" and under which conditions "new houses" become built (Lorde 1984). Formulated in more conceptual terms, I believe that the model is the condensed outcome of my attempt to trace practices in order to tackle the "structuralist trap" (Gibson-Graham 1996): By seeing hegemonic regimes as totalized formations out of reach, many decolonial studies risk undermining the central
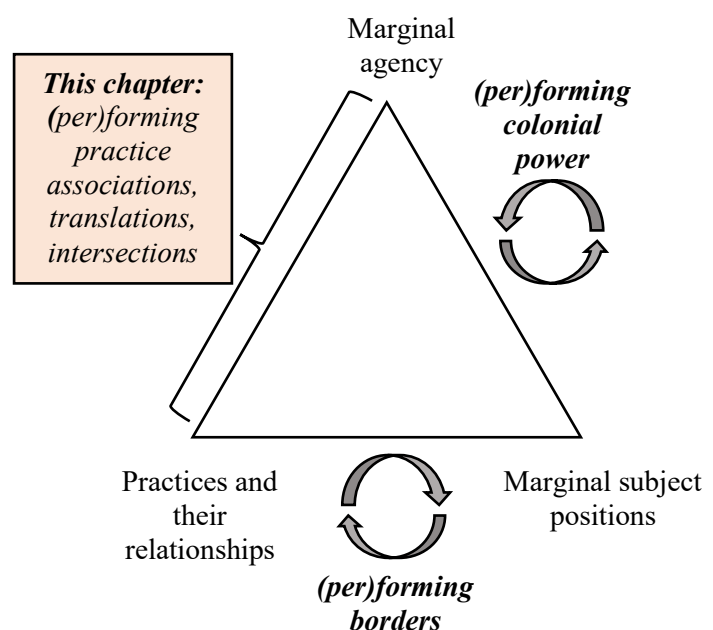

Figure 5: What this chapter focuses on: Practice and marginal agency

decolonial impetus to recover the agency of the marginal, especially because of the overwhelmingly textual-discursive orientation (for example Srinivas 2013: 1656). To conclude the discussion with an attempt to speculative method and theory-building, let us consider in more detail the first part of the circularity model: Can we say, on a sufficiently stable base now, which (types of) practices are related how with which modes of (per)forming borders and (per)forming colonial power? Departing from chapter 8.3.2, we can infer that practices that do border have the potential to reproduce and resist colonial power, practices that cross border the potential to reproduce, resist and subvert colonial power and practice that do border dwelling the potential to reproduce, resist, subvert and transcend colonial power. Yet, we have also seen that many practices are ambivalent regarding their border performance, and especially with respect to their enactment of coloniality and marginal agency. Therefore, I further develop the connection of practices and agency. I do this by relating the types of practice relationships (association, translation, intersection) as studied in the empirical chapters with the question what they "do" – or better, what their "work" is. The result is a flexible heuristic to analyze organizational practices with respect to their potential to reproduce, resist, subvert or transcend (colonial) power.

As a *first step*, I differentiate three forms of work, whereby work is understood in the vein of posthuman social practice theory as the polyphonic, polyrhythmic joint enactment of assembled practice elements: association work, translation work and intersection work (implied in "practices and their relationships" at the left hand side of the double circularity model).

First, *association work* is well established already. As defined in chapter 4.3.2 and studied in chapters 5 and especially 6, respectively, it is the classic entrepreneurial activity dedicated to build associations or break associations between practices by influencing the range and trajectories of components in circulation (Nicolini 2012: 179, Watson 2017: 178). In other words, it is the ongoing accomplishment of opening and closing (systems) boundaries by zooming in and out, defining who and what is affected or affects.
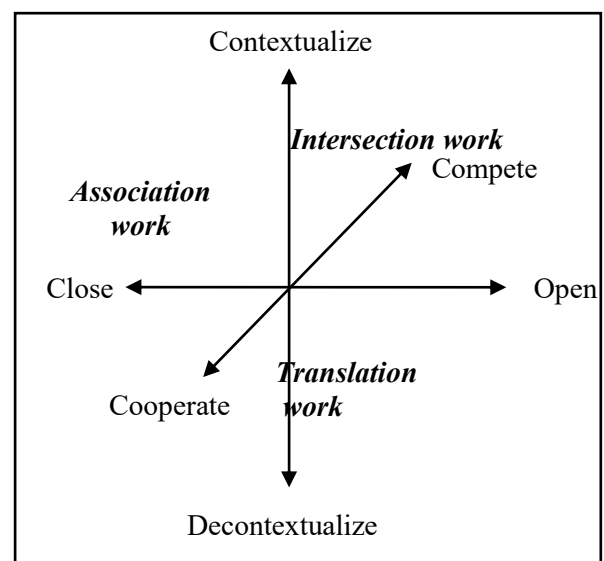

Figure 6: Dimensions of marginal agency: Association work, translation work, intersection work

Second, *translation work*. As described in chapter 4.4, the analysis of control work on the coffee farm done in chapter 7 applied the "temporal bracketing strategy" (Langley 1999) and focused only on the relation from scripts to acts, without looking at how scripts are formed in acts. While control work consists of managerial activities to make sure that the operational work along the value chain is performed according to the general and practical understandings of the project, *translation work* considers again the half of the circular co-creation of scripts and acts that has been temporarily muted. It is therefore independent of the direction and does neither privilege scripts nor acts. In other words, this type of work is accomplished in the movements of decontextualize and contextualize (see chapter 3.3.2 for the affinities with decolonial theorizing, namely with Bhabha 1990, Long and Mills 2008 and Young 2003, and chapter 4.3.3 for the implications on power relations).

Third, especially related to the moves of human beings across practices (chapter 5), I propose to read the efforts dedicated to make practices cooperate or compete as *intersection work*. Here, the accomplished movements include the chronological patterning and synchronization of practices along the day or in space, exemplified by phenomena such as multi-tasking, interlocking bundles of practice (such as commuting and consuming pre-fabricated food, going out and drinking alcohol. See Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 19).

As a *second step*, I argue that the three forms of work can be "owned" in situated practice in different ways by an acting unit of analysis. This can be an practice component, a place or an assemblage of practice components – the unit of analysis is ontologically undetermined. For example, the coffee bushes are to a large extent in control of the translation work in harvesting, as they define the rhythms of the coffee harvest through their seasonal patterns. What is more, through the asynchronic ripening of the cherries, they contextualize the DT script of high quality coffee in demanding a cherry-by-cherry harvesting practice. The harvesters, in turn, control the intersection work to a large extent (more than their supervisors) because they can walk away from the farm and do something else later in the week and the year. Of course, there are also plenty of cases where there is low ownership. For example, the harvesters don't "own" the association work in DT coffee as they usually have no knowledge of practices beyond the farm that are associated with what they do. Another example is the supervisor Francisco. He cannot determine when he is called by owner Joaquín out in the field, so he doesn't own how practices are stitched together during the day (intersection work). Taken together, for each of the three forms of work, there can be given scores: 1 means high ownership, 0 low ownership. In terms of data type, this step translates thick ethnographic data into

numeral scores, so there will always be a loss of information and complexity, and cautious argumentation will be crucial in order to comply with the demands for interpretative validity (Altheide and Johnson 1994). (It might be more adequate to include a measure of 0.5 for partial ownership, but for the sake of clarity let me stay binary here.) Table 28 offers an overview with these didactical examples of how such a table could look like.

Unit of analysis	Association work	Translation work	Intersection work	Score
Harvester	0 (no knowledge of coffee market, just operational)	1 (savvy navigation of control at recollection)	1 (exit option to leave particular farm)	2
Coffee bush	1 (demands practice assoc.: growing, fertilizing…)	1 (demands attunement of rhythms and practices)	0	2
Supervisor	0	1	0	1
Farm owner	1	0	1	2
Idea "model farm"	1	1	1	3
Scores indicate control over the given form of work (0 = low ownership, 1 = high ownership)				

Table 28: Scoring ownership over association, translation and intersection work in harvesting (didactical example)

As a *third* step, I argue that depending on whether a unit of analysis performs the control over none, one, two or three of these forms of work, the mode of how marginal agency (per)forms colonial power can be assessed. Table 29 presents all possible options to calculate the respective mode in a combinatorial way. It again draws on the analysis on border doing, crossing and dwelling to exemplify the point. For example, a practice component / actor – as in the table above – or a joint performance can exert control over all three forms of work. The score of 3 would then indicate that colonial power is transcended. A score of 2 would mean that the subversion of colonial power is possible, a score of 1 that resistance is possible, and a score of 0 that colonial power is very likely reproduced. If the last case, no ownership over the three dimensions of marginal world making would be empirically traceable. In the table, there is again visible that border doing has the potential to reproduce and resist colonial power (possible total score of 0 or 1), border crossing the potential to reproduce, resist and subvert colonial power (possible total score of 0, 1 or 2) and border dwelling the potential to reproduce, resist, subvert and transcend colonial power (possible total score of 0, 1, 2 or 3).

(Per)formed mode of border			Associati on work	Translati on work	Intersecti on work	Score	(Per)formed mode of colonial power
Border dwelling ↑	Border crossing ↑	Border doing ↑	1	1	1	**3**	Transcend
			1	0	1	**2**	Subvert
			1	1	0	**2**	Subvert
			0	1	1	**2**	Subvert
			1	0	0	**1**	Resist
			0	1	0	**1**	Resist
			0	0	1	**1**	Resist
			0	0	0	**0**	Reproduce

Table 29: Scoring a given unit of analysis for potential to reproduce, resist, subvert or transcend colonial power

Based on these three steps, I encourage researchers to go further as well. As a *fourth* step, it might be asked whether there are there typical practice elements, instances or practices that resemble each other in the combinations. For example, are there certain groups of practices where colonial power is always reproduced (score 0), or always transcended (score 3)? Are these groups of practices patterned according to where they are enacted, which components perform them or how they are connected? Are there patterns of components or dynamics which prevent units of analysis from attaining higher scores? In this would be the case, such patters would be prime indicators of factors that prevent decolonial change and hold colonial power in place.

As a *fifth* step, it might even be analyzed whether change interventions, such as the entrepreurial attempt to alter the ways of production at a Colombian coffee farm, change the potential to transcend colonial power in a given context over time. In that sense, this tool might help to assess and evaluate concerted efforts to making other worlds, or to design and plan such interventions. Again, whether the tool generates valid and reliable results is always a matter of the quality of the ethnographic data, and the quality of the steps from one level of abstraction to another.

By combining the empirical outcomes as discussed in chapter 8.3 and the conceptual advances of the double circularity model in chapter 8.4, the methodological tool to score the potential for decolonial world making implies as series of theoretical speculation on the processes and possibilities of social change. For example, it relates to SPT theorizing regarding the question *where* change happens. As Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee write in their study of the nested relational practices in the global reinsurance market

(2015), even change of "large phenomena" (Nicolini 2017a) emerge from nexuses of multiple interconnected practices. "When some of these practices shift", they write, they shift the entire set of relationships within which the market is made" (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee 2015: 23). This is why sometimes, minor incremental shifts in individual practices trigger an avalanche of disruptive change that nobody has seen coming. Conceptually, there is no need to assume that a higher level of reality exists which controls the associations (Swan, Newell and Nicolini 2016: 11, see also Nicolini 2012). What I offer here to put in dialogue with these accounts is a more specific take on *where exactly in practice* change can emerge or not – in association, translation or intersection work? – and that the different nested "types of connection" (Hui 2017: 53) themselves are practiced accomplishments that can be analyzed within the same conceptual framework and methodological tools.

The bigger question behind this problem is the common social science paradox of voluntarism versus determinism in world making. This study has taken a view on the social as circular co-creation of agency and structure which have been conceptualized as *both* being part of one analytical level and ontological reality, namely the one of practice. A particular example with relevance for this debate, namely the deterministic force of "culture", appeared in chapter 7. There, the question of how important cross-overs of general understandings such as "Colombians can't be trusted" and "Colombian coffee is the best in the world" are, was problematized in the frictions between different general understandings of quality and work (see also Schatzki 2017 and chapter 4.3.3). Yet, the question was not what these understandings are, or in analogy, what "culture" is, but what they do in practice. How are they performed, what does their enactment afford for the association / translation / intersection work, who or what is affected by their performance? In that sense, this study decidedly argues for a non-essentialist analysis of social phenomena by preferring the question "what does [X] do in the way it is performed in situated performance" instead of "what is [X]". Thereby, [X] can be every phenomenon from capitalism to investment banking, from coffee to humans, from Colombia as a country to nation as a category, from humans to land reform, from coloniality to xenophobia. I claim that to change the way researchers and practitioners problematize large phenomena is already an important step towards recovering the agency of the marginal. In addition, it points to the power of the act. If "culture" as an "abstract universal" needs to be mobilized and performed in practice to exist, then shifts in practices are not only able to change "culture", but they are the only place to do so. This chapter, and this study more in general, hopefully contributes to an understanding how general understandings are enacted, and through which intervention / leverage

points alterations in practices and their relations occur to, eventually make new worlds at large.

Another important point for a decisive relationality of world making in practice is that, while general understandings may change, and new practice associations may emerge as performances are woven together across time and space, the performances themselves can remain without drastic changes. 'Local' stability and 'global' dynamics can coexist, depending on how the 'global' understandings are (not) translated to 'local' situations. In that sense, the existence of marginal agency which makes abstract scripts concrete in localized enactments helps to explain "ongoing difference in spite of connections" (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012: 38). Thus, the practice theoretical claim that "new orientations form, and are performed by, networks of altered practices" might be in need of an adaptation: "new orientations form, and are performed by, altered networks of practices". If this holds, social change can be an outcome of the change of practice (scripts and acts) themselves, but also crucially an outcome of the ways how practices are stitched together along a network or between networks: Through novel connections which establish connectivity between sites of practices, novel general understandings are enabled to travel, to be translated locally, and to possibly alter practice as the performances go along. Here, I argue that whether a change project alters practice or not, and therefore succeeds or not, is a question of how the "old" is put to work for "new" purposes. Novelty, as the empirical chapters have indicated, is seldom pure. This is again an indication of how important strategies to deal with multiplicities, namely multiple marginalities, are. For the new is always marginal at first. As Whatmore and Thorne conclude in their ANT-inspired study of fair trade coffee networks,

> "[a]lternative geographies of food are located in the political competence and social agency of individuals, institutions, and alliances, enacting a variety of partial knowledges and strategic interests through networks which simultaneously involve a 'lengthening' of spatial and institutional reach and a 'strengthening' of environmental and social embeddedness. Such networks exist alongside the corporate and state networks of orthodox accounts of globalization, sometimes overlapping them in space-time; sometimes occupying separate sites and establishing discrete lines of connection; and sometimes explicitly oriented towards challenging their associated environmental and social practices." (Whatmore and Thorne 1997: 217)

The only thing that is left after a series of theoretical speculations and developing a methodological tool to analyze the three dimensions of marginal world making is a visualization. Figure 7, it's your turn.
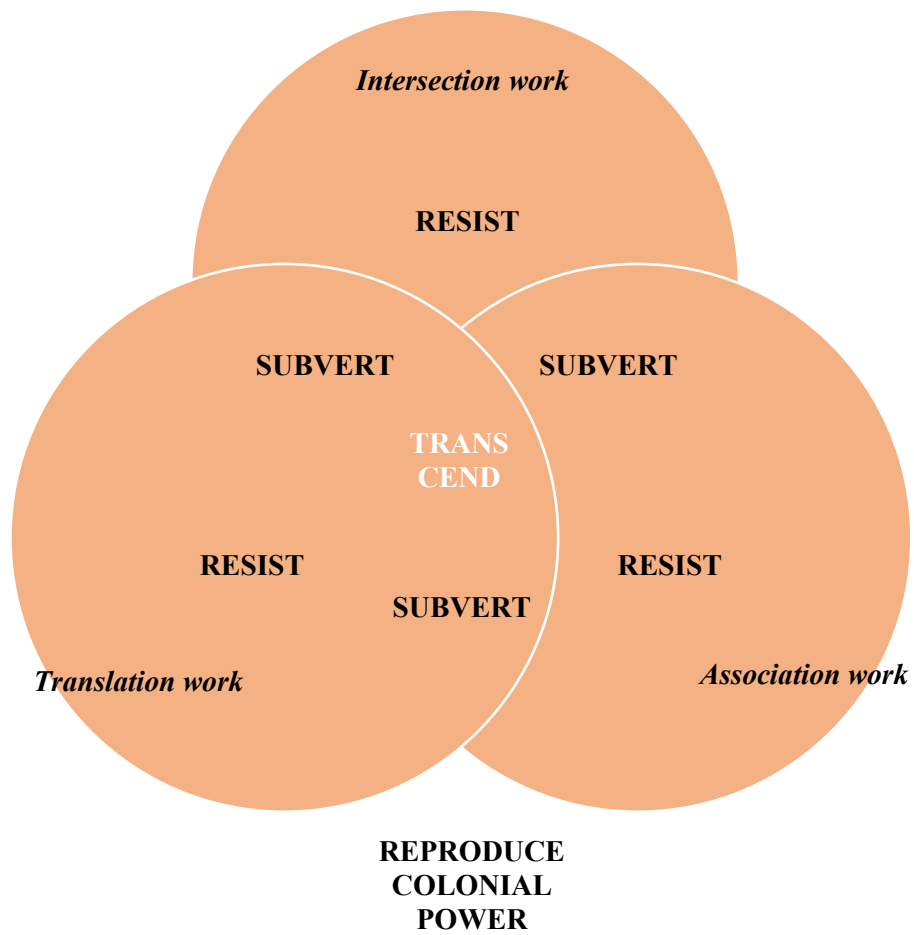
Figure 7: Three dimensions of marginal world making: Reproducing, resisting, subverting and transcending colonial power in translation, association and intersection work
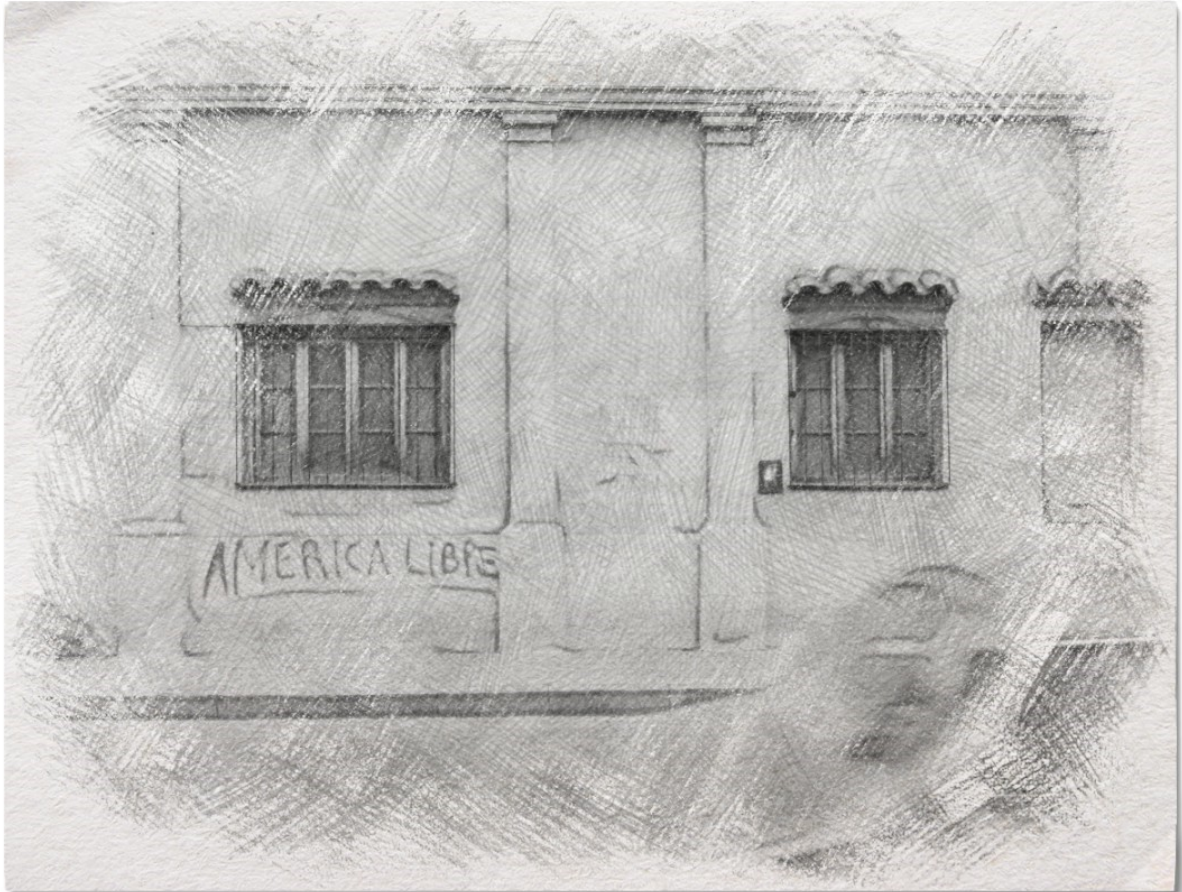
Trace 20: Towards a sense of politics and hope

How can you make the other your own without owning the other (as in colonial privilege) or othering the own (as in colonial difference)? This chapter situates the efforts of the study with respect to the research interest of "how to organize a decolonial world", presents limitations and open questions, outlines the contributions for three academic audiences and concludes with a call for a "decolonial praxeology".

9 Concluding the study

> *"Las cosas tienen visa propia – pregonaba el gitano con áspero acento -, todo es cuestión de despertarles el ánima."*[49]
>
> *Gabriel García Márquez (1967: 1)*

9.1 Summary

In a nutshell, this study implies two things. Colonial power struggles usually don't disappear, they change mode. And "genuine" change (Lorde 1984: 112) is not built from scratch by radical disconnection from "the system", but by tactics of radical connection as the tool of choice of the marginal – for master's houses, with their paradigm of building walls as binary bifurcation of the inside and the outside, are never well equipped to deal with multiple marginality properly. Multiplication instead of division: Making worlds in which many worlds fit necessarily is a performance with many shades of noir.

The study departed from the problem of coloniality as transpiring in and through efforts of world making. For decolonial theorists, the question under which conditions decolonial change emerges is of paramount importance (Mills 2018, Gantman, Yousfi and Alcadipani 2015, Srinivas 2013, Mignolo and Escobar 2010, Frenkel and Shenhav 2007). How is colonial power still a thing? Is resistance futile, or can there be hope? How can marginal world making work? In the context of such concerns, whether entrepreneurship as a practice of world making reproduces or transcends dominant power relations has been widely debated (Dey and Steyaert 2018, Escobar 2018, Zanoni,

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[49] The famous passage in the novel "One Hundred Years of Solitude" reads in English: "'Things have a life of their own,' the gypsy proclaimed with a harsh accent. 'It's simply a matter of waking up their souls.'"

Contu, Healy and Mir 2017, Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009). In this study, I departed from this controversy to problematize the phenomenon of neocolonial power struggles in the empirical context of marginal entrepreneurship. Referring to often unheard, or silenced, practices of organizing business (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Imas and Weston 2012, Aldadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012, Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011), I have introduced the notion of marginal entrepreneuring as a precarious (Millar 2014) commercial practice that aims at creating new worlds without being able to act from a confident location equipped with strategic resources and control.

After locating the struggles between colonial and decolonial aspirations in social practice (Hui, Schatzki and Shove 2017, Reckwitz 2002), namely in performances of subject positioning (Davies and Harré 1990, see also Bröckling 2016), I engaged in a multi-sited ethnography (Falzon 2009) of a marginal Direct Trade coffee business to explore these research questions (analytical formulation):

- Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship perpetuate colonial power?
- Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship make the transformation of colonial power possible?
- Which processes in marginal Direct Trade entrepreneurship perform world making beyond colonial power?

In vein with the methodological implications of social practice theory (SPT) as "theory method package" (Nicolini 2017b: 216f), the single case study focused on the "practices plus their relationships" (Nicolini 2017a: 102) in three instances of fieldwork between October 2014 and February 2016 in Switzerland and Colombia. The three questions served as a transversal guide for the empirical parts which traced neocolonial power struggles as (per)formed in situated entrepreneurial practice (chapter 5), in association work over temporal and spatial distance (chapter 6), and in control work as practice scripts get translated into acts (chapter 7). First, by following the migrant entrepreneur as embodied intersection of practice, I traced how the business is organized in the concerted accomplishment of everyday practices between serving clients, associating business partners and controlling a traceable high quality production along the value chain. Here, it has become apparent that in the everyday work of a marginal entrepreneur, operational practices push entrepreneurial control and association work to temporal and spatial margins. Reformulated with respect to the results of chapters 6 and 7, both focusing on production and processing sites in Colombia, the entrepreneur is marginalized in entrepreneurial control and association work throughout the business

which emerged as a collective enactment of agency characterized by nested relationality (Jarzabkowski, Bednarek and Spee 2015), polyphonic assemblages of practice components (Tsing 2015) and the work of becoming attuned to multiple rhythms and intensities (Brice 2014).

As a result, the traced associations of practices performed a mode of coffee into existence that is multiple. Whereas commodity coffee is first a concrete agricultural product and, after going through an ontological transformation at the cooperative at the moment of grading and selling, is reduced to representing abstract quality standards, DT coffee is performed as being abstract and concrete at the same time. Namely, before a DT harvest actually becomes a high-quality export good in quality tests, it is already performed *as if* it was already what it aspires to become. The places and lives embedded in marginal DT entrepreneuring (per)form such ontological struggles through multiple intersecting marginalities between neocolonial subject positions, namely: The difference between Northern consumers and Southern producers (especially chapter 5), the difference between Northern refining producers and Southern raw material producers (especially chapter 6), and the difference between human-made rhythms and scales ("culture") and more-than-human rhythms and scales ("nature") (especially chapter 7). In short, colonial power is (per)formed in the ontological struggles of practicing multiple marginal subject positions.

In conceptual terms, the relation between practices, subject positions and agency has been analyzed as one of *double circularity* (chapter 8.4), a proposal that contributes to a better understanding of how marginal entrepreneurship unfolds in practice: First, practices (plus their relationships) and subject positions co-constitute each other, and second, subject positions and marginal agency co-constitute each other. The first circularity between practices and subject positions emerges in processes of (per)forming borders. These processes are connected with the second circularity where subject positions and marginal agency jointly (per)form colonial power. In particular, resulting from a dialogue between social practice, decolonial theorizing and the empirical material, traces of three subject positioning processes were analyzed: "border doing", "border crossing" and "border dwelling". Border doing is characterized by othering practices which construct the binary subject positions colonizer/colonized, leaving two options for marginals: Reproduce coloniality or radically resist from "outside". They correspond to the decolonial strand of thought organized around Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). Border crossing refers to the hybridizing effects of translations that are inherent in performing borders, opening up subversive potentials for marginal agency in the spaces between restrictive colonial subject positions. Such processes have

been analyzed in decolonial studies in the tradition of Homi Bhabha (1994). Finally, border dwelling is the practice of performing the in-between as a permanent, populated and embodied place from where marginal agency finds a ground not only to reproduce, resist and subvert, but also to transcend colonial power. Scholars who approach the performance of marginal agency in contexts of colonial power in this vein are oriented towards Gloria Anzaldúa's ideas around *nepantla* and the borderlands (1987).

I claim that in the double constitution of marginal subjectivity, ontological struggles between the multiple worlds of DT coffee are held in fragile tension. Subject positioning in practice is therefore a result, and a source, of power – it is formed by, and performs, power relations (Alkemeyer and Buschmann 2017, Watson 2017). Finally, I have proposed a reading of the double circularity in the practice of marginal entrepreneurship as enacted in processes of association work, translation work and intersection work (chapter 8.5). While this claim builds on the SPT assumptions to locate processes of stability and change in the work that practices (and the assembled components) *do*, I offered a methodological tool and a bit of theoretical speculation to encourage future research on neocolonial power struggles, in particular to assess more in detail how these dimensions of marginal world making hang together, and under which conditions decolonial change emerges in the polyphonic, polyrhythmic joint enactment of situated practice.

9.2   Limitations and open questions

While the summary has offered a recount of what has been done and what can be said, this part is dedicated to the limitations of the study in terms of the empirical research setting, the chosen theory method package and the way the research project was conducted. As problems can be formulated in terms of challenges, they also contain possible avenues for further research.

A *first* set of limitations concerns the empirical research setting. While doing an ethnographic study with more-than-representational strategies does not aim at a generalizability of its findings, it is nevertheless relevant to assess what can be translated to other contexts. The neocolonial power struggles in the single case are particular to a marginal entrepreneurial business in Direct Trade coffee, led by a Colombian-Swiss. It is probable that the empirical dynamics look different in more common Direct Trade businesses organized by citizens from Northern countries who are foreign to the production sites in the South, or in businesses that are organized by migrants without family ties to the Northern countries they operate in. In addition, the geographical

context of Colombia is peculiar in its high-quality focus and the high institutionalization of the coffee sector, factors that have had an important impact on the traced processes. In that sense, having studied the empirical dynamics, I acknowledge now that the case is more limited in scope than initially envisioned in terms of a broader assessment of the promises of the Direct Trade model as opposed to commodity and certification models. As a further point, the results of the study can be put well in dialogue with contexts where the entrepreneurial project and the entrepreneurial person strongly overlap, where fabulations, frustrations, value-driven considerations or family ties play a role. However, the results are probably less meaningful in cases of more formalized, less personalized and generally larger-sized entreprises. Finally, coffee is a well studied field in terms of power, agency and change, and it is a tangible and ubiquitous agricultural product. It is likely that coloniality plays out differently in marginal projects in other sectors, for example where "invisible" raw materials are produced such as in mining and energy (where there are huge networks of informal small-scale activities around the established large players). Other possibilities for further research are to apply the results of this study to practices of trading "intangible" services such as remittances, or to the organization of precarious labor markets with their nomadic populations in the North and South.

A *second* set of limitations concerns the chosen theory method package of social practice theory, and its application in this study. While a more explorative, experiential understanding of research needs an open formulation of questions and an eclectic use of theories, some of the conceptual notions can – and should be – further specified. For example, after having put theory and empirics in close dialogue, I believe that my results have mobilized the concepts of embodied, relational agency and the various dimensions of practice fruitfully, but others such as "position" are in need of further theorizing. Position*ing* has be understood as process of navigating multiple marginalities, but what does position as such mean in the non-cartesian space of practice, other than performing some limitations and some allowances for actors, and how does it relate to "location" or "site"? In my view, such open questions might be addressed when doing research to differentiate in more detailed fashion the modes of intersection, association and translation work involved in marginal world making, and how they (per)form positioning struggles in situated practice. Some tools and speculations to go forward in such a direction have been offered in chapter 8. In addition, I acknowledge that there are two risks in reading subjectivity in a more-than-human vein as I did in this study. It can be seen as a subversive provocation (which would be invited) or as introducing the structuralism of totalized formations through the back door (which would be problematic). Yet, the findings, style and impetus of the study should not be taken as a

fatalist evidence for "process is process, what happens happens", but rather as an attempt to theorize the paradoxes of agency in interconnectedness, and subjectivity in nested embeddedness. In general, this study performed such paradoxes as practical problems, and the circularities implied in the conceptual, epistemological and ontological assumptions have made that some conclusions may be (too) tentative, or (too) fuzzy, or derived by use of makeshift tactics such as Langley's temporal bracketing in chapter 7. As an outcome, while my findings trace what the mobilization of neocolonial practices (and their struggle with change aspirations) does, I assess that an answer to the question how decolonial worlds become possible has remained very much in the making. This has, in my view, not only to do with the assumptions of the research project, but also with some of these limitations in how it was designed, and how the design was performed.

Concerning the latter, a *third* set of limitations stems from the way the research project was conducted. While I think that my multiple marginality as a researching human being in Latin-Swiss contexts was beneficial for the study, and I would say that I anticipated and ultimately handled the risks of my positioning with sufficient caution (see chapter 5.4.1), another liminality had strong impacts on the process. In the six years between enrolling at the University and handing in the PhD dissertation, I organized the research workload around the demands of my near-full time job as project manager in the field of international sustainability education. At the foundation myclimate, I designed and implemented activities to shape the world in inclusive ways together with different stakeholders on all continents, but while the professional and academic matters of concern were similar, there were no practical intersections between the two worlds. This was a major challenge on every level, and certainly had implications on the quality of the conceptual framework, the empirical data, the analytical process – and the cohesion between all of them. The work on these three dimensions was distributed over three main phases between 2014 and 2018 with gaps of up to a year in between. As the gathering of inspiring literature, concepts and data never really stopped, every time when I got back to continuing the academic work, a thorough location and calibration was needed. In particular, to bring myself into a position of starting to write up the final text literally took months of iterating analysis, experiential writing, frustration and fabulation. In this context, more-than-representational methodologies – and the sudden resonance with noir writing, a genre that by the way can be cricicized as overly heroic, even when the heroes are fragile – had very ambivalent effects at first. They added to the confusion of what this project shall achieve and what it means to me personally, but finally helped me to find a stance and a tone.

For example, after leaving my job in summer 2017, I kicked off the intensive final PhD year dedicated to most of the data organization, data analysis, interpretation and writing up by affectively "going back to Colombia" – 18 months after my fieldwork had ended. In order to find a flow and to connect to my data again, I crafted a thick, detailed account of the first day in the field. I took my fieldnotes, pictures, videos, audio recordings, maps and drawings and started to connect them to a fieldnote tale of how I reached the village and the farm. It took me more than a week to write 15 pages, but it worked well. I could rebuild a sense of connection to the places, people, statements, landscapes, views, sounds, textures and smells. I repeated the same for the next two days in the field. It was an intensive and tiresome exercise and took me quite a lot of time, but it did not only serve the purpose to "feel" the project again; it also made appear many topics present in the other fieldwork days again.[50] By offering a small glimpse behind the scenes of academic practice, this small vignette shall help to understand that the embodied struggles of academic work imply limitations in the analytical process, especially related to making the world of such a scattered project sufficiently cohesive. The analytical process is a mostly invisibilized site, and it is my feeling that the talk of "iterations" often obscures and idealizes academia; but, again in SPT language, what matters for the world is not what the ideal of academia *is*, but what academia *does*.

9.3 Contributions towards a decolonial praxeology

"The world used to be a bigger place", says Captain Hector Barbossa. "The world is still the same", answers Captain Jack Sparrow. "There is just…less in it." The two pirates of the Carribbean watch the waves and lament the disenchantment of the modern world. Yet I am not sure whether I agree with Sparrow. The world has been commodified and standardized in the colonial encounter, yes, but does it have "less" ways of being and knowing "in it"? Where did the other ways go? Have they been exterminated for ever? Or is there a silenced underside to the modern colonial world, a place where the othered live on? Or, in fact, has that world never been modern (Latour 1993), and its struggles, frictions, fractures and ruptures rather multiply what "is in it" to perform a pluriversality that never ceased to become? Are borders potential sites of enchantment, and by border doing, crossing and dwelling, the othered "monsters and ghosts" of a damaged planet show themselves in all of us (Tsing, Swanson, Gan and Bubandt 2017)? "Crossings", Bennett writes, "can

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[50] I then transferred the tales of the first three field days into Nvivo, started an open coding session and later refined them to my second data set, see chapter 4.5.2.

show the world to be capable of inspiring wonder, with room for play and for high spirits. And crossings might just help to induce the kind of magnanimous mood that seems to be crucial to the ethical demands of a sociality that is increasingly multicultural, multispecied, and multitechnical" (2001: 32). Ironically, Barbossa and Sparrow only know the contained world of their grand commercial blockbuster movie "At World's End". But then, it is also a product of Hollywood, no less than the modern dream factory *par excellence*. Moderns and dreams? So it seems. Despite coffee, the modern-colonial drink of being woke.

 "Could Sociology, as Whitehead said of philosophy, not only begin but also end in wonder?" Like the Caribbean pirates Barbossa and Sparrow, Bruno Latour is haunted by the relation of modernity and enchantment, famously turning the question towards the business of academia and science (2005: 220). For decolonial scholars who think from the silenced colonial underside of modernity, enchantment through "technologies of crossing" (Sandoval 2003) is part of the toolkit of subaltern scholarship to disclose and research colonial power, to uncover the "agency of the marginal" (Srinivas 2013: 1657) and to shift to other modes of practicing academic writing, thinking and being (Escobar 2010: 49). Rising questions and exploring answers is embodied work (Mignolo 2011: xxiv). In the same vein, chicana feminist Gloria Anzaldúa's life project turned around, and urged others to be more aware of, the practice of writing (from) the body (2015: 5). In that sense, decolonial writing associates well with claims from more-than-representative ethnography and its struggle against "methodological timidity" (Rabbiosi and Vanolo 2017: 270).

Thrift asks: "What happens if we approach worlds not as the dead or reeling effects of distant systems but as lived affects with tempos, sensory knowledges, orientations, transmutations, habits, rogue force fields ... ?" (Thrift 2007: 446). While cleaning cups in his café *La Tarima* in Chinchiná, coffee shop owner Ariel provides an answer: "Let us not turn making coffee [or making academia] into a miracle either. We don't have to become so called experts, but the ritual, the quality of the moment, the conscience are important". Hopefully, my attempt at tracing immanent practices in ethnographic noir writing contributes to such understandings of scientific work, and encourages qualitative researchers to listen to the silenced, unheard and unsaid, the twilight and the moonlight, the disturbing and the disruptive, the polyphonic and polyrhythmic. For the multiple, once again, "enables us to experimentally examine what it can have us become" (Steyaert 2012: 157) by performing *another* kind of distancing than positivist reduction and generalization:

"Theory is primarily a distancing mechanism, but we can speak of two forms of distancing here: Distancing as a grand gesture of generalization that is in fact based on a myopic understanding of the world, and distancing as a necessary mechanism that propels us outside of our own subjective mode of being and our disciplinary comfort zones." (Shih and Lionnet 2011: 26)

Let me zoom in from the marginal contributions this study might entail for the philosophy of science to more particular implications of my research. Regarding the relevance of this study, I claim that it contributes to the discussions in three (overlapping) fields. I don't want to compartmentalize the contributions too strongly to allow for cross-fertilization between audiences, but for the sake of clarity, figure 8 below visualizes these fields with potential intersections of interest.

First, Management and Organization scholars might find my study of neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship interesting in terms of the implications for power, agency and change in organizational and entrepreneurial practice. In particular, I claim that the double circularity contributes to a better understanding of how (marginal) entrepreneurial projects unfold, talking back to the literature on entrepreneurship as a force toward making other worlds (for example Dey and Steyaert 2018, Sarasvathy 2015, Calás, Smircich and Bourne 2009). In addition, by choosing to analyze a marginal entrepreneurial case by use of usually sidelined decolonial concepts, the study contributes to the post- and decolonial community in MOS and supports its program to make silenced practices and approaches heard (especially Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Millar 2014, Srinivas 2013, Imas and Weston 2012, Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012, Jack, Westwood, Srinivas and Sardar 2011). Finally, I am convinced that especially process-oriented MOS scholars will be able to connect my methodological approach and my empirical application of social practice concepts with their own research in fruitful ways. In terms of the empirical research setting, crafting a thick description of a network rather than its individual nodes sheds new light on the promise of Direct Trade coffee and advances a take on translocal commercial networks as created by mundane entrepreneurial practices. The study also offers conceptual and methodological avenues to research how inclusive worlds are (not) created upon moving grounds e.g. in organizing networked supply chains, trans-national work environments, migratory encounters and ecological entanglements. It therefore presents "novel transnational renderings of "livelihood, scale, place and network" (Bryant and Goodman 2004: 359) and contributes to closing the gap between "global" network studies and "local" studies in the sociology and anthropology of organizations, with the respective implications for agency, structure and process (Lo 2015, Drori, Honig and Wright 2009, Burawoy, Blum, George, Gille and Thayer 2000).
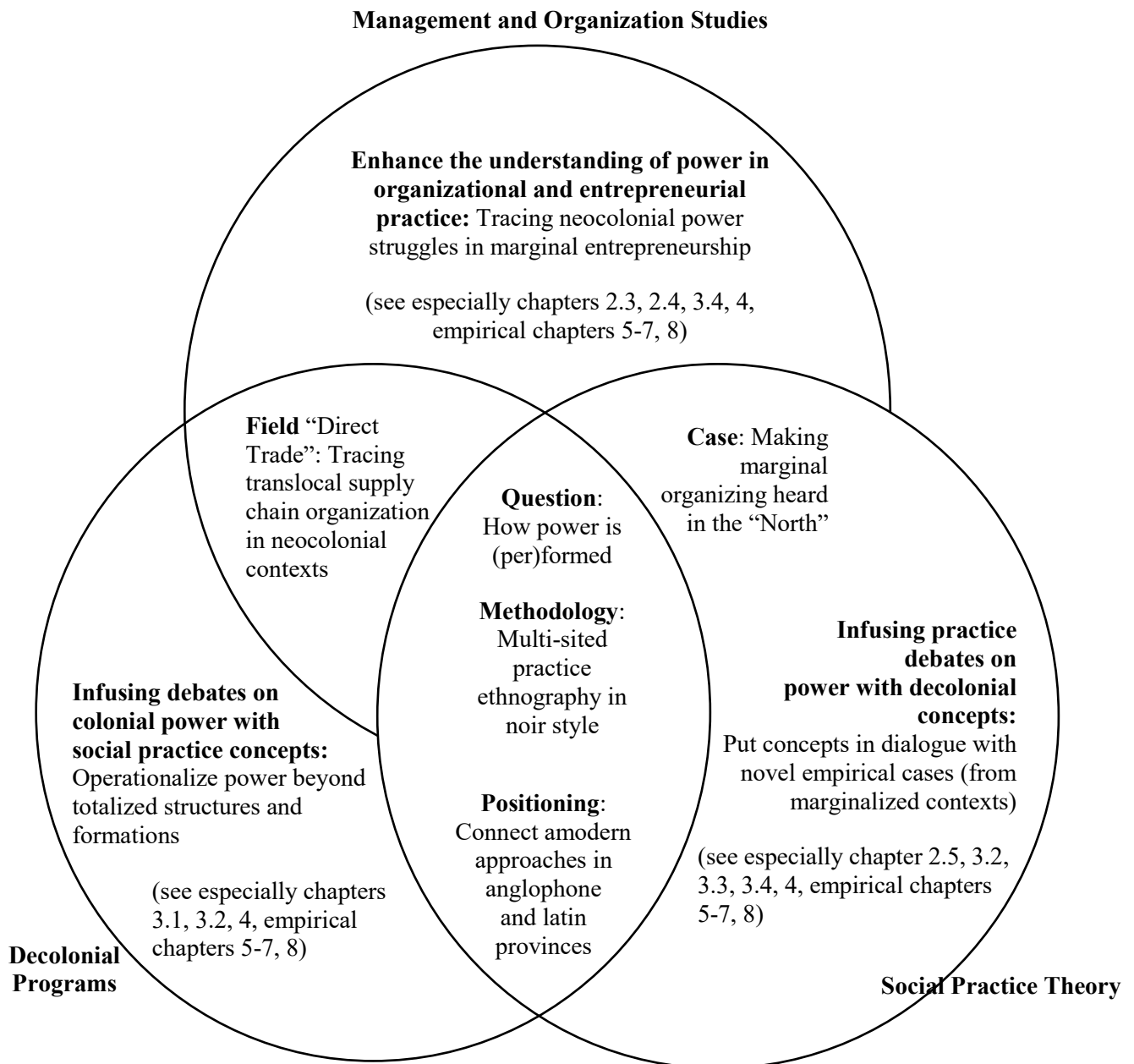
Management and Organization Studies

Enhance the understanding of power in organizational and entrepreneurial practice: Tracing neocolonial power struggles in marginal entrepreneurship

(see especially chapters 2.3, 2.4, 3.4, 4, empirical chapters 5-7, 8)

Field "Direct Trade": Tracing translocal supply chain organization in neocolonial contexts

Case: Making marginal organizing heard in the "North"

Question: How power is (per)formed

Methodology: Multi-sited practice ethnography in noir style

Infusing practice debates on power with decolonial concepts: Put concepts in dialogue with novel empirical cases (from marginalized contexts)

Infusing debates on colonial power with social practice concepts: Operationalize power beyond totalized structures and formations

(see especially chapters 3.1, 3.2, 4, empirical chapters 5-7, 8)

Positioning: Connect amodern approaches in anglophone and latin provinces

(see especially chapter 2.5, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 4, empirical chapters 5-7, 8)

Decolonial Programs

Social Practice Theory

Figure 8: Mapping contributions of the study

If mobilized in a non-essential, performative, multiplicative and embodied way, borderlandish subjectivities are "one of the Southern's most authentic achievements and [show] that the Southern borderlands have more agency than is usually considered" (Alcadipani, Khan, Gantman and Nkomo 2012: 140). In that sense, Imas and Weston claim that the organizational and entrepreneurial struggles, the survival skills and the resilience of marginal subjects can inform Northern MOS about unheard strategies to deal with increasingly precarious organizational and entrepreneurial contexts even in the North (2012: 206). Recent decolonial theorizing has dealt with the friction between empowering subjects and the encompassing entanglements of everything by engaging

with posthuman ecologies, feminist performativity and, on a philosophical level, Heideggerian existentialism – more so than with

> "[…] deconstructive posthumanism or relentless Deleuzian deterritorialization. This is so because of its commitment to place, the communal, and other practices of being, knowing, and doing […] the notion of relationality involves more than nondualism; that reimagining the human needs to go beyond the deconstruction of humanism (still the focus of most posthumanist thought) in order to contemplate effective possibilities for the human as a crucial political project for the present." (Escobar 2018: 20-21)

The first axis is most closely tied to Arturo Escobar's project of political ecology (2008, 2017) who reaches out to Latourian Actor-Network theory, De Landa's assemblage thinking and Ingolds meshwork theories, very much in parallel to the developments in SPT (see chapter 3.2.2). A more-than-human aesthetic approach to the borderlands is already there in Anzaldúa's thinking as well. For example, she describes mestiza consciousness as having "something in common with the wind and the trees, […] that possesses a demon determination and ruthlessness beyond the human" (1987: 72). The second axis is clearly indebted to Alzandúa and other Chicana feminists, infusing decolonial thought with the awareness that "it was on the bodies of women that humanity learned how to dominate" (Paredes 2012, cit. in Escobar 2018: 11). The third axis is most prominently tied to Maldonaldo-Torres who moves coloniality from "knowing" to "being" (2010: 96) – from where it is only a minor step to conceive a decolonial study of "becoming" on the horizon.

Second, I see a contribution to Social Practice Theories (SPT) in MOS and beyond by infusing them with decolonial theorizing and applying them to an empirical case that might bring fresh insights on how (colonial) power is reproduced, resisted, subverted and transcended in practice (Watson 2017: 172). This goes together with the aim to connect non-mainstream streams of North Atlantic and Latin American academic thought across linguistic boundaries. Here, I especially recommend Escobar 2018 and 2008, Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016, Mignolo and Escobar 2010 and Yehia 2006. This dialogue has a high potential to critically review ontological and epistemological bases of current research – including revisiting what 'agency' means and dealing with 'informants' as co-creators of knowledge. Yet, they have very rarely been put in dialogue, and as I have argued, neither a decolonial social practice analysis nor a praxeological decolonial analysis has been made (Millar 2014, Srinivas 2013, Imas and Weston 2012, Brad and Mills 2008).

Third, my attempt towards such a "decolonial praxeology" indeed has departed from the struggles of decolonial approaches to go beyond totalizing takes on power. Therefore, I see a contribution to post- and decolonial programs in the adopting, and empirically applying, practice-based concepts that operationalize power beyond totalized structures. Here, I especially recommend to consider Nicolini and Monteiro 2017, Hui, Schatzki and Shove 2017, Watson 2017, Gherardi 2013, Nicolini 2012, Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012 as well as Reckwitz 2002 for theoretical and conceptual inspiration. By offering an "vivid empirical illustration" (Durepos, Prasad and Villanueva 2016: 307) of the "specific processes" of coloniality, I hope to have contributed to put the performative dimensions of colonial power center stage (Yousfi 2014, Gantman and Parker 2006, Wade 2005). By using more-than-textual data, the study complements the few decolonial studies that have conceptually focused on lived experience, but exclusively used textual data from interviews and conversations (Millar 2014, Srinivas 2013, Imas and Weston 2012). Finally, by putting the works of Gloria Anzaldúa center stage, I hope to have engaged in an emancipative conceptual politics in decolonial studies (biased against gender and chicana studies) and in postcolonial MOS (biased against non-english or bilingual academia) by listening to the voice of a theorist who, in my view, embodies the worlds of nepantla like no other.

9.4   Outlook

Everything is connected. Agency is affecting and learning to be affected at the same time. We grant agency by deciding what affects us. This study has been written into existence to join an elective affinity of attempts to recover the agency of the marginal. Together, they populate borderlands that are not an empty void, but a noisy place of dialogue, debate, friction and fracture. Yet, in their radical connectedness, the borderlands entail privileged subject positions that do not only allow for translating ways of knowing and being, but also for "translanguaging" processes – processes that multiply, rather than diversify, ontologies. What if borderlandish *nepantleras* would know better than the usual privileged world makers how to handle the energy of pluriversal frictions in ways that spark participation, agency and hope instead of burning down connections?

> *"How can you make the other your own without owning the other (as in colonial privilege) or othering the own (as in colonial difference)?" Dominik, notes from the field*

In my view, putting forward a decolonial practice research agenda has the potential to contribute to the conceptual foundations of a "Theory of Performative Democracy" for a world in motion, following the question whether (and how) decolonial designs can be

globalized (Escobar 2018). For Nicolini, understanding the social world as associations of practices produces "representations that practitioners can then use to talk about their own practice – and to thereby do something about it" (Nicolini 2017a: 113). In that vein, I believe that reading (colonial) power as emerging out of everyday practices is relevant for organizational and entrepreneurial projects of world making in coffee and beyond. It can enable them to identify leverage points to shape the contexts they are embedded in, to venture in uncertain environments more confidently, and to effectively engage in world making that is able to confront "existing matrices of power and socio-political horizons" (Dinerstein 2015) from marginal social positions.

If there are ways for marginal lives to (per)form the complex and diverse networks of a pluriversal world in a decolonial way, how can they talk back to this text? There is, I claim, a way: The ultimate QR code below opens a path from the final lines of this study, having become heavy matter of paper and dust, to the evolving tissue of the virtual world, for the moving traces will continue to make the future and to perform a life of their own – just like Melquíades, García Márquez' gypsy, proclaims with a harsh accent in One Hundred Years of Solitude. In the face of great odds, searching for ways of conceiving, following, and listening to the becoming "practices of cultural, ecolocial, and economic difference" (Escobar 2010: 52) has only begun.

"No es más un proyecto. Es realidad." – "It's not a project anymore. It's reality." José

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Appendix

In chapter 4.5.2 (data analysis), I mention a preliminary analysis of how activities on the coffee farm hang together by the use of social network analysis. By means of the free software SocNetV, I mapped illustrative prototypes of a task network from the plant to washed coffee, focused on power and betweenness centrality, and put it in a dialogue with the narrative network method of Pentland and Feldman to visualize practice tasks (2007).

The practice associations show the path of the actual bean from being a seedling to being wet/washed coffee packed in bags to be brought to the drying machine, covering harvesting and on-farm processing tasks. The nodes are doings, whereas the lines are entities that connect the doings as they deliver materials to be enacted.

On the first map below, the red diamonds symbolize "othering" practices where unfit, undesired forms of not-quite-coffee or hostile actants such as pests or weeds are sorted out of the assemblage (see also Law and Lien 2013).

The second map reorders the task network by centering around the "most powerful" practices, those with most direct connections and directed influences, likely the place where "strategic power" in the network is enacted. Not surprisingly, it's the employing practices (finca supervisor, administrator and farmhand). In addition, the size of the nodes indicate the number of connections to other tasks, also associated with the "power centrality".

The third map reorders the network around the "betweenness centrality" of the practices, calculating the N of shortest paths from all nodes to each other coming through. This is crucial for potential changes in the network as these practices are breaking points (Sollbruchstellen) with only few or no detours possible around them – changes in such a practice affect most of the network. Here, the most central practice is "controlling the harvest (red cherries only)", followed by "floating through the de-pulper" and a few adjacent processing machine activities.

These preliminary interpretations have served as a more quantitative tool to triangulate qualitative and ethnographic analyses. They are by no means exhaustive, but serve as an illustration for the possibilities of the method. In further steps, practice clusters could be formed, enacted practice components (materials, bodies, texts, protocols, meanings, skills…) could be added and virtualities could be displayed as well (for example, by differentiating how often "roads" are taken or colouring the not-anymore-taken / could-be-taken "roads". This would enable to analyze e.g. how specific tasks or whole practices have been / could be sidelined.

Figure 9: Associated tasks on the farm with othering instances (red diamonds)

Figure 10: Associated tasks on the farm with power centrality

Figure 11: Associated tasks on the farm with betweenness centrality

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	1.5-day learning lab in co-teaching with Dr. Björn Müller. STRIDE unSchool for Entrepreneurial Leadership, Zürich, Switzerland
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	Transversal multi-day co-teaching sessions with Dr. Matt Gardner (Harvard). Conducted in YES short course Iran 2016 (Amirkabir University of Technology)
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	Diverse professional trainings for grammar school teacher teams and student organizations, e.g. at Oikos Future Lab 2016, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
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	12x half-day course. YES Switzerland 2016/2015, Germany 2014, Kenya 2014/2012 (Egerton University), Serbia 2013; Climate Leaders Lab by ETH Zürich 2012

Prizes and Awards

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Publications & Presentations

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